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Josef W. Meri, Editor

MEDIEVAL ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION

AN ENCYCLOPEDIA



Medieval Islamic Civilization

An Encyclopedia

Volume 1

A – K

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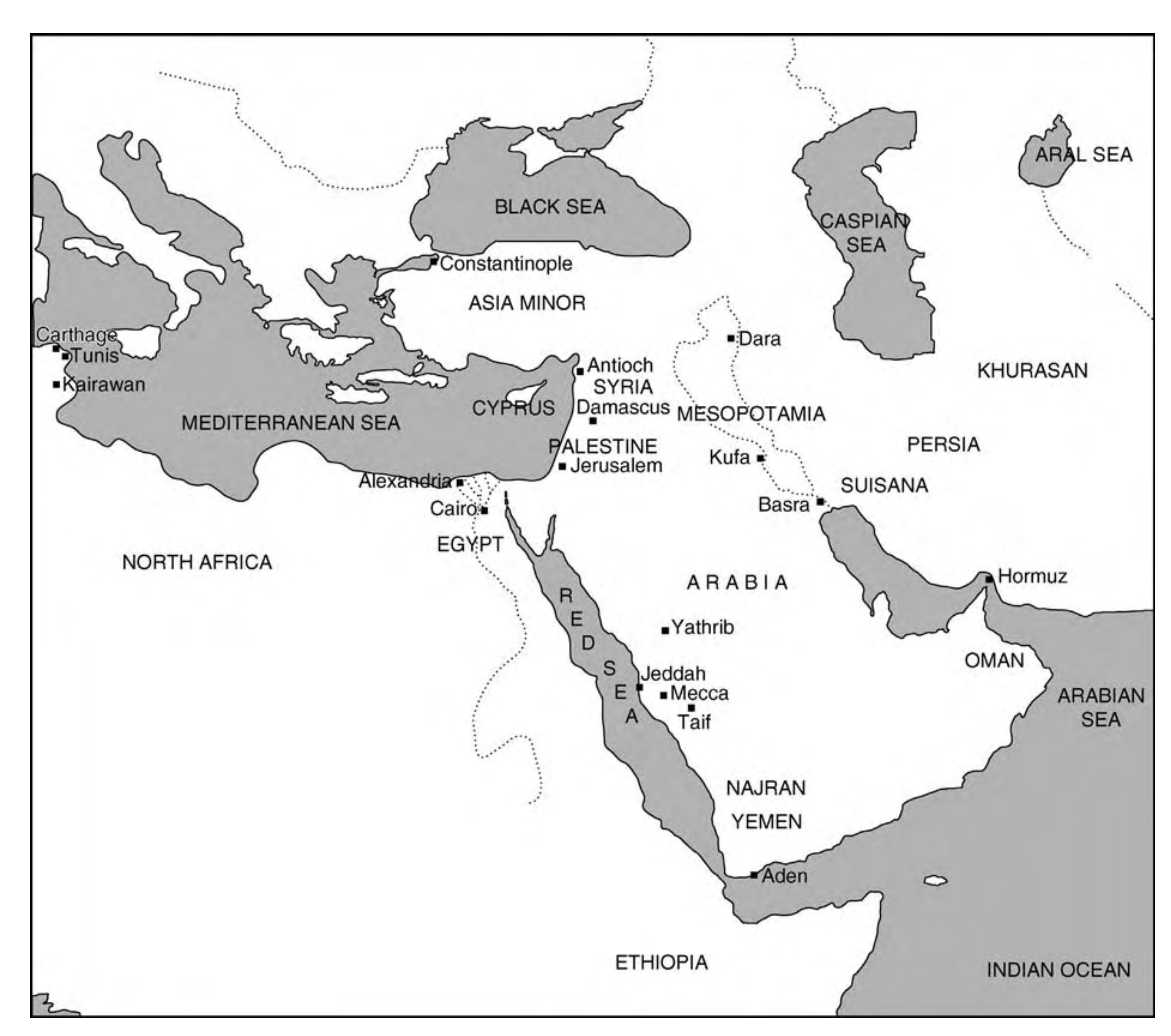
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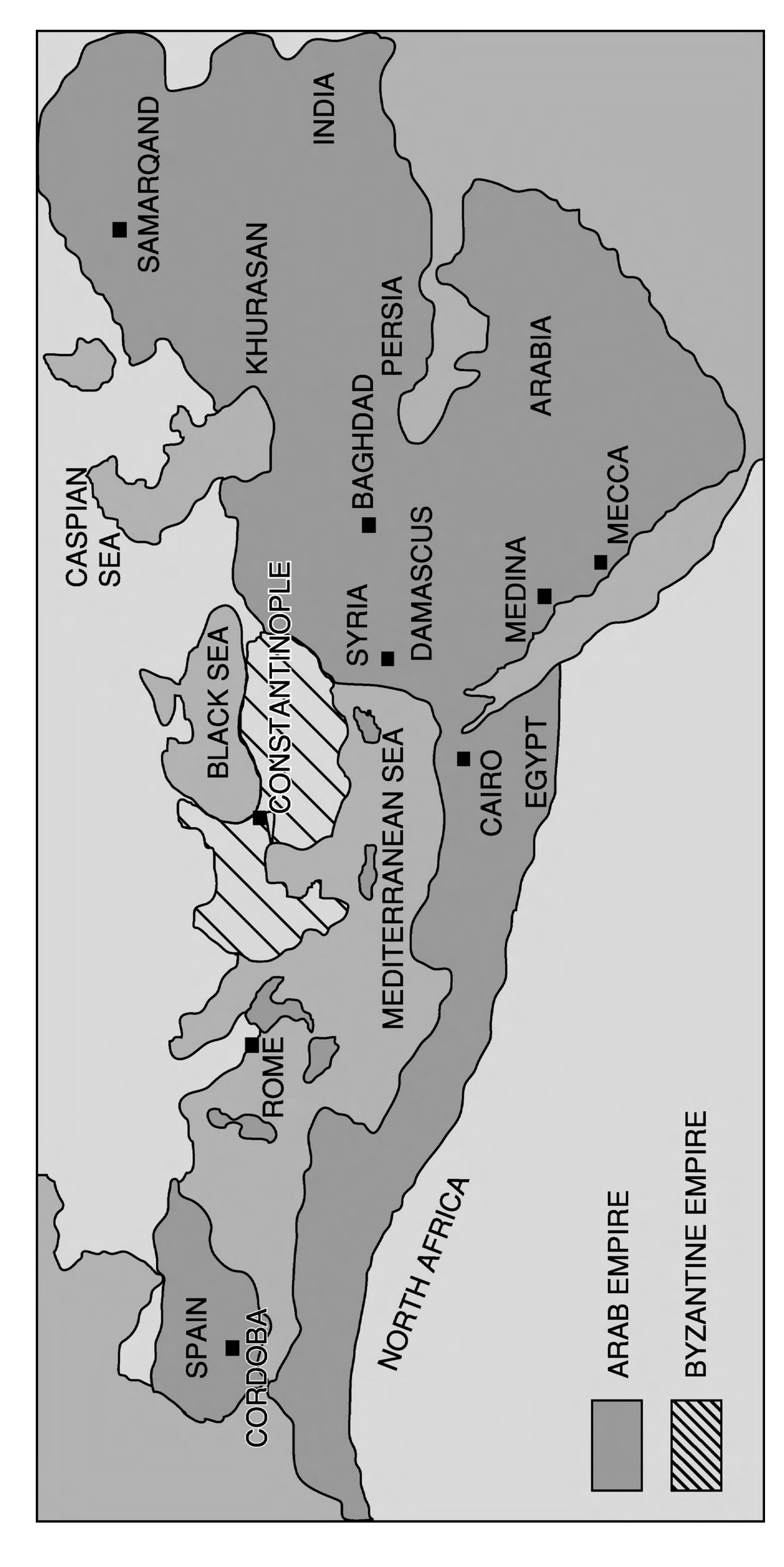
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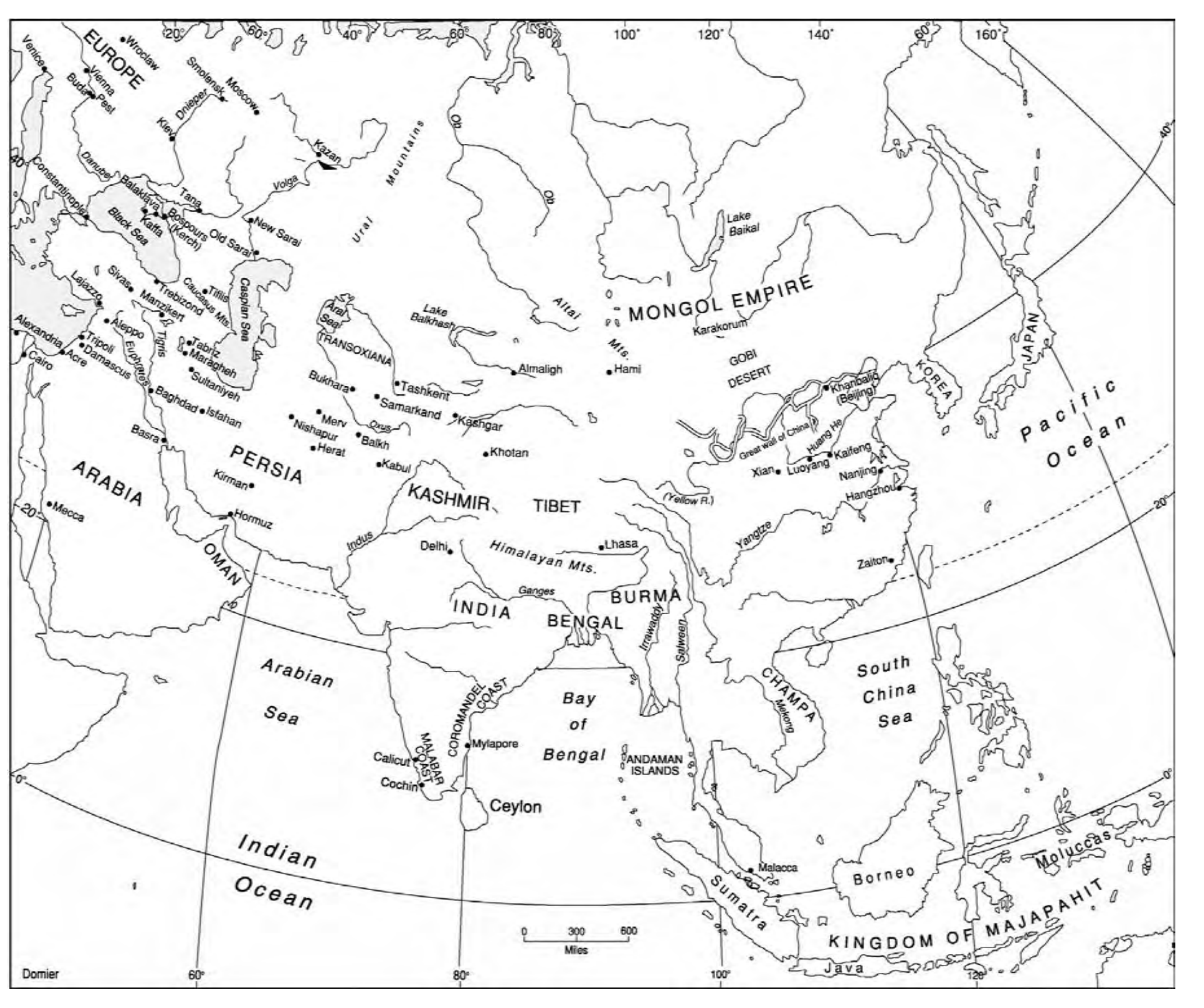
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Arabia, ca. 600 CE



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INTRODUCTION

The study of Islam as a religion and the languages of the Middle East, especially Arabic and Persian, has gained in prominence. In the West, a common misperception exists that there is something intrinsic in Islam as a religion that engenders acts of violence and terrorism and that Islamics history is replete with instances of pogroms against non-Muslims. On the contrary, the origin of violent acts lies not in the ontology of any given religion whether Islam, Judaism, or Christianity, in any given Scripture whether the Qur'an, Torah, or Bible, or in any given civilization whether Islamic, Greek, or Roman, but rather in a number of factors, including the psychology of human behavior and the often desperate and trying human conditions that compel humans to carry out desperate acts in times of war and peace, sometimes in the name of religion. The historian of any civilization or historical epoch is keenly aware that no premodern (medieval) society was left unscathed by warfare and political conflicts. Lamentably, until now the paucity of easily accessible English language reference sources about the medieval Islamic world has led to a situation in which some discourses concerning the clash of civilizations, current affairs, and modern ideologies and nationalisms have become synonymous with the whole of Islamic civilization. By contrast, the scholar is able to communicate the defining characteristics of a civilization and is moreover, able to critically understand and engage the Islamic world on its own terms—as heir to one of the world's greatest civilizations, not simply as heir to a world religion whose adherents have historically been in conflict with adherents of other faiths.

Despite increased and indeed, highly successful efforts in the academy to teach about Islam as a religion and the Arabic language, the larger civilizational contextual framework of which both are a part is often ignored and marginalized. Medieval Islamic civilization left an indelible mark on Europe in the transmission of knowledge and ideas in such diverse fields as science, medicine, mathematics, literature, and philosophy.

Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia represents a collaborative effort at bridging the gap between that which we perceive Islam and Islamic civilization to be about and what it really is by providing the reader with an easily accessible reference work presented in a concise language.

Such fundamental questions as to what Islamic civilization is and what Muslims did to contribute to European understanding of the sciences, mathematics, arts, literature, philosophy, and government remain largely unanswered. What was the nature of "interfaith" relations in the Islamic world, and what roles did Jews and Christians play in medieval Islamic societies? As a number of the entries highlight, Jews and Christians attained prominent government posts under various Islamic dynasties from Andalusia and Egypt to Iraq and contributed to the preservation and translation of philosophical and theological texts from Greek, Syriac, and Hebrew into Arabic and other Islamic languages, as well as to the creation of new literary and cultural syntheses borne of a common Islamic cultural milieu. These are among the themes that the entries in this work seek to explore. It is our hope that this work will go a long way toward filling the gaps in knowledge.

Audience

The English-speaking world lacks a single reference work that presents Islamic civilization in a manner intelligible to the nonspecialist. Specialist reference works are numerous and offer more detailed and technical articles about various aspects of Islam from pre-Islamic times to the present. The nonspecialist who desires to understand Islamic civilization is left with few choices except to consult general reference works or works devoted to the European Middle Ages, which only give a fragmented picture of medieval Islamic civilization.

It is to be hoped that the nonspecialist reader, as well as university and secondary school students and teachers, will benefit from this work.

Conception and Genesis

Medieval Islamic Civilization was conceived to share our knowledge as experts in the field of Islamic history and civilization and to correct the misconceptions and misinformation that exist. This impetus encouraged me to take up the challenge of helping to produce a unique reference work. However, it must be emphasized that this is very much an international collaborative effort that includes contributions by leading experts in their fields from North America, Europe, and Asia. Contributors come from various academic backgrounds and employ a diversity of approaches. Each of the entries adopts a unique approach to a given topic and is written dispassionately without regard to current political exigencies or political considerations. *Medieval Islamic Civilization* presents cutting-edge research into such pivotal themes relating to daily life, the ethnic and religious communities of the Islamic world, their beliefs and practices, interfaith relations, popular culture and religion, cultural, economic, and political contacts and exchanges with Europe and Asia, learning and universities, and travel and exploration. It provides a comprehensive portrait of the artistic, intellectual, literary, medical, and scientific achievements of Muslims, Jews, Christians, and others who contributed to the flourishing of one of the greatest civilizations known to humankind. Most of the authors are the leading international experts in their field. Yet all the contributions represent the highest standards in scholarship on the Islamic world.

Choice of Entries

While it is impossible to discuss every facet of Islamic civilization in a two-volume reference—nonspecialist encyclopedias are selective by nature—the choice of entries reflects the diversity of the subjects that are covered herein. The editorial board discussed the entries extensively, and certain additions and emendations were made to compensate for underrepresented themes. Unlike other volumes in this highly acclaimed Routledge series on the Middle Ages that are more geographically specific and are focused on the European Middle Ages from the fifth through sixteenth centuries CE, *Medieval Islamic Civilization* posed a considerable challenge given the geographical expanse of the Islamic world, from the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa to the Middle East, South and Southeast Asia from roughly the sixth through seventeenth centuries. Unlike other reference works, *Medieval Islamic Civilization* has de-emphasized historical themes in favor of an original synthesis that gives greater prominence to aspects of daily life and to the non-Arab elements of Islamic civilization.

The Islamic Middle Ages is taken to represent the period from 622 CE, or the first year of the Hijra of the Prophet Muhammad to Medina, which also marks the first year of the Islamic calendar, though we have also included entries that deal with pre-Islamic themes, peoples, and societies down until the seventeenth century in the case of Southeast Asia, where no significant written records exist for earlier periods.

Indeed, the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries represent the most significant period for written records in Southeast Asia. However, this demarcation is somewhat arbitrary. Indeed, it may be argued that certain continuities existed in Islamic civilization down until the advent of modern secular and national ideologies in the nineteenth century CE.

Acknowledgments

The Board is pleased that so many of our colleagues from around the world recognized the value of *Medieval Islamic Civilization* as not simply another reference work and so enthusiastically answered the call to contribute. We are especially grateful for their inspiring level of commitment and dedication to this initiative and their high-quality contributions.

I would also like to thank the advisory board members for their unstinting dedication, the associate editors Julia Bray and Lutz Richter-Bernburg for expending considerable efforts in commenting on and suggesting revisions to various entries, and to Jere Bacharach for his overall invaluable contributions to *Medieval Islamic Civilization*. I am also grateful to Asma Afsaruddin and Donald Whitcomb for their recommendations. I am especially grateful to the former for agreeing to write a number of significant entries.

This work would not have been possible without the indefatigable efforts and abiding enthusiasm of the editors and publishers at Routledge, in particular Marie-Claire Antoine and Jamie Ehrlich. Also, thanks to the various Routledge staff members who were involved in the early stages of the project.

Finally, it is only fitting that I should pen these words from the Middle East after last having lived here nearly eight years ago.

Josef (Yousef) Waleed Meri
Amman, Jordan

MEDIEVAL SERIES NOTE

The Routledge Encyclopedias of the Middle Ages

Formerly the Garland Encyclopedias of the Middle Ages, this comprehensive series began in 1993 with the publication of *Medieval Scandinavia*. A major enterprise in medieval scholarship, the series brings the expertise of scholars specializing in myriad aspects of the medieval world together in a reference source accessible to students and the general public, as well as to historians and scholars in related fields. Each volume focuses on a geographical area or theme important to medieval studies and is edited by a specialist in that field, who has called upon a board of consulting editors to establish the article list and review the articles. Each article is contributed by a scholar and followed by a bibliography and cross-references to guide further research.

Routledge is proud to carry on the tradition established by the first volumes in this important series. As the series continues to grow, we hope that it will provide the most comprehensive and detailed view of the medieval world in all its aspects ever presented in encyclopedia form.

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The present volume, *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Josef W. Meri, is Volume 13 in the series.

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Jesus De Prado Plumed
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Khalid Dhorat
Dar-al Salam Islamic Center

Eerik Dickinson
Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Amikam Elad
Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Alexander E. Elinson
Queens College, City University of New York

Amira El-Zein
Tufts University

Gerhard Endress
Ruhr-Universität Bochum

Daphna Ephrat
Open University of Israel

Muhammad H. Fadel
Independent Scholar

Rizwi Faizer
Independent Scholar

Sunni M. Fass
Indiana University

Paul B. Fenton
Université de Paris-Sorbonne

Maribel Fierro
Institute of Philology, CSIC, Madrid

Reuven Firestone
Hebrew Union College

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Josef W. Meri
Aal al-Bayt Foundation for Islamic Thought

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University of California, Berkeley

Isabel Miller
Institute of Ismaili Studies

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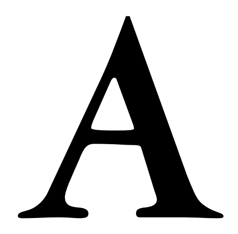
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‘ABBASIDS

The ‘Abbasid Dynasty (r. 750–1258) came to power after a revolution (747–750) that resulted in the overthrowing of the Syrian-based Umayyad dynasty (r. 661–750). Scholars have divided the period of ‘Abbasid rule into two main eras: (1) 750–945, the “Golden Age” of ‘Abbasid rule and the beginning of its decline; and (2) 945–1258, the period after the ‘Abbasids’ loss of autonomy to regional warlord dynasties and ending with the Mongol execution of the last ‘Abbasid caliph in 1258. This division, which is largely artificial in nature, has affected the nature of the modern study of the ‘Abbasids, with the majority of work being done on the earlier period of ‘Abbasid rule.

Taking their name from an uncle of the Prophet (i.e., al-‘Abbas), the ‘Abbasids sought legitimacy for both the revolution and their subsequent rule by emphasizing their family lineage to the Prophet and the alleged transference of authority to their family line by a descendant of ‘Ali b. Abi Talib. Supporters of the ‘Abbasid dynasty argued that the ‘Abbasids were part of a literal revolution (dawla) in the sense that the ‘Abbasid Caliphate would bring the Islamic community back full circle to its earlier mores as found during the time of the Prophet and the four Rightly Guided Caliphs. Rather than ruling as an elitist Arab dynasty (a crime of which they accused the Umayyads), the ‘Abbasids sought to govern in a more universal fashion as symbols of a unified Sunni community. To that end, the ‘Abbasid caliphs used honorific titles (laqab/pl. alqab) such as *al-Mahdi, al-Ma‘mun*, and *al-Qadir* to denote their links to Allah, and they adopted the title *al-Imam* in addition to the traditional titles of *Caliph* and *Commander of the Faithful.* Another change from the Umayyad period was that Persian culture (i.e., political, literary, and personnel) was more fully integrated into ‘Abbasid society; a key example was the central role played by the Persian Barmakid family of viziers during the early ‘Abbasid government. Modern scholars continue to debate the nature of the ‘Abbasid revolution and the later ‘Abbasid rule, focusing on such issues as the ethnolinguistic and regional backgrounds of those that fought for the ‘Abbasid cause (the abna’ al-dawla); later disputes about the role of the caliphs in determining correct belief; and the nature of the Islamic polity in light of the loss of ‘Abbasid autonomy to regional powers starting in the tenth century.

During the decades after the revolution, the ‘Abbasids successfully consolidated and strengthened their control over their lands. Al-Mansur (r. 754–775) was instrumental during these early years in two distinct ways: (1) he removed any potential/actual rivals to ‘Abbasid rule through direct assassination and/or putting down localized revolts; and (2) he founded Baghdad as the new capital city for the ‘Abbasids in central Iraq. Baghdad soon became the economic, cultural, and intellectual locus of the Muslim world, with the caliphs and their viziers patronizing scholars and promoting the vast translation efforts that integrated works from the ancient world and surrounding cultures into the larger Islamic consciousness. This

cultural flowering built upon earlier developments in Islamic theology and law, and it laid the foundation for developments in Islamic philosophy and mysticism as well as advances in the natural sciences (e.g., optics, medicine, chemistry). Over time, Baghdad would become a conduit for scholarship and the exchange of ideas throughout Muslim lands.

In the ninth century, the 'Abbasids began to face problems on a variety of fronts, all of which hampered their ability to rule effectively. A disastrous civil war between two brothers, al-Amin (r. 809–813) and al-Ma'mun (r. 813–833), over the succession to the Caliphate highlighted the weaknesses inherent in the 'Abbasid support base. The 'Abbasid caliphs began acquiring new troop support in the form of slave-soldiers (ghulam/pl. ghilman) from the Turkish population on their eastern borders. To maintain the loyalty of these slave-soldiers, al-Mu'tasim (r. 833–842) established a new capital city, Samarra, to the north of Baghdad. The slave-soldiers would eventually turn against their caliphal masters in 861, precipitating the Samarran captivity (861–870), wherein 'Abbasid caliphs were placed on the throne and removed by competing troop factions.

Throughout the rest of the ninth century and into the tenth century, the 'Abbasids were faced with dwindling resources (e.g., financial, troop support) and increased pressure from newly independent dynasties in formerly 'Abbasid-controlled lands. Most notable were the Samanids (819–1005) in eastern Iran, the Fatimids (909–1171) in Egypt, and the Buyids (945–1055) in Iraq and Iran. It was the Shi'is Buyid amirs who would bring the 'Abbasids to their lowest point in 945, deposing the 'Abbasid caliph al-Mustakfi and replacing him with another of Buyid choosing. Within a century, Buyid control was replaced by that of the Seljuks, a dynasty of Turkish Sunni Muslims (1055–1194). Although the 'Abbasids began to regain some independence of action during the late eleventh century, they would never regain their former glory. The Mongol sacking of Baghdad in 1258 put an end to the 'Abbasid presence in Iraq. Although a scion of the 'Abbasid family would establish a Shadow Caliphate in Egypt that would last until 1517, these 'Abbasids were merely titular figureheads that were far removed from their ancestors with regard to power and authority.

Eric Hanne

See also Baghdad; Buyids; Caliphate and Imamate; Fatimids; Historical Writing; Intellectual History; Al-Ma'mun; Political Theory; Samanids; Seljuks; Slavery, Military; Slaves and Slave Trade: Eastern Islamic World; Sunni Revival; Translation, Pre-Islamic Learning into Arabic; Umayyads; Viziers

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'ABD AL-LATIF IBN YUSUF AL-BAGHDADI, MUWAFFAQ AL-DIN ABU MUHAMMAD (557/1162–623/1231)

'Abd al-Latif was a broadly educated scholar from Baghdad whose studies in grammar, law, tradition, medicine, alchemy, and philosophy are documented in his autobiography, which also vividly depicts contemporary methods of study. Having first followed Ibn Sina as his philosophical mentor, 'Abd al-Latif later devoted himself exclusively to the works of the ancients, particularly Aristotle, only admitting al-Farabi as interpreter. After extensive travels with periods of residence in Mosul (585/1189), Damascus (586/1190), the camp of Saladin outside Acre (587/1191) (where he met Baha' al-Din Ibn Shaddad and 'Imad al-Din al-Isfahani and acquired the patronage of al-Qadi al-Fadil), he settled in Cairo. It was here that he met Maimonides and, most importantly, Abu 'l-Qasim al-Shari'I, who introduced him to the works of al-Farabi, Alexander of Aphrodisias, and Themistius, which turned him away from Ibn Sina and alchemy. After shorter stays in Jerusalem (588/1192) (where he met Saladin) and Damascus, 'Abd al-Latif returned to Cairo only to set off a short time later for the East again. He spent some years at the court of 'Ala'-al-Din Da'ud of Erzindjan, until the city was conquered by the Seljuqid Kayqubadh. Having returned in 621/1229 to Baghdad, 'Abd al-Latif died there two years later.

'Abd al-Latif is an encyclopedic author whose work covers almost the whole domain of the knowledge of

his time. Most widely known is his *Kitab al-ifada wa-l-I'tibar*, which is a short description of Egypt that was translated into Latin, German, and French. His intellectual autobiography is preserved by Ibn Abi Usaybi'a; it was originally embedded in an extensive historiographical narrative (al-Sira) that has partly survived in al-Dhahabi's *Ta'rikh al-Islam*. 'Abd al-Latif composed a compendium of Aristotelian metaphysics, *Kitab ma ba'd al-tabi'a*, which was based on the exegesis of Alexander of Aphrodisias and Themistius. The latter's otherwise lost paraphrasal of *Book Lambda*—known to English speakers, however, through a Hebrew translation—has survived in Arabic only through 'Abd al-Latif.

ANGELIKA NEUWIRTH

See also Maimonides; Intellectual History; Philosophy; Ibn Shaddad

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'ABD AL-MALIK IBN MARWAN

'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan was the Umayyad caliph who ruled from 65/685 until 86/705. He inherited a fractured polity from his father, who was apparently murdered in his sleep by one of his wives. The rebel Ibn al-Zubayr controlled the holy sites in the Hijaz, along with significant areas of Iraq, where both he and 'Abd al-Malik confronted 'Alid and Kharijite rebels. Only Syria remained firmly in Umayyad hands, and even there 'Abd al-Malik faced a revolt led by 'Amr b. Sa'id al-Asdaq, a family rival, in 69/688–689. These internal threats forced 'Abd al-Malik to sign a treaty with the Byzantines, paying them tribute in 70/689–690. He was able to restore order and consolidate his power by 73/692. 'Abd al-Malik continued to face occasional revolts in Iraq and farther east in Khurasan, but his viceroy Hajjaj ibn Yusuf contained these threats ably (and sometimes viciously).

'Abd al-Malik devoted the remainder of his reign to centralizing power in the capital at Damascus. He depended on his own family for sensitive positions, which was in contrast with his predecessors' reliance on local elites. He used his powerful Syrian army to crush any provincial resistance. 'Abd al-Malik introduced the first distinctly Islamic coinage. In contrast with older Muslim coins, which were based on Byzantine models, 'Abd al-Malik's coins were devoid of pictorial images and included Qur'anic phrases instead. The remarkable uniformity of these coins demonstrates the degree to which 'Abd al-Malik centralized the control of minting money. His coins remained the model for coins throughout the Umayyad and 'Abbasid periods. In addition, 'Abd al-Malik began the long process of establishing Arabic as the standard administrative language of the realm and invested heavily in agricultural development, particularly in Iraq and the Hijaz. At his death in 86/705 at the age of 60, he was succeeded by al-Walid, the first of four of his sons to ascend to the caliphate.

STEVEN C. JUDD

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'ABD AL-RAHMAN III AL-NASIR

'Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah, the first and the greatest of the short-lived line of Marwanid caliphs of al-Andalus, was born in Cordova in AH 277/891 CE, the grandson of the ruling emir 'Abd Allah. In AH 300/912 CE, as the emir 'Abd al-Rahman III, he took on his grandfather's war-ridden and deeply divided reign, during which local strongmen of Iberian or Arabic descent had successfully revolted against the emiral authority

and established themselves as independent rulers in most of the territory. Although the fiercest and most well known of 'Abd al-Rahman's triumphs was the defeat inflicted on Ibn Hafsun, the muwallad (Iberian Muslim) lord of Bobastro, in the southeastern part of the country, 'Abd al-Rahman was also able—in less than ten years—to restore the emiral authority to the rest of al-Andalus. Most notably, he achieved this aim not only by way of militarily crushing the revolted warlords but also, in many cases, by making peace deals with them or by having them join his ruling elite. At the same time, 'Abd al-Rahman kept facing the Christian Iberian armies on the northern border, trying to contain the antagonism of the kings of Leon and Asturia, with uneven results. The defeat of Simancas (also known as "The Battle of the Ditch," or Alhandega) in AH 327/939 CE ended 'Abd al-Rahman's campaigns against the Christian kings and provoked a brutal purge in the army, starting a fateful trend toward a more pronounced role being assigned to mercenary troops. Nonetheless, it did not significantly alter the balance of power; this was still favorable to the Muslim side, because the Christian kings remained subject to an annual tribute to the Marwanide ruler.

In AH 316/929 CE, 'Abd al-Rahman proclaimed himself caliph (amir al-mu'minin) of al-Andalus, adopting the honorific title of al-Nasir li-din Allah ("the winner for the religion of God"). This act has been widely interpreted as not only celebrating the reunification of al-Andalus under the Marwanid rule but also challenging the concomitant rise of the Fatimid power in North Africa. From this time on, most of the new caliph's military and diplomatic efforts were directed at contrasting the Fatimid influence in North Africa by supporting the local rulers and tribal leaders who were opposed to the new Shi'is dynasty and establishing military alliances with them. This policy, although not leading to any significant territorial gain aside from the peaceful capture of Ceuta in AH 319/931 CE, would eventually result in the increased influence of the Berber element on the Andalusian army until the end of the Caliphate.

On a more internal plan, 'Abd al-Rahman's action was directed at contrasting the influence of the Marwanid traditional clients (the mawali) over the governmental bureaucracy. To enforce his absolute authority and will over the wheels of the administration, he increased—among other things—the influence and scope of his personal retinue and guard, which comprised many former slaves and depended strictly on his command. He also distanced himself from the view of the general population and created a stricter set of rules for the court protocol and administration. In AH 325/936 CE, al-Nasir started the construction of an entirely new caliphal city, Madinat al-Zahra' (the "City of al-Zahra," after his favorite concubine), which was about five kilometers northwest of Cordova. He eventually retired there with his court, thereby truncating the link between the Marwanid house and its turbulent capital. The construction of Madinat al-Zahra' was supervised by 'Abd al-Rahman's son and heir al-Hakam. The process lasted for about ten years and absorbed most of the caliph's concerns and financial resources: sources describe his endless search for precious materials and skilled craftsmen, which were found in North Africa, the East, and Byzantium. It was also at this new caliphal residence that 'Abd al-Rahman al-Nasir received the ambassadors of many Islamic and Christian kings and potentates, especially the ones sent by the Byzantine emperors, who were actively pursuing an alliance against the Fatimid expansion in the eastern Mediterranean and acknowledged 'Abd al-Rahman's influential role and power.

'Abd al-Rahman III's very long reign, which lasted for half a century until his death in AH 350/961 CE, is unanimously described as the golden age of the Muslim civilization in the Iberian Peninsula. Conversions to Islam started to peak thanks to his politics of integrating religious and social minorities into the mainstream Ibero-Muslim society, the cohesion and vitality of which were greatly increased. At the same time, his patronage of scientific and literary excellence allowed for a fuller expansion of the Andalusian intellectual elite's potential. Although the contributions of Jewish and Christian scholars brought about a remarkable enhancement of philosophical and scientific knowledge, the introduction of many contemporary Eastern literary texts and the imposition of more cogent rules on official court writing resulted in the birth of a full-blown Andalusian literature, which was to reclaim its legitimate place within the overall Arabic literary heritage. On the other hand, 'Abd al-Rahman III's legacy of unchecked authority, in combination with his increased reliance on the mercenary element in the military, was partly responsible for the confiscation of power by the Amirid regency under his feebly determined and less-gifted successors.

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ABU BAKR

Abu Bakr b. Abi Quhafa, as his full name is usually given, was from the clan of Taym of the prominent tribe of Quraysh. He is said to have been born two to three years after Muhammad, so he was probably born around 572 CE in Mecca. Sources report that he was a wealthy merchant before his conversion to Islam and that he had expert knowledge of the genealogies of the Arab tribes. He married four times and had six children, the most famous of whom was 'A'isha, who became the Prophet's youngest wife.

Sunni sources eulogize Abu Bakr's position as one of Muhammad's most preeminent Companions as a result of his early conversion to Islam (some sources report that he was the first male to do so) and his subsequent devotion to the Prophet and the cause of Islam. Abu Bakr is said to have spent 40,000 dirhams (or dinars) in charity before his emigration (hijra) to Mecca in 622, much of which went toward the manumission of slaves. Among his best-known sobriquets are *al-'Atiq* (this generally means "freed slave," but in this case it was explicated by Muhammad himself to refer to Abu Bakr as "freed from hell-fire") and *al-Siddiq* ("the truthful," "one who believes"; this particularly applied to his having believed the Prophet's account of his nocturnal journey to Jerusalem, which is known as *isra'*). In Medina, Abu Bakr took part in all of the major expeditions that were led by the Prophet, and he was frequently the Prophet's advisor.

After Muhammad's death in 632, Abu Bakr was selected as the first caliph at the portico (Saqifa) of the Banu Sa'ida, after some contentious debate. Many were convinced that he was the obvious successor to Muhammad as a result of the fact that he had been appointed to lead the pilgrimage during the ninth year of the hijra and because he had been designated as the prayer leader during the Prophet's illness; he also had a positive general record of service to the nascent community. He ruled for only two years, until his death in 634, and he decisively quelled the uprising of some of the Arab tribes against the Medinan government in what have come to be known as the ridda (so-called apostasy) wars. He is the first of the Rightly Guided Caliphs (al-Khulafa' al-Rashidun), and the Sunni literature of excellences (fada'il/manaqib) generously records his many virtues and his loyalty to Islam.

ASMA AFSARUDDIN

See also Caliphate and Imamate

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ABU HANIFA AL-NU'MAN

Abu Hanifa al-Nu'man b. Thabit b. Zuta, theologian and jurist, is the eponymous founder of the Hanafi legal school. He was born in Kufa circa AH 80/699 CE and died in 150/767 in a prison in Baghdad at the age of 70. His grandfather Zuta is said to have been brought over from Kabul to Kufa, where he settled after being set free.

There are not many details available about Abu Hanifa's life in Kufa. Sources report that he worked there as a silk merchant and also that he acquired scholarly training in the religious law and hadith. He attended the lecture sessions of Hammad b. Abi Sulayman (d. 120/738) in Kufa and possibly of 'Ata' b. Abi Rabah (d. AH 114 or 115) in Mecca. After Hammad died, Abu Hanifa gained fame as the foremost scholar of religious law in Kufa, but he never served as qadi (judge); however, he was offered judgeships by various rulers, such as Yazid b. 'Amr, the governor of Iraq during the time of Marwan ibn Muhammad, who was the last Umayyad caliph. When Abu Hanifa declined, Yazid had him whipped, and the former escaped to Mecca, where he stayed for five or six years. Abu Hanifa is counted among the most illustrious of the Tabi'un (literally "the successors," which refers to the second generation of Muslims), and some sources relate that he met at least four Companions of the Prophet, including Anas b. Malik. In the eyes of the pious in particular, this distinction conferred on him and his scholarly activities great merit. His usual honorific is al-Imam al-A'zam ("the Greatest Leader"), from which the neighborhood around his mausoleum in Baghdad derives the name al-A'zamiyya.

There is frequent mention of Abu Hanifa's great scrupulousness (wara'), abstemiousness (zuhd), and charity. He is said to have spent generously for the members of his household and given away an equal amount as alms for the poor, and he would also meet the needs of his indigent students. Like other pious scholars, his day was given over to teaching and prayer. His daily routine began with the morning prayer in a mosque, after which he would answer his students' questions until about noon. After the noon prayer, he would teach again until the night prayer. Then he would return home and, after a short rest, later go back to the mosque and worship until morning prayer. He is said to have recited prodigious

amounts of the Qur'an regularly, and, according to some sources, he performed the hajj fifty-five times.

Abu Hanifa himself did not leave behind substantial works on religious law, but his legal thought may be reconstructed from the writings of his students. His best-known students were al-Shaybani (d. 189/749–750) and Abu Yusuf (d. 192/798), who have preserved Abu Hanifa's doctrines and opinions in their works. From these works it becomes apparent that Abu Hanifa's legal thought was based to a considerable degree on his personal opinions (ra'y) and that his conclusions were derived through legal reasoning (qiyas). In his theology, Abu Hanifa showed concern for maintaining the unity and harmony of the Muslim community; his time was racked with communal strife, and so he sought a middle ground between extremes. In this propensity Abu Hanifa shows the influence of the Murji'a ("those who defer"), a group that came into existence during the last third of the Umayyad era. The central concern of the Murji'a was the issue of the early caliphate; in an attempt to contain the dissension that had erupted after the murder of 'Uthman, they expressed unequivocal support for Abu Bakr and 'Umar but deferred judgment on the respective merits of 'Uthman and 'Ali. The Murji'a also believed that an individual's faith did not increase or decrease and that it did not include works such as the daily prayers. This Hanafi-Murji'i attitude seminally shaped the political and theological attitudes of the later fully formed Ahl al-Sunna. In Abu Hanifa's letter to the Basran jurisprudent 'Uthman al-Batti, which scholars regard as authentic, the former defends his adherence to Murji'i principles. In the creedal statement known as Fiqh al-Akbar I, Abu Hanifa articulates ten articles of faith that take issue with the positions of the Kharijites, the Shi'is, the Qadariyya, and the Jahmiyya. Abu Hanifa probably did not compose this statement himself, but the Fiqh al-Akbar is deemed to be an accurate summation of his theological views.

The detractors of Abu Hanifa during the later period attributed to him certain unpopular doctrines that were derived not only from the Murji'a but also from the Jahmiyya (the predecessors of the later Mu'tazila); for example, he is described as having subscribed to the position that the Qur'an was created and that hell was not eternal. The rijal works regularly included Abu Hanifa among the weak transmitters of hadith, and the traditionalists in general attacked his perceived excessive reliance on personal opinion and legal reasoning. His staunch supporters from among the later Hanafi jurists attempted to exculpate him of these accusations; his student Abu Yusuf stressed that Abu Hanifa was profoundly learned in hadith, and the Hanafi jurist Ahmad b. al-Salt (d. ca. 308/921) denied that Abu Hanifa had maintained that the Qur'an was created. The Hanafi jurisprudent Abu Ja'far al-Tahawi (d. 321/933) wrote the *Manaqib Abi Hanifa*, which recorded and praised the virtues of the school's eponym.

There are conflicting reports about why Abu Hanifa was imprisoned late in life. Some say it was as a result of his having refused to serve as a qadi under the 'Abbasid caliph al-Mansur, whereas al-Khatib al-Baghdadi relates that it was his rather open criticism of al-Mansur during an 'Alid revolt that landed him in jail, where he eventually died in 767. Under the Saljuqi sultan Malikshah (AH 485), one of Malikshah's viziers had an elaborate dome built over Abu Hanifa's grave, and his mausoleum was restored several times during the Ottoman period.

Asma Afsaruddin

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ABU 'L-'ALA' AHMAD IBN ABD ALLAH, AL-MA'ARRI

Abû l-'Ala' Ahmad ibn Abd Allâh al-Ma'arri, born in 973 CE in Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân in northern Syria, traveled for his education to Aleppo and Baghdad and returned to Ma'arra, where he died in 1058 CE. Ma'arri was the blind author (by dictation) of prose and poetry. He composed poems during his younger years, and these are compiled in *The Spark of the Tinderbox (Saqt al-zand)*, a collection of poems that praised the Hamdanid King Sa'd al-Dawla, the notables of Aleppo, and a few librarians in Baghdad.

Later, in *The Self-Imposed Compulsion (Luzûm mâ lâ yalzam)*, he uses a nonobligatory double rhyme, but these poems are chiefly characterized by their ironic and even cynical descriptions. They are unconventional as compared with the poetic form that is usually found in the odes of this time, because they contain many a thought on religion, death, destiny, the sinful world, the afterlife, resurrection (the question of whether it really shall occur), and the fate of

slaughtered animals and their compensation in the afterlife.

Ma'arri's prose is not only found in his short, flowery-styled letters but also in at least two very extensive Epistles *(Risâlas)*. The first letter, which was written in 1021 CE, was always thought to have been lost. However, its manuscript was discovered in 1975 CE by the Egyptian scholar 'A'isha 'Abd al-Rahmân; she became the editor of this work, which is entitled *Epistle of the Neighing and the Braying (Risâlat al-sahil wa l-Shâhij)*. In this text, various animals are described, and they symbolize certain personages from Ma'arri's time. A mule suffering from arduous labor that consists of drawing up water from a deep well symbolizes the author himself. The mule wants to send a petition of complaint to someone, who, in reality, would have been the Fatimid Governor of Aleppo, Abu Shujâ' Fâtik 'Azîz al-Dawla. Several animals are asked to convey this petition—a horse, a camel, and others—but all of them refuse to do so, for different reasons. Finally, a fox comes along and becomes involved in the sudden imminent danger of a Byzantine attack, which had occurred also in reality and which threatened the territory around Aleppo. This attack was organized by the conjoint rulers of the Byzantine Empire: Basil Bulgaroctonus II and his brother Constantine VIII. The mule and other animals, although frightened and panicking, nevertheless discuss the conditions prevailing in the empire.

In this manner the *Risâla* renders information about the ideas prevailing in Ma'arri's time in Syria. *The Epistle of the Neighing and the Braying* is considered by its editor 'A'isha 'Abd al-Rahmân to be a preliminary exercise for Ma'arri's subsequent Letter.

The second prose work composed by Ma'arri in the year 1033 CE is his *Epistle of Forgiveness (Risâlat al-Ghufrân)*. This work consists not only of a description of the gardens of Paradise and the tortures of Hell but also of a discussion about and a criticism of many poetical fragments by Muslims and non-Muslims, ranging from pre-Islamic poets to heretics from Persia and polytheists from India. Some of these poets and also grammarians and scholars enjoy a comfortable afterlife in Paradise; although not expected by them, their sins have been forgiven by Allah the Merciful One.

In 2002, the first half of this work was translated into German by Gregor Schoeler and entitled *Paradies und Hölle*. In this part, an old correspondent of Ma'arri called Ibn al-Qârih 'Alî ibn Mansûr ("Dawkhala") is ironically described as having died and then entered (but not without great difficulties) through the Gates of Paradise. After this, he visits many places of interest, like the regions of Hell, where Satan (Iblîs) dwells and where a few poets are shown being tortured by avenging angels.

The second half of the piece deals with questions pertaining to aspects of religion. A discussion of ideas is forwarded by the author with, it would seem, cynical relish; these ideas are ascribed to Arabs who, by the general public, were considered heretics who should be executed.

Of the other books by Ma'arri, another is worth mentioning here. Its incomplete manuscript version was found in 1918 CE, and it was considered by some scholars to be an imitation of the Qur'an, because of its rhymed prose and typical Qur'anic oaths. It was entitled *Chapters and Endings, Glorifying Allah and Offering Words of Warning (al-Fusûl wa l-Ghâyât fî Tamjîd Allâh wa l-Mawa'iz)*.

As for the author's social relations with personages of the Ismâ'îlî persuasion, a short description of him is found in the traveler Nâsiri Khosraw's book, *Safar Nâmah*, in which the author himself claims to have kept some correspondence with a high Fatimid dignitary called Abû Nasr Mûsâ ibn Abî 'Imrân.

For more information on al-Mu'ayyad fî al-Dîn al-Shîrâzî, see *Margoliouth*, Abu l-'Ala' al-Ma'arri's correspondence on vegetarianism.

Pieter Smoor

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ABU 'L-FADL AL-BAYHAQI

Al-Bayhaqi, Abu 'l-Fadl (995–1077) was a secretary and historian and the author of the monumental Persian history of the Ghaznavid dynasty generally referred to as the *Tarikh-i Bayhaqi*. Of an original thirty-odd volumes, only six have survived, and this surviving portion, which deals with the reign of Mas'ud I (r. 1030–1041), is known accordingly as the *Tarikh-i Mas'udi*. Bayhaqi, who was born in the district of Bayhaq (modern Sabzavar) in Khurasan, studied in Nishapur. In about 1021, he found employment in the Ghaznavid chancellery, where he first served Mahmud of Ghazna (r. 999–1030) and then several of Mahmud's successors, including Mas'ud I. In his many years of service, Bayhaqi assisted the head of the chancellery, Abu Nasr Mishkan (d. 1039), and then (although less happily) Abu Nasr's successor in office, Abu Sahl Zawzani; under 'Abd al-Rashid (r. 1049–1052), Bayhaqi himself briefly directed the chancellery, but he fell from favor and was imprisoned until the accession of Sultan Farrukhzad (r. 1052–1059), whom Bayhaqi also served, although possibly not at the Ghaznavid court (see Yusofi and Meisami).

Bayhaqi's *History* is a highly individual work in which the author articulates and demonstrates a distinctive approach to historiography, providing a wealth of detailed and carefully documented information about the Ghaznavid court and administration, integrating religious and philosophical perspectives in his descriptions and commentary, and displaying both erudition and subtlety in his masterful use of the Persian language. His long term of administrative service permitted Bayhaqi to observe directly—and on occasion even to participate in—the events he records. When he did not have personal experience to draw from, Bayhaqi handled his sources with much discernment, clearly identifying them and assessing them with regard to their reliability. Furthermore, during the course of his secretarial work, Bayhaqi assembled not only his own detailed notes but also a considerable number of documents, some of which he reproduced in full in his narrative. His *History* thus furnishes thorough accounts of military campaigns, official correspondence, negotiations, and agreements, and it sheds much light on local conditions and customs, the culture of the elites, the lives of the men and women of the Ghaznavid court, and many other topics. The strikingly vivid quality of Bayhaqi's writing derives in part from his proximity to the events and persons he describes, and it is enhanced by his extensive use of direct speech. Although Bayhaqi's high standards of accuracy and his wide-ranging subject matter have rendered his work a

particularly valuable source for the study of Ghaznavid history (see especially Bosworth), it is also clear that his personal outlook and literary style are inseparable from his recounting of events (see Waldman and Meisami). Bayhaqi gives distinctive meaning to the events he describes, both in a moral sense and in terms of the recurrent patterns he discerns in the unfolding of history. To communicate these meanings, he employs a variety of rhetorical techniques, including suggestion by analogy, copious quotations from Arabic and Persian poetry, digressions, and flashbacks to episodes drawn from earlier Islamic history (references to Sasanian and other pre-Islamic Iranian traditions are notably sparse). (For an example of Bayhaqi's methods, see Meisami's analysis of his account of the trial and execution under Mas'ud of Mahmud's former vizier Hasanak, pp. 88–94.) Bayhaqi's *History* is, then, amply documented, replete with specific information, and exemplary.

Many titles for Bayhaqi's *History*—or portions of it—are preserved in the sources, and the secretary probably composed other works as well (see Yusofi). Sa'id Nafisi has collected two volumes' worth of passages from lost sections of Bayhaqi's *History* that were cited in later works, together with quotations from other lost works of Bayhaqi.

Louise Marlow

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The literature on Bayhaqi is extensive. His *History* has been printed in many editions and supplemented by glossaries and lexicographical studies of the Persian text; the work has also been translated (see Yusofi 1989). The above bibliography is necessarily limited to the titles referred to in the article.

ABU 'L-FADL 'ALLAMI (1551–1602)

Historian, courtier, ideologue, and intellectual alter ego of the Mughal Emperor Akbar, Abu 'l-Fadl was born in 1551 in Agra. He was the son of Shaykh Mubarak, a scholar from Nagawr in Rajasthan. A precocious talent who had mastered Arabic, the religious sciences, and philosophy, and who was inclined towards Sufism, Abu 'l-Fadl followed his brother Fayzi, Akbar's poet laureate, into service, appearing at court in 1571. A forceful disputant and independent thinker, Abu 'l-Fadl was constantly at odds with the Sunni ulema, and he held their bigotry to be responsible for the persecution and exile of his father,a Shi'is notable and a supporter of the Mahdawiyya. He was thus quite happy to support Akbar in his formation of a new religion, and he provided the intellectual justification for Akbar as the Perfect Man, the philosopher-prophet-king in the *Akbarnama*.

Abu 'l-Fadl formulated the ideology of Akbar's reign, placing the monarch above the petty political and religious squabbles of the court. Consistent with the Iranian tradition, he considered the king to be an emanation of God's pure light, possessing the divine power of sovereignty in his person and the wisdom to deploy it as the Perfect Man of Sufism and the perfect sage of the Illuminationist philosophical tradition. The king as the benevolent face of God on earth would treat all of his subjects—both Muslims and non-Muslims—equally, thereby promulgating an established Sufi ethic of universal peace (sulh-i kull). This theory proposed that all religions are equal representations of a single divine truth and that all express a pure monotheism that lies at the heart of each one of them.

His other major literary achievement was the *A'in-i Akbari*, which was a major gazetteer, a comprehensive history, and a tax register of India.

As Akbar's main spokesman, Abu 'l-Fadl was responsible for the development of the Mughal art of epistolography (insha'); his letters became templates and exemplars for later secretaries. Abu 'l-Fadl headed the chancellery and organized the cultural program of translating major Sanskrit works into Persian. Because of his outspoken advocacy of Akbar's cause and his closeness to the king, Abu 'l-Fadl aroused the jealousy of other courtiers and the suspicion of the heir, Salim, who conspired along with others to have him murdered in August 1602. With Abu 'l-Fadl's death, Akbar lost a close friend and supporter.

Sajjad H. Rizvi

See also Akbar; Illuminationism; Mughals; Sufism; Shi'ism

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ABU NUWAS

Abu Nuwas Abu 'Ali al-Hasan ibn Hani' al-Hakami (d. ca. 814) was one of the major Arabic poets of the 'Abbasid age. He is known for his poems about wine, love, and unbridled debauchery, but he was also the foremost representative of the "modern" (muhdath) poetry that developed during the late eighth century.

Abu Nuwas was born in the mid-eighth century to an Arab father and Persian mother in al-Ahwaz in Iran, but he moved with his mother to Basra and Kufa, where he received a thorough philological and religious education, studying with a number of poetic authorities, most notably the poet and transmitter Khalaf al-Ahmar (d. 796). He then traveled to Baghdad, where he initially struggled to gain the favor of the notable families of the day. Eventually he became the drinking companion of the caliph al-Amin (d. 813) and enjoyed great notoriety and popularity until his death in Baghdad at some time between 813 and 815. There are countless anecdotes of Abu Nuwas and his scandalous behavior in which the personage corresponds with the libertine spirit of the poetry, and the name has retained associations that are quite independent of the poetry itself. (For example, a completely unhistorical Abu Nuwas appears in some of the tales in *The 1001 Nights*.)

With the wine poem (khamriyya), Abu Nuwas refined a genre that had previously been an occasional element in the polythematic classical Arabic ode (qasida). Wine drinking provides the setting for a number of thematic possibilities: a description of the wine, the seeking of drink, the joys of drunkenness, anecdotes of drinking bouts and their aftermaths, sexual escapades, and episodes of heartbroken or crapulent remorse. The celebration of hedonism and the flaunting of the norms of polite and pious society are seen in the following famous lines:

> Ho! a cup, and fill it up, and tell me it is wine,
> For I will never drink in shade if I can drink in shine!
> Curst and poor is every hour that sober I must go,
> But rich am I whene'er well drunk I stagger to and fro.
> Speak, for shame, the loved one's name, let vain disguise alone:
> No good there is in pleasures o'er which a veil is thrown.
> (trans. R.A. Nicholson)

In such verses Abu Nuwas was rebelling not only against contemporary society but against the heroic model of the pre-Islamic poet. The "modern" poetry of his time was in part a reaction against the conventions of the classical, pre-Islamic odes. Although he demonstrates a deep knowledge and appreciation of the older poetry, he is better known for mocking its elements, most famously the prelude, which expresses sorrow at traces of long-abandoned encampments in the desert and the disappearance of those who once dwelt there. Abu Nuwas laments instead the vanished taverns or urges wine in place of nostalgia.

Although best known for his bacchanalia, Abu Nuwas applied his talents to other genres as well, such as panegyric, satire, and, notably, the hunting poem. This latter type, like the wine song, had been a single element in the classical qasida, but Abu Nuwas gave it its own genre (in which he followed the ancients' use of a highly specialized vocabulary and detailed descriptions of nature scenes). The majority of his verses display a simplicity and elegance that matches well his wit and lightheartedness; however, the joys of wine and sex with boys were not his only topics, and he was capable of various shades of sorrow, regret, and awe and of giving voice to these shades with fine poetic precision.

BRUCE FUDGE

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ABU SHAMA, 'ABD AL-RAHMAN IBN ISMA'IL ABU MUHAMMAD SHIHAB AL-DIN

Abu Shama was a religious scholar (1203–1268) who spent his entire life in Damascus; he was most

renowned for his chronicle *Kitab al-Rawdatayn fi Akhbar al-Dawlatayn al-Nuriyya wa-l-Salahiyya (The Book of the Two Gardens on the Reports of the Two Reigns [of Nur al-Din and Saladin])*. This chronicle treats the main events, including the Crusades, that occurred during the rules of the Zankid ruler Nur al-Din (d. 1174) and the Ayyubid ruler Saladin (Salah al-Din, d. 1193) during the twelfth century. Although written more than fifty years after the death of Saladin, the chronicle has enjoyed wide popularity, because it integrates a number of previous sources into a coherent narrative. Abu Shama's principal aim in composing his chronicle was to present the two rulers as examples of ideal Muslim rulers to be emulated by later rulers.

Abu Shama came from a modest family that did not belong to the civilian elite of Damascus, and he himself was closely linked to its rather marginal immigrant Maghribian community. Throughout his career he held a number of minor teaching posts in madrasas (colleges for higher studies), and it was only toward the end of his life that he was able to briefly attain a more prestigious post. This marginal position in the town's social texture was paralleled by his controversial stances, which tended to criticize his contemporaries in sharp terms. Here he focused on the issue of innovations (i.e., practices that he considered contrary to the teachings of Islam). He finally died by the hands of attackers who beat him to death.

Besides history, Abu Shama's oeuvre was focused on religious sciences such as the variant readings of the Qur'an, law/jurisprudence, hadith, and poems praising the Prophet. It was in the first of these fields that he gained a certain prominence among his contemporaries, especially by commenting on a didactic poem written for students.

From a modern perspective, it is his continuation (Dhayl) of the main chronicle that represents considerable interest, because he included in his poems (such as the poems about one of his wives and about his moods of distress) as well as in his autobiographical sections an unusual array of events that were linked to his inner life.

KONRAD HIRSCHLER

See also Historical Writing

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ABU TAMMAM

Abu Tammam was an Arab poet (ca. AH 189–232/805–845 CE), allegedly the son of a Christian wine seller, who rose from his provincial background in Syria to become a panegyrist of the ‘Abbasid caliphs al-Ma'mun, al-Mu‘tasim, and al-Wathiq and of their great officers of state. He celebrated caliphal campaigns and victories (most notably over the Byzantines at Amorium in 223/838) in qasidas marked by the bloodiness of their battle scenes and the stridency of their religious propaganda. Nevertheless, he was above all an intellectual poet of Mu‘tazili leanings who changed the course of Arabic literature by charging the sinewy and concrete pre-Islamic Bedouin qasida with philosophical conceits and with the sophisticated wordplay and metaphors, known as *badi‘,* that are typical of "modern" poetry. His originality served as a focus for the Arabic "quarrel of the ancients and moderns." The issue was less whether modern, urban Arabic poetry could stand in worthy succession to its pre-Islamic, Bedouin precursors—this was broadly conceded—than whether poetic truth was a closed system or one that should evolve with social and intellectual change and, if so, at what pace. If poetry outstripped educated conservative taste, would not the concepts of poetry and poetic truth be reduced to playthings of fashion? Abu Tammam's experiments stimulated poetic criticism as a systematic and scholarly discipline, particularly from the century or so after his death; his example took root within his own lifetime and was pervasive. His diwan (collected verse) attracted commentaries as voluminous as those devoted to pre-Islamic poets. Al-Mutanabbi (d. 354/965) was his greatest poetic heir.

Abu Tammam was also an anthologist; his most famous compilation, *al-Hamasa (Valor),* proved no less influential than his own poetry. Carefully crafted from the tribal poetry of all periods to afford an image of timeless Bedouinity, it chimed in with an increasingly romanticized conception of Arab tradition.

JULIA BRAY

See also Poetry: Arabic; al-Ma'mun; Rhetoric; Al-Muntanabbi

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ABYSSINIA

The appearance of Islam in Abyssinia (historical Ethiopia) coincided with the first recognizable polity in the Ethiopian region: Aksum. There are various traditions of contact between ancient Ethiopia and early Islam: the Prophet Muhammad is reported to have written to the Aksumite king (Negus) inviting "People of the Book" to reconsider the teachings of Jesus; the emigration of Muhammad's cousin Ja'far ibn Abi Talib to Ethiopia to escape the Qurayshite persecution and his claimed conversion of the Ethiopian Negus; or indeed the tradition that the second male convert to Islam was Bilal, a slave of Ethiopian origin, whom the Prophet Muhammad appointed the first mu'adhdhin to call the faithful to prayer.

The emergence of the nascent caliphal state coincided with the apogee of Aksumite power when the Ethiopian fleet dominated the Red Sea. In retaliation for an Aksumite attack on the Hijaz, Arab forces occupied the Dahlak islands, which are opposite the Aksumite port of Adulis (in modern-day Eritrea), and Aksumite control of Red Sea trade ended, which precipitated the kingdom's decline. An independent Islamic sultanate emerged on the Dahlak islands, and friendly trade relations were established with Aksum's successor *Habasha*—the term Arab geographers gave the people of the Ethiopian interiors—states in the north of Ethiopia.

However, after the decline of Aksum, the successor states of the Zagwe and Solomonic dynasties began their historic antipathy to the emerging network of Islamic peoples and polities to the southeast. The political—rather than the religious—rivalry between the Habasha Christian polity in Ethiopia and a succession of Islamic sultanates centered on the control of trade. The most important trade route began at the coastal Islamic settlement of Zayla, and the Islamic faith had also traveled along this route. The network of Islamic sultanates known to Arab geographers as the "country of Zayla" consists of ethnically mixed populations of Semitic- and Cushitic-language-speaking traders, agriculturalists, and pastoralists.

At the end of the Zagwe dynasty (c. 1269), an Islamic sultanate of Shawa is documented as being founded by the Makhzumite dynasty (a Meccan clan), dating back to AH 283 or 896/897 CE. Shawa was later eclipsed by the sultanate of Yifat, which was founded by 'Umar Walashama (who traced his origin from the Arabian Quraysh but who was probably of local origin). Yifat intervened in Shawa in 1280 (AH 678) or 1285, apparently with the compliance of a Solomonic Christian emperor. The great Islamic historian Ibn Khaldun mentions Yifat and its Walashama sultans, such as Hakk Al Din I and Sabr/Sa'd al-Din. Both Hakk Al Din I and Sabr Al Din fought with the Habasha king (negus) Amda Seyon, who occupied Yifat. It was not until 1376 that their successor Haqq al-Din II successfully challenged the Christian Solomonic dominance over Yifat, but the Ethiopian ruler Dawit I later reasserted his authority and killed Haqq al-Din II. Another Walashama, Sa'd al-Din II continued to resist, but he fled to Zayla, where he was killed by the Habasha forces of Yeshaq. Scions of the Walashama dynasty took refuge with the King of Yemen, but some returned and ruled further east of Yifat, founding the Sultanate of Adal around 1420.

The new Walashama dynasty in Adal grew larger, expanding into Somali areas (the "black Berbers" of the Arab geographers). The expansion of the power of Adal culminated in the Sultan Ahmad Badlay's attempted reconquest of Muslim areas, which ended in defeat at the hands of Negus Zara Yaqob. The Sultanate of Adal then retreated to Dakar and then

Harar, which was founded in 1520 by Sultan Abu Bakr Muhammad, where a reversal of fortunes culminated in the defeat and destruction of the Christian Solomonic empire (from 1529–1543) by a later military leader of the Adal sultanate, Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi, who was nicknamed *Gran* (the left handed).

CEDRIC BARNES

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ADAB

Adab is an Arabic term (pl. adab [pronounced with long a]) for a key concept in medieval Islamic culture. In the culture's self-description, adab is both polite learning and its uses: the improvement of one's understanding by instruction and experience, it results in civility and becomes a means of achieving social goals. Adab requires a knowledge of history, poetry, ideas, proverbs, parallels, precedents, and the correct and pleasing use of language. It is the social and intellectual currency of the elite and of those who aspire to be part of it. Courtiers and politicians should use adab in their dealings with the ruler. Rulers and grandees should be patrons of learning and adab. Adab can be displayed to them as a product (the treatise or compendium); as a performance (the disputation or reading); or simply the apt repartee in the majlis (salon, social gathering; see Socializing and al-Tawhidi). Anyone who practices adab is an *adib* (pl. udaba'); udaba' see themselves as architects of civilization and guarantors of its survival in the teeth of political upheavals.

Under the 'Abbasids and their successor dynasties, adab was a route into office holding and sometimes to the vizierate; see numerous examples in al-Tanukhi's (AH 329–384/940–994 CE) *Table-Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge* and Yaqut's (d. 626/1229) *Dictionary of Men of Adab (Mu'jam al-Udaba')*, among others. The concept of adab as mannerliness could be narrowed to apply to particular groups, such as Sufis (e.g., 'Abd al-Qahir al-Suhrawardi, 490–563/1097–1168, *Adab al-Muridin, A Sufi Rule for Novices*), or to a given profession or situation (e.g., Ibn Qutayba, d. 276/889, *Adab al-Katib [Skills of the Bureaucrat];* al-Ghazali, d. 505/1111, *Adab al-Akl [Table Manners])*, not least that of ruler (hence the numerous mirrors for princes in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish).

Historically, adab evolved through several phases from the end of Umayyad rule and over the first two centuries of 'Abbasid rule (mid-eighth to tenth centuries CE). During all of these phases, the written page took the place of the traditional oral study circle (see Books). During a first phase, senior bureaucrats wrote epistles that were designed to imbue caliphs with Sasanian ideas of statecraft and to help them manage the increasingly complex problems of empire (see Ibn al-Muqaffa'). A second phase addressed the senior or junior bureaucracy; thus al-Jahiz (d. ca. 255/869) welcomed the rationalist trends arising from the translation movement (see Translation: Pre-Islamic Learning into Arabic) and championed the intellectual leadership of an enlightened minority. Ibn Qutayba, however, stressed the duty of even the moderately literate to educate themselves through reading and highlighted the imaginative appeal of the huge body of exemplary stories made available by Arab antiquarian scholarship and translations. In Muslim Spain (Andalus), Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (246–328/860–940) synthesized these conceptions of adab in an anthology, *al-'Iqd (The Necklace),* which lauds rulership (sultan) and reason as given by God, adab, and books as the vehicles of reason.

Meanwhile, a further type of adab had emerged in which political or didactic messages are absent. Instead, poets, musicians, and udaba' are foregrounded as cultural heroes and exemplars of the human condition. The greatest exponent of this type of adab is Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani (284–ca. 363/897–ca. 972), whose compilations include the monumental *Kitab al-Aghani (The Book of Songs),* which records the careers and loves of the great men and women musicians and the lives and legends of Arab poets and poetesses down the ages; the slim *al-Ima' al-Shawa'ir (Slave Poetesses)*; and (perhaps) *The Book of Strangers (Kitab al-Ghuraba')*, which contains miniature anecdotes and poems of loss and longing, mostly by obscure or anonymous contemporaries. Both thematic anthologies and the commemoration of contemporary udaba'—obscure as well as famous—continued throughout the medieval period, as did the tradition of providing the common reader with syntheses of the literary heritage (e.g., al-Baghdadi, 1030–1093/1621–1682, *Khizanat al-Adab [The Treasury of Adab]*) and handbooks of general knowledge (al-Tha'alibi, 350–429/961–1038, *The Book of Curious and Entertaining Information*; al-'§mili, 953–1030/

1547–1621, *al-Kashkul [The Beggar's Bowl]*). The patterns of human experience—especially love—held up by adab also enriched religious thought, particularly that of the Sunni Revival.

In modern scholarship, adab is sometimes taken to represent the secular dimension of Islamic culture or Islamic humanism, and the term *adab literature* has been coined as a catch-all to denote any work (e.g., al-Mas'udi's *Meadows of Gold*) or literary form (e.g., the maqama) that is both instructive and pleasurable.

JULIA BRAY

See also Courtiers; Socializing; al-Tawhidi; Yaqut; Ibn Qutayba' al-Ghazali; Mirrors for Princes; Ibn al-Muqaffa'; Bureaucracy; al-Jahiz

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ADEN

The Indian Ocean port city of Aden, Yemen, is located in the southwestern corner of Arabia and about ninety-five nautical miles east of the Bab al-Mandab, which is the entrance to the Red Sea. The medieval city stood on the eastern side of the homonymous peninsula in an area that has been known since British times as "the Crater." The modern toponym reflects local geology and topography; the site of the medieval city is nestled in the crater of a defunct volcano, the walls of which surround it on all but the seaward side. Thanks to its general geographical location, defensible topography, and ample and easily accessible anchorages (and despite its arid climate and shortage of potable water), Aden has been the chief port in the region for extended periods during its long history.

The political history of the city can be reconstructed in detail only from the fifth/eleventh century onward. The Sulayhid rulers of Yemen conquered Aden in AH 454/1062 CE and eventually ceded the administration of the port to the Zuray'ids. The latter initially remitted a portion of the lucrative port taxes as tribute to their Sulayhid overlords. As Sulayhid power waned, however, Zuray'id Aden became an autonomous state, with the port at its center and substantial hinterlands under its jurisdiction. In 530/1135,

in an episode that highlights both the nature and the rivalries of Indian Ocean maritime principalities, the ruler of the Arabian Gulf island of Kish/Qais attacked Aden and laid siege to the port unsuccessfully. After the 569/1173 conquest of Yemen by the Ayyubids, Aden lost its autonomy but maintained its prominence as the country's main port. The Ayyubids developed the physical and institutional infrastructure of the port, as did their successors the Rasulids (626–858/1229–1454). State-sponsored development included the building of fortifications, harbor works, warehouses, markets, and customs facilities that marked the urban landscape, and the institution of naval patrols that secured the maritime approaches to the port. The Tahirids (858–923/1454–1517) wrested power from the Rasulids when they captured Aden in 858/1454. Although the Portuguese failed to take Aden during the early tenth/sixteenth century, the Ottomans succeeded in 945/1538.

The commercial importance of medieval Aden cannot be overstated. The fourth-/tenth-century Arab geographer al-Muqaddasi described the port as "the vestibule of China, entrepôt of Yemen, treasury of the West, and mother lode of all trade wares." Several travelers, including Marco Polo and Ibn Battuta, passed through Aden and commented on its bustling port. The most extensive account of commercial life and the organization of trade in Aden appears in Ibn al-Mujawir's *Tarikh al-Mustabsir,* a seventh/thirteenth-century work that was quoted and supplemented by Adeni historian Abu Makhrama (870–947/1465–1540). The *Daftar al-Muzaffari*, an administrative document composed for the Rasulid sultan al-Muzaffar (647–694/1249–1295), highlights the significance of the port as a global market and a source of commercial tax revenues. In letters, legal papers, accounts, and lists dating primarily from the fifth/eleventh to seventh/thirteenth centuries and preserved in the document repository of the Cairo Geniza, Aden emerges as the major Indian Ocean hub for the network of Jewish merchants that operated across the Islamic world from Spain to India and beyond. These and other sources testify to the cosmopolitan nature of the city and the ethnic, linguistic, and sectarian plurality of its port society, which included Arabs, Persians, Indians, Africans, Muslims, Jews, Hindus, and Christians.

The urban growth of Aden in modern times, which began with the British capture of the place in 1839, appears to have erased most physical vestiges of the medieval port. Among the scanty remains is an impressive system of interconnected cisterns that served the city's water supply throughout the medieval period; their construction may date to pre-Islamic times. Also impressive is a tall tower structure of disputed function and date, which appears to have stood near the shoreline of the medieval harbor. Alternatively, a number of archaeological sites on the mainland opposite Aden testify to the manufacturing and agricultural activity connected with the port during its heyday.

Roxani Eleni Margariti

See also Arabia; Geniza; al-Muqaddasi; Yemen

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‘ADUD AL-DAWLA

Abu Shuja‘ Fanna Khusraw (936–983) is usually known by the honorific ‘Adud al-Dawla, which was granted by the Caliph al-Muti‘ in 962. ‘Adud al-Dawla (“Aid of the Dynasty”) was the Buyid amir who ruled in Baghdad from 977 until his death. The son of Rukn al-Dawla, he was given control of Fars in 949 at the tender age of 13 or 14. It was there that he spent the majority of his career learning statecraft while focusing on expanding and entrenching his own and his family’s power. In these endeavors, like most rulers of the time, he was constantly in need of funds. He took the unusual step of improving agricultural infrastructure with the hope of increased productivity and revenue; this largely worked. Consequently, he was always able to muster greater resources than his opponents. In 975, with his father’s blessing, he moved his army into Baghdad to quell the disorder that his cousin ‘Izz al-Dawla (also called Bakhtiyar) was unable to control. It provided a convenient excuse to fulfill his ambition of unifying and centralizing his hold on the Buyid domains.

Shortly after his arrival, he forced his cousin to abdicate. However, family power dynamics took precedence. Rukn al-Dawla, as head of the family, was none too pleased by this turn of events and ordered his son to restore ‘Izz al-Dawla and withdraw. ‘Adud al-Dawla complied, but the respite did not last long. When his father died the next year, ‘Adud al-Dawla restarted the machinations against his cousin. The lack of clear lines of succession encouraged him in his endeavor to become the dominant member of the family. In 977, he defeated ‘Izz al-Dawla, entered Baghdad, and was given the title *Amir al-Umara’* (“Commander of the Commanders”). ‘Adud al-Dawla worked with his brother Mu’ayyid al-Dawla to fight and exile a third brother, Fakhr al-Dawla, who had allied with ‘Izz al-Dawla. In the process, ‘Adud al-Dawla firmly established his control over the Buyid family holdings and himself as their head. His rule marks the high point of the dynasty. He had diplomatic contacts with the Fatimids and the Byzantines, he exerted real political control, and he even had pretensions of using the title *Shahanshah* (“King of Kings”). He behaved as if he were an independent king, but he recognized the limits on the exercise of power. Therefore, he maintained the fiction of his subservience to the caliph as a useful tool for legitimizing his authority.

In the end, as he was dying, ‘Adud al-Dawla attempted to formalize arrangements for his son to succeed him. However, for three months, his advisors had to hide his death to allow them time to transfer the reins to Samsam al-Dawla; this highlights the fact that his arrangements could not have been all that secure or formalized if his advisors had to pretend that he was still alive to make for a successful handover. For all of his power and success in reforming the government, he failed to solve many of the outstanding problems of the dynasty, particularly the question of succession and familial power-sharing.

John P. Turner

See also Buyids

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ADULTERY

The legal notion of adultery in medieval Islam differs in several respects from contemporary ideas. Muslim jurists would not distinguish between forbidden sexual relations of a married person and other forms of intercourse prohibited by the *Shari‘a*. On the one hand, these acts were considered in accordance with the judgments on zina (fornication; unlawful intercourse) in the Qur’an and the hadith. On the other hand, not all extramarital affairs necessarily establish the charge of committing zina. Adultery constitutes, on that ground, a subsidiary part inside of a broader legal category that combines moral, religious, and social values.

The noun *zina* and its grammatical derivations (e.g., *al-zani* [the fornicator])—without counting

numerous paraphrases—appear in five verses of the *Qur'an*. Three of these verses list zina together with other sins, namely murder (17:32; 25:68; 60:12), infanticide (17:32 and 60:12), theft, and false accusation (60:12). They do not pronounce specific punishments; however, 25:68 refers to the sufferings of fornicators and murderers in the hereafter. The other two verses imply more significant juridical consequences. Sura 24:2 states the Qur'anic penalty of one hundred lashes for each fornicator, both male and female, and the next verse (24:3) sets an impediment to marriage between fornicators and believers. However, this latter stipulation has been either considered abrogated or taken as but a recommendation by most legal scholars. Instead of following the Qur'anic prescription, later jurisprudence sets the norm for the punishment of zina with the example of the Prophet Muhammad and of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, who pronounced the sentence of stoning in five cases. The application of the punishment relies on the testimony of four witnesses in explicit terms or on the confession of the perpetrator, which is to be repeated four times.

Committing zina figures prominently among the most serious sins imaginable in Islamic ethics and puts into question the actual belief of the perpetrator. More than that, zina imposes one of the five "limit penalties" (hudud, sing. hadd) specified in the Qur'an, the only one that had been sharpened by the more severe precedents in the hadith. Zina constitutes not just a personal sin but a criminal offense against the community to be judged by worldly legal authorities. Accounting the properties of the crime, the Andalusian jurist Ibn Rushd defines zina as "all sexual intercourse that occurs outside of a valid marriage, the semblance *(shubha)* of marriage, or lawful ownership" (1996, vol. 2, 521). To appreciate the significance of this statement, we shall briefly discuss those sexual acts that give rise to uncertainty with respect to their nature as zina.

First, there are a number of practices that are not immediately conceived of as sexual intercourse. Some jurists count masturbation among the manifest forms of zina, but their position is contrasted, for example, by a statement of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal comparing masturbation to a mere phlebotomy. There is also no consensus about whether copulation with animals should be punished with the hadd penalty. Opinions differ not less on homosexual intercourse: some jurists impose stoning in any case, some distinguish between the active and the passive partner, and others leave the decision to the discretion of the judge (Bousquet 1990, 83–4; Musallam 1983, 33–4; Peters 2002, 509). Lesbian activities are rarely introduced in legal manuals; they are generally passed over in silence (see Murray 2005).

Second, a nontrivial topic of legal reasoning on zina consists of the attempt to circumscribe the proper meaning of "lawful ownership." Sexual intercourse with one's own slave is permitted. The category of possession, however, raises economic issues that collide with moral concerns. Typical conflicts are cases in which parental and economical notions intermingle (e.g., the father who has intercourse with his son's slave). Opinions vary widely between the application of the hadd penalty and the requirement of a possession transfer with restitution of the slave's value to the former owner (Ibn Rushd 1996, vol. 2, 522).

Third (and this is related to the second point), an important legal instrument with respect to zina concerns the possible erroneous belief of the perpetrator of having acted within the state of actually being married (i.e., to have intercourse with somebody mistaken to be one's wife or without fulfilling the legal prerequisites of marriage). The avoidance of the hadd penalty for errors resulting from resemblance (shubha) follows from a noncanonical hadith (see Powers 2002, 62–3, n. 40, for references).

The contradictions between the rigorousness of the legal norm and the procedural as well as doctrinal formulations against its strict application allow for different conclusions about the function of the law. One position advances that the entire criminal legislation on zina serves the sole aim of avoiding the "divulgence of scandale" (Bousquet 1990, 89–90). However, because the matrimonial relationship is crucial to the whole fabric of family law in early Islam, this legislation appears also as a "protective wall" that ensures the maintenance of social and economic rights and duties (Coulson 1979, 65–8).

TILMAN HANNEMANN

See also Concubinage; Crime and Punishment; Family; Gender and Sexuality

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AFTERLIFE

"Think not of those who are slain in Allah's Way as dead. Nay, they live, finding their sustenance in the Presence of their Lord" (Qur'an 3:169). Medieval Qur'an commentators usually connect this verse to the battle of Uhud (AH 3/625 CE), during which the Muslims had been defeated and had suffered many casualties. They further explain that the verse had been revealed to console the bereaved. In trying to be more specific as to the bliss bestowed upon "those slain in Allah's Way," these commentators adduce a prophetic tradition (hadith, q.v.) that states that the souls of the shuhada' (those killed in Allah's Way) wander in Paradise, in the bodies of green birds. So wonderful is their bliss that, when God asks them for their wish, their only desire is to return to the present world so that they may be killed again. With this notion in mind, it is not surprising that this particular verse has become one of the most frequently cited verses in the last few years, mainly in relation to suicide bombings.

It is not only the fate of the shuhada' that has created the eagerness to explore the world beyond ours; this yearning is deeply rooted in religious anxieties and aspirations of every pious person. Medieval Islam was very much aware of this need and supplied the "essential information" in various ways: Qur'an commentaries, hadith, and theological and mystical works, as well as more popular treatises. The latter constitute an especially colorful and descriptive genre that consists of hundreds or maybe thousands of tales that provide meticulous details about the world beyond the present one: the encounter with the angels Munkar and Nakir, the Barzakh, the delights of Paradise, the torments of Hell, and so on (see the relevant entries in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* and *The Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*). Although these details answer the curiosity of the believers and deliver some comfort, their main purpose is to illuminate the enigma of the Divine Providence. As a counsel to pious Muslims who might wonder about the reason for the scrupulous life they have to lead, this literature elaborates on the ongoing communication between the dead and the living, assuming a direct proportion between the performance of duties in the present world and the rewards granted in the next.

Ibn Abi al-Dunya (d. AH 281/894 CE) may be considered one of the earliest and most prolific writers who developed this popular afterlife genre. He covered the different stages of the hereafter and presented descriptions of the upper worlds in short treatises. His works draw attention to three main ways by which the living can learn about the dead:

1. Tales of people who woke up a few seconds after their death, described their experiences, and died again *(Man 'Asha Ba'da al-Mawt [Those Who Lived After Death])*.
2. Tales of people who stayed in the vicinity of a graveyard and encountered the dead, either inside their graves or nearby, in forms that indicate the taste of death *(Kitab al-Qubur [The Book of Graves])*.
3. Tales of people who appeared in dreams after passing away and portrayed their new abode; dream narrations make the richest source of information about death and the next world *(Kitab al-Manam [The Book of Dreams])*.

Regardless of the method chosen, each anecdote in this genre creates the feeling of a physical contact between the two worlds and alludes to the fact that death is not the final stage of life. The dead in these anecdotes are considered "living dead." They meet with each other and discuss occurrences of the present world; they have doubts and desires; they are capable of building relationships with the living; and they always deliver reliable information. This makes the living believe that they can learn from the experience of the dead, which is accumulated in the dead's new vicinity. The dead are perceived as those who understand the value of duties but who are incapable of performing any, whereas living people can carry out deeds but are not aware of their consequences in the next world. Thus, the living choose to follow the dead's instructions about how to behave to guarantee their own comfortable existence when their turn comes. A large portion of these anecdotes focuses on the fact that the dead's sepulchral sufferings are mitigated through good deeds performed by the living. These tales also illustrate how praying for the dead, visiting their graves, and accomplishing their duties are likely to reduce the agonies of the living after their own deaths.

In accordance with this, the edifying nature of this genre in general and the heritage of Ibn Abi al-Dunya in particular become apparent. Although never straightforward, this genre constantly encourages the dwellers of the present abode to perform certain deeds and refrain from others. Its picturesque and tangible

descriptions expressed in simple daily language and phrased in an unequivocal way answer human uncertainties and ease the fears of death. These tales penetrate the heart and become a reliable authority according to which pious life is conducted.

LEAH KINBERG

See also Death and Dying; Dream and Dream Interpretation; Hadith; Jihad; Mecca; Qur'an

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AGHLABIDS

The Aghlabid dynasty ruled the emirate of Ifriqiyya (modern-day Tunisia) from 800–909 CE. During that century, they consolidated the economic and military position of the province, exercising considerable control over the Mediterranean after the conquest of Sicily. A failure to overcome critical internal divisions, however, weakened the Aghlabids and led to their collapse before the Fatimid army of Kutama Berbers.

Ibrahim b. al-Aghlab (800–812), governor of the Zab region on the western border of the 'Abbasid empire, founded the dynasty after putting down a revolt by the jund (Arab military class) in Qayrawan, the capital of Ifriqiyya. He then negotiated his reward with the 'Abbasid caliph, Harun Al-Rashid. The caliph appointed him emir (prince) and gave him virtual autonomy after Ibrahim pledged forty thousand dinars to the imperial treasury and agreed to forego a one hundred thousand dinar subsidy normally received by the province.

The revolt that brought the Aghlabids to power was a portent of a perennial problem of the Aghlabid rulers: the propensity of the volatile jund to rebel. After two further revolts, Ibrahim I constructed a fortified palace complex, the Qsar al-Qadim, which was three miles south of Qayrawan and protected by a special guard of black slaves. Although the third Aghlabid emir, Ziyadat Allah (817–838), channeled much of the revolutionary potential of the jund toward a jihad (holy war) against Sicily, the Aghlabids never successfully counterbalanced this force.

Another source of tension was the ulama, the influential class of religious scholars whose piety and learning commanded the respect of urban and rural society. The ulama critiqued excesses and injustices they identified in the Aghlabid regime, including usury, un-Islamic taxation (applying a land tax to Muslim subjects and demanding payment of tithes in money not in kind), and the production and sale of wine. The ulama also censured the pleasure-seeking lifestyle of the Aghlabid court as excessive and illicit. In addition, tensions between the rival Hanafite and Malikite schools of Islamic law were compounded by controversy over mu'tazilism (a rationalist approach to Islam), which the caliph Ma'mun (813–833) made the official doctrine of the empire. In Ifriqiyya, the literalist Malikite approach (which was propagated at Qayrawan by the eminent jurist Asad b. al-Furat [d. 828]) took root and became the dominant school. It was under the Aghlabids that Al-Furat's student Sahnun (d. 854) penned the authoritative digest of Malikite doctrine, *Al-Mudawanna*. The emirs, who were sensitive to public opinion, consistently selected Maliki jurists for positions in their administration. As prolific builders, the Aghlabids also attempted to shore up religious legitimacy through the extensive construction of religious buildings. Ziyadat Allah I rebuilt the Great Mosque of Qayrawan in 836, and the Zaytuna Mosque of Tunis was built by Abu Ibrahim Ahmad (856–863). Great resources were also invested in public works, particularly water projects, including aqueducts and the famous circular cisterns at Qayrawan.

These last projects increased the region's agricultural productivity, contributing to economic expansion as Ifriqiyya regained prominence as a grain exporter. Qayrawan also became an important terminus for

trans-Saharan trade, primarily of slaves and gold. This rise in east-west and north–south trade proved a significant factor in the Aghlabids' external policies.

With its land borders relatively quiet, the emirate was most vulnerable on its coasts, and a series of ribats (fortified monasteries) were built to guard against Christian raids. Although they had diplomatic exchanges with Charlemagne's Christian empire (which posed no naval threat), the Byzantines posed a recurrent economic and military threat. In 827 C.E., a rebel Byzantine naval commander approached Ziyadat Allah III to help invade Sicily. For the emir, the invasion presented an opportunity to take over a Byzantine base across from Ifriqiyya, to control east-west Mediterranean traffic, and, not insignificantly, to channel the domestic discontent of the ulama and jund into a campaign against an external enemy. The emir placed the jurist Al-Furat, who had argued for jihad against Christian Sicily, in charge of the invasion force, which left from the garrison port of Susa with ten thousand men. They made early gains in the west by taking Palermo in 842, but they took seventy-five years to oust the final Byzantine forces. However, while securing Sicily, the Aghlabids extended their power considerably on the Italian peninsula, sending repeated expeditions to Calabria and Campania, raiding Rome in 846 C.E., and establishing a presence on the Adriatic coast in Brindisi and Bari. By 902 C.E., they were well established in Sicily and dominated the mainland through trade and military power.

Despite these external successes, the policies of Ibrahim II (875–902 C.E.), who tried to consolidate Aghlabid authority by slaughtering the Arab aristocracy and the jund, undermined the Aghlabid position in Ifriqiyya. His repression weakened the military and provoked widespread resentment, thus paving the way for the downfall of the dynasty. In 909 C.E., the last Aghlabid amir, Ziyadat Allah III, fled before the Ismaili armies that helped establish the Fatimids.

JONATHAN DAVID WYRTZEN

See also Kharijis; Berber Revolt; Qayrawan; Al Ma'mun; Tax and Taxation; Slaves and Slave Trade; Western Islamic World; Trade, Mediterranean; Muslim–Byzantine Relations; Sicily; Ismailis; Fatimids; North Africa

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AGRA RED FORT

After his victory over the last ruler of the Lodi dynasty, Sultan Ibrahim (1517–1526), the first Mughal emperor Babur (r. 1526–1530) installed himself in the Lodi mud-brick fort at Agra and ordered the construction of a large, three-story stepwell that was completed in March 1527. It was only under his grandson Akbar (r. 1556–1605), however, that imperial patronage seriously focused on Agra and made its fort into an immensely strong fortified palace city to rival Delhi and Lahore. Akbar's chronicler, Abu'l-Fazl, referred to the emperor's five hundred buildings in Agra, an exaggeration that nevertheless suggests the massive transformation Akbar and his architect Qasim Khan Mir Barr u Bahr oversaw between 1565 and 1573. Although very few Akbar-period buildings still stand, the early semicircular ground plan of the Agra Fort is evident, with its 22-meter high walls stretching over 2.5 kilometers.

Faced with red sandstone and white marble, the Hathi (Elephant) Gate on the west was the main public entrance. Built in the same materials is the so-called Jahangiri Mahal, the best-preserved Akbari building inside the walls. Adjacent to and overlooking the Jumna River, its open architecture lets those inside the palace view the hectic river traffic and catch cooling breezes off the water. Its several inner courtyards, its overall layout, and its decorative stonework are influenced by the non-Islamic palace traditions of Gujarat and Rajasthan and of the massive fort at Gwalior, an Akbari synthesis that is most strikingly revealed in the imperial city of Fatehpur Sikri only 42 kilometers to the west, where the emperor resided from 1569–1585.

Additions to the Agra Fort by Akbar's son and successor Jahangir (1605–1627) are also known



View of exterior. Moghul style, 1565. Built by Akbar. Credit: SEF/Art Resource, NY. Jahangiri Mahal, Red Fort, Agra, Uttar Pradesh, India.

largely from texts. They included a small palace and a public audience hall. Contemporary paintings also show the Shah Burj (King's Tower), from which Jahangir suspended a belled Chain of Justice, purportedly designed so that petitioners could ring it and get his attention.

However, it was during the reign of Shah Jahan (1627–1658) that the Agra Fort was transformed through lavish and astute patronage. His regnal name means "King of the World," an image that came to dominate almost all aspects of the arts under his patronage. Between 1627 and 1637, most of the fort's structures were replaced with buildings clothed in white marble or stucco. Materials reflected rank, as did the order of structures. On the east side of a large rectangular courtyard, the pillared public audience hall was built of red sandstone that was covered with white stucco. The hall's east side, however, was lined with white marble and inlaid with precious stones, for it presented a jharoka or balcony window where the emperor made regular formal appearances to his closest adherents, who were assembled according to rank. On the east side of the courtyard was a pillared hall with a throne room containing baluster columns, a form that was explicitly derived from European prints and used only in an imperial context. To the north was a chahar bagh, a cruciform garden with a central fountain that was particularly favored by Mughal patrons, for whom it recalled their descent from Timur and their origins in Samarqand. On its east side was a private audience hall that contained a Persian inscription likening the emperor to the sun, a conceit that was reinforced by solar medallions in the marble stone. The emperor's private residence was located next to an open court and looked out over the river. His bedroom was so richly gilded that there appeared to be a gold aura around his head during his ritual jharoka appearances.

Within the fort is also a large white marble mosque that was completed in 1653. In keeping with well-established Mughal precedent, it has three white marble domes that rise above its qiblah wall. Stunning black marble inscriptions convey images of paradise and laud Shah Jahan as a world ruler.

Materials, imagery, and inscriptions weave a common theme. Interior gardens and their fountains evoke the desirable order and pure water of paradise. Forms like the baluster column are reserved only for

the environment in which the emperor lives. Other forms appropriated from European prints include the scales of justice and the solar orb; in the circumscribed environment of the Mughal court and the Agra Fort, these forms were well understood, although it is unlikely that they would have conveyed much meaning to those outside of the purview of court refinements. Likewise, the intense, concentrated symmetry of architectural space is an expression of social order that is remarkable for its consistency and forcefulness. The ruler and his family were located on an exalted plane. The Agra Fort presented not just symmetry but also precise definition and regulation of movement from courtyard to chamber to courtyard. The temporal world was firmly set in place as well: time was ritualized, and the emperor's set appearances guaranteed that the elaborate system continued to function. It is no wonder that European visitors so admired the Mughal court and that European rulers saw court ceremonies and imagery worth imitating. The Mughals had mastered the political art of fabricating a monarch who was also the empire's indispensable hero.

ANTHONY WELCH

See also Akbar; Alhambra; Architecture, Secular: Civil; Architecture, Secular: Military; Architecture, Secular: Palaces; Architecture, Religious; Babar; Bureaucrats; Delhi; Gardens and Gardening; Hindus; Humayun; India; Mosques; Lahore; Mughals; Nur Jahan; Painting, Miniature; Persian; Persians; Qur'an; Timurids; Turks; Water

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AGRICULTURE

The history of Islamic agriculture *(filāḥa)* goes back to very ancient times, to the time of the conquests (seventh and eighth centuries). When the Muslims as conquerors came to the different regions—and where the inhabitants of the different regions became Muslims—attention to the land became a concrete and nondeferable matter. The decaying structure of the landed estates of late antiquity, where they still existed, was eliminated; the land was divided up among the warriors and their families; land left neglected and uncultivated for a long time started to be tilled again. This was the start in the Islamic countries of what some scholars have very aptly called the "green revolution": this revolution would later form the basis of countless and advantageous exchanges between the East—including the Far East—and the West, and it points to the Muslims as the pioneers of a new way of farming. Confirmation of what took place can first be found in the many texts and archaeological data concerning the development of technology related to agriculture; several dams and barrage systems that had already existed in pre-Islamic times were restored, and other new ones were built. Systems for transporting water (canals, aqueducts), raising water [šādūf, sāqiya, nā'ūra (noria)], and storing water (tanks with settling apparatus) spread until they became commonplace in the countryside and in towns; various types of water mills and windmills and complex distillation equipment enabled a series of processes related to agriculture (grinding cereals, pressing olives, refining cane sugar, distilling rose water/oil) to be at least partly automated.

In many different parts of the Iranian Plateau and from Mesopotamia to Spain, the digging of a thick network of canals (which made it possible to irrigate the fields regularly) led, on the one hand, to the introduction of crops that needed a lot of water all year round into regions with an unfavourable climate (i.e., the migration of plants from the Far East, acclimation in India, and movements over sea and land to the coasts of Africa and Arabia). On the other hand, it laid the foundations for another important aspect of Islamic agriculture: the growing of flowers and ornamental plants and, essentially, the development of that marvel of art and thought that would continue for centuries to be the art of the Islamic garden. The written "scientific" tradition of the subject also stresses its excellence. Among the many sources in Greek—although there are also many contributions from other cultures—some writings are outstanding:

1. *The Georgika,* which was attributed to Democritus (the author, who is obviously not the pre-Socratic Greek philosopher, may be the same person as second century BC writer Bolos of Mendes).
2. *The Synagogue* by Vindanios Anatolios of Berytos (in Arabic texts he was called Anatolios

or Junius; his work occurred during the fourth and fifth centuries CE).

3. *The Georgika* by Kassianos Bassos Scholasticos (sixth century CE), which was referred to by Muslims as Qusṭūs or Kassianos (this work was translated from Greek into Arabic around the year 827 with the title *al-Filāḥa al-rumīya*, but there is also another translation, not from Greek but from Pahlavi, which was entitled *Kitāb al-zar'*).

A special case in the most ancient Arabic literature is the monumental work *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭīya (Nabatean Agriculture)*. The study of plants accounts for more than half of the work, but it also says a lot about agricultural techniques like grafting, soil improvement, and so on. This work, which introduces itself as being of pre-Islamic origin and being rearranged and translated into Arabic (possibly during the tenth century) by Ibn Waḥšiya—but which may have been written in Arabic between the eighth and ninth centuries—contains many very old contributions of various origins. The fact that, unlike other treatises from the first centuries of Islam, it has come down to us in its entirety makes it a tremendously important point of reference.

In the truly Islamic textual tradition, there are many treatises from different periods and regions. The earliest works, written by grammarians and lexicographers, were concerned with defining the scientific Arabic terminology of the subject; problems arose from the fact that many plants were often called by different names in different (although nearby) places. The works were soon joined by other books that show how the subject evolved. These include the following: in Egypt, the *Qawānīn al-dawāwīn* by Ibn Mammātī (d. 1209); in Spain, the *Kitāb al-mugnī fī'l-filāḥa* (1073) by Ibn Ḥaǧǧāǧ al-Išbīlī (the Sevillian) and, later, the *Kitāb al-filāḥa* by Ibn al-'Awwām al-Išbīlī (twelfth–thirteenth century); in modern times, in Syria, the *'Alam al-malāḥa fi 'ilm al-filāḥa* (1725) by 'Abd al-Ġanī al-Nābulusī, summed up an earlier great work, which has not come down to us, by Riyāḍ al-Dīn al-'Āmirī (d. 1529).

From the fourteenth century onward, Islamic agriculture began a slow but inexorable process of decline (see, for example, the case of Egypt during the Mameluke period; however, but the crisis period started much earlier in several regions). The causes identified include the increasing rigidity of Islamic culture, which was accompanied by less attention to scientific developments and technology; the depopulation of the countryside as a result of wars, invasions, epidemics, and policies that were not favorable to agriculture; and the progressive economic and commercial growth of Europe, which became more and more competitive as time went on. By the eve of the modern age, no traces would remain of the Islamic "green revolution" of the first centuries; however, the valuable contribution of the Muslims is still universally recognised today in the history of agriculture in both the East and the West.

Paola Carusi

See also Aqueducts; Technology, Mills: Water and Wind

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'A'ISHA BINT ABI BAKR

'A'isha bint Abi Bakr (d. 678 CE), the second wife of the Prophet Muhammad (d. 632), attained both a revered and reviled status in medieval Islamic civilization. Controversies abounded in the depiction of her life within both Sunni and Shi'is Muslim sources. 'A'isha's remembrance, which was recorded exclusively by men, defined her central role in debates about female sexuality, politics, and sectarianism.

'A'isha was the wife of the most important man in Islamic history and the daughter of Abu Bakr (d. 634), a staunch companion of the Prophet and the first political leader after his death. 'A'isha's marriage to the Prophet at the age of nine was an extension of the close bond between her famous husband and father. 'A'isha, along with the other wives of the Prophet, became a member of a special female elite in Muslim society that is defined in the Qur'an by the phrase "Mothers of the Believers" (33:6). The Qur'an also specifically directed these women to "stay behind a curtain" (hijab) (this is currently defined as a veil) and to "stay in their houses" (33:33), an injunction that was eventually used in the medieval period to separate all women from the public sphere.

'A'isha attained the status of Muhammad's favorite wife after the death of his first wife, Khadija (d. 619), but her reputation was threatened at the age of fourteen by an accusation of adultery. Her innocence was revealed by the Qur'an (24:11–20), but the incident was interpreted differently by the Shi'i Muslim minority, who claimed that the revelation was not directed at 'A'isha, whose name does not appear explicitly in these verses. The accusation of adultery thus became a cause of Sunni-Shi'is Muslim friction during the medieval period.

After the Prophet's death, 'A'isha opposed the fourth caliph, 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (d. 661), the first Shi'is Muslim leader, at the Battle of the Camel (656). Her defeat and the deaths of so many Muslims on both sides of the conflict made 'A'isha an object of shared Sunni and Shi'i Muslim censure. Both groups used this political disaster as a lesson to all medieval Muslim women about the dangers of their participation in politics.

The role of 'A'isha as a source of the Prophet Muhammad's words and deeds as recorded in medieval collections of hadith (traditions) became central to Sunni legal thought during the medieval period. By contrast, Shi'is Muslims rejected 'A'isha as a deeply flawed and unreliable source for their interpretation of Islamic history and law. Sunni Muslims, however, continue to revere her as an object of revelation and the source of much of their faith.

Denise A. Spellberg

See also Abu Bakr; Muhammad, the Prophet

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AKBAR (R. 1556–1605)

Abu'l-Fath Jalal al-Din Muhammad Akbar was the most celebrated, powerful, and controversial Mughal emperor of India. Succeeding to the throne at the death of his father Humayun in 1556 when he was thirteen years old, he transformed a weak dynasty and administration into a Mughal Empire that controlled most of India from the capital at Agra and that established patterns of administration and rule (eloquently laid out in *A'in-i Akbar*) that would persist for a couple of centuries after him. The first Indian-born Mughal, with a Central Asian father and a Persian mother, Akbar embodied the cultural synthesis that marked out his reign, during which Persianate cultural interaction with Indian vernacular cultures was at its apogee.

In 1560, Akbar brought the regency of Bayram Khan to an end and set out to consolidate his power by a mixed policy of conquest and marriage alliances. He established his power in the Gangeatic plain by conquering Bihar (1574) and Bengal (1576) and extended his power into Malwa and Rajasthan through marriage alliances that brought capable non-Muslim notables (e.g., the organizational genius Raja Todar Mal and his companion Birbal) to court. Akbar perpetuated the Mughal policy of importing talented Persian warriors, bureaucrats, poets, and scholars into India. At the height of his power, his empire included Kashmir (taken in 1587) and parts of the Deccan plateau (taken in campaigns in the 1590s). His incorporation of northern India into the empire meant that, for the first time since Asoka, the ruling dynasty controlled most of the subcontinent. In the *Akbarnama*, his friend Abu 'l-Fadl 'Allami (d. 1602) celebrated him as the shadow of God on earth, whose authority and wisdom was supreme in matters temporal and spiritual. From the 1570s, Akbar began hosting religious dispute in his new 'Ibadatkhana in his retreat of Fatehpur Sikri; in 1579, he declared himself to be the ultimate religious authority in the land, which angered most of the Sunni ulema at court. He created his own religion, which he named the divine faith (din-i ilahi). This was a unique synthesis of Islamic and Indian forms of religiosity. His patronage of fine arts and projects to translate and depict Vedic epics such as the *Mahabharata* (rendered as the *Razmnama*), his encouragement of philosophers, free thinkers, and Shi'is notables at court, and his bibliophilia despite his illiteracy further alienated the ulema. Discontent and the failure of the Deccan campaigns toward the end of his reign led to the rebellion of his son Salim, the future Jahangir. When Akbar died in 1605, his religious innovations had failed to make a lasting impression, but the Mughal Empire was arguably at the height of its power.

Sajjad H. Rizvi

See also Abu 'l-Fadl 'Allami; Dara Shikuh; Humayun; Mughals

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ALCHEMY

The term *kīmiyā'*, which means "alchemy" in Arabic, apparently derives from the Greek *chymeia/chēmeia*, a term that was already used to indicate the science of alchemy in late antiquity in Alexandria, Egypt (see also *cheō* [to pour] and *chyma* [fused metal, particularly gold]).

According to a tradition found in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadim (tenth century), the Muslims may have acquired their very first knowledge of alchemy at the beginning of the eighth century, when the Umayyad prince Khalid ibn Yazid (d. 705), desiring to know and study the science of the Greeks, brought philosophers from an Egyptian city (presumably Alexandria) and commissioned them to translate a number of scientific texts, including early treatises in alchemy. The texts reached Syria, thus becoming available to Muslim scholars.

Very little is known about which texts were translated into Arabic in the Umayyad period, both alchemic and others. However, it was probably from this time onward—during the earliest years of the 'Abbasid caliphate and certainly more intensively later—that a substantial number of alchemical writers in Greek gradually came to be taught in Arabic in Baghdad: from the pseudo-Democritus, Pythagorus, Hermes, the pseudo-Apollonius of Tyan, Zosimos of Panopolis, Mary the Jewess, and Theodorus to Cleopatra. These figures were considered by Muslim alchemists at every stage of their history as the undisputed masters of an ancient tradition. Over time, other authors of various origin were added to the Greeks—Syrians, Persians, Indians, and perhaps Chinese—so that, between the end of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth, the time was ripe to start producing new treatises in Arabic. Just a few famous names suffice to recall the importance and continuity of the Islamic alchemical tradition: Jabir ibn Hayyan, who was credited with a corpus of some three thousand titles (eighth/ninth centuries); Muhammad ibn Zakariyya al-Razi (Rhazes); Ibn Umayl al-Tamimi and Maslama al-Majriti (tenth century); and al-'Iraqi, al-Jildaki, and al-Izniqi (thirteenth–fifteenth centuries). In accordance with the most ancient customs of the discipline, the treatises were soon followed by their respective commentaries: from the tenth century on, many alchemical treatises took the form of commentaries on preceding authors, either pre-Islamic or—in the case of the later alchemists—Muslim. Textual materials were thus gradually layered and sedimented to form a palimpsest that became ever more difficult to read.

In Islam, as in ancient times, alchemy revolves around a mysterious central nucleus that is its innermost heart. A very high level of craftsmanship embraces firstly the arts of fire (metallurgy, particularly the working of precious metals, ceramics, and glass [colored glasses, precious synthetic stones, and ceramic enamels]) and then extends to the preparation of various types of coloring (from fabric dyes to artistic materials for book production). Around this nucleus is arranged the chemical knowledge of the alchemists, and from this precious core of objects the less esoteric chemistry probably grew and prospered (i.e., Islamic society's skills in the extraction of cane sugar, the industrial preparation of rose water and various essences, and the perfecting of relatively sophisticated chemical apparatuses).

The link with art probably lies at the origin of the most mysterious and incomprehensible features of alchemy. This link is suggested by the universally accepted need to maintain a secret (in this case, production secrets); the prime role played by the relationship between nature and the human creator (nature, which produces, and the creator, who then perfects the work of nature), and above all the particular interpretation placed by the alchemist on alchemical operations. For the alchemist, who observes his work in the process of formation, what he performs in his laboratory is a real act of creation (cosmogony): his product is the cosmos, and the alchemist its creator. The whole process is then narrated through allegories that are drawn, with no distinction made with regard to genre, from scientific and literary texts, poems, and mythological tales, thereby testifying simultaneously to both the author's learning and his desire to exalt his discipline.

The philosophy on which the alchemist constructs his theory of transmutation, which embraces the findings of other sciences that study physical bodies (e.g., mineralogy, medicine), is Pythagorean in origin (albeit a Pythagorism that knows its Aristotle). Every composite body can be decomposed into four simple bodies (the elements: water, air, fire, and earth), and the elements in their turn can be decomposed into incorporeal "natures," which relate to each other in

particular numerical ratios. Operating a chemical transformation—or transmutation—means decomposing a body into its elements; going beyond its material texture into its natures; correcting or modifying the mathematical ratios between these incorporeal natures; and then, by degrees, recomposing a new, "modified" body. In the conceptual framework of alchemy, which always strives towards perfection, the most sought-after composition is that of a fifth nature, the perfect nature, which is able not only to produce a perfect body but also to change all other natures into itself; this is the elixir (Arab. *iksīr*, Gr. *xērion*) that the alchemists recognize as the supreme aim of alchemy.

PAOLA CARUSI

See also Abbasid; Aristotle; Ceramics; Medicine; Precious Metals; al-Razi; Umayyad

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ALCOHOL

The English word *alcohol* originates from the Arabic *al-kuúl* (English, *kohl*), an antimony which, when pulverized finely, is used for darkening the edges of the eyelids. The meaning of the English is said to derive from an analogy between alcohol's highly refined spirits and the fineness of the pulverized black powder.

The oldest recipe or instruction on human record is for the creation of an alcoholic beverage. Its origin is Sumerian Mesopotamia; not surprisingly, this is also one of the earliest locations in which crop agriculture was practiced. Beer and wine are thus ancient products of human invention, almost certainly discovered by accident from the natural fermentation of grains and fruits. Their utility extended beyond that of their effect on consciousness and the human nervous system, for they also likely preserved the nutrients in juices that might otherwise spoil. They were also invented and developed in Western Asia, which is the same general location out of which emerged the three great monotheistic scriptural religions.

Alcoholic beverages were invented and developed in agricultural economies, and the communities or polities of these areas naturally benefited from control over the production and distribution of these products. Members of pastoral and nomadic economies—not unsurprisingly—have tended to outlaw or distrust the use of alcohol, probably for this reason.

There are two main groups of alcoholic beverages: those that are obtained through fermentation, such as beer and wine, and those that are obtained through distillation, such as whiskey, vodka, and brandy. Because there is no historical evidence of distilled beverages before approximately 1000, Islamic rulings forbidding the use of alcohol referred to wine and beer.

References to the consumption of alcoholic beverages in the Qur'an are not consistent. Verse 16:67 celebrates strong drink from the fruit of palm trees and grapes, associating its inebriating quality (sakar) with good nourishment (rizq hasan). Verse 2:219 associates wine (al-khamr) with games of chance and finds some benefit in both, in addition to greater sin. Verse 4:43 suggests only the prohibition against intoxication while engaged in prayer (wa'antum sukaraa), but only until sober ("until you know what you are saying") (Cf. Lev. 10:8–10). Verse 5:90 associates wine (al-khamr) with games of chance, idolatry, and divination, considering them all to be the work of Satan. These verses are understood by most Muslim commentators and jurists as having been revealed in sequence. In the earliest period of Muhammad's prophetic career, the consumption of alcohol was not forbidden. Wine became forbidden only after the excessive drunken behaviors of Muhammad's generation seemed to get out of control.

Much discussion in the medieval Islamic juridical literature treated the definition of wine, because a number of drinks were prepared from dates, grapes or raisins, figs, and other fruits, and Arabic words other than *khamr* referred to beverages that were or were not fermented. Moreover, some beverages were not intentionally fermented but would become so after being preserved for a long time in storage. Despite the religious prohibition, medieval Muslim

anthologists list the ingredients of a wide variety of fermented beverages that were made and consumed by Muslims as well as Jews and Christians.

Because wine was used in both Jewish and Christian religious ritual, it was always permitted for those communities living among Muslims in Islamic lands. This sometimes caused tension and even violence because of the cognitive dissonance between Islam's legal support for the consumption of alcohol by the otherwise socially restricted religious minorities while maintaining its strict prohibition for Muslims. Therefore, although they were legally forbidden for Muslims, alcoholic beverages were always accessible through Christians and Jews, if not directly from Muslims themselves.

Notwithstanding the strict prohibition against imbibing actual alcohol, spiritual or poetic drunkenness through the bacchic wine poem (labeled technically as the "wine poem" or hamriyya only during the modern period) was a regular theme in the repertoire of the Arabic poets. Beginning even before the emergence of Islam, it reached its poetic heights during the second Islamic century with Abu Nuwas (Al-Hasan b. Hani' al-Hakami, d. 813–815), and it continued in various forms into modernity. Perhaps the best-known forms in the West include the spiritual intoxication that epitomizes the medieval mystics, who are spiritually drunk with their love for God.

A different expression is found in the poetry of medieval Islamic Spain, where the bacchic poem is associated with the pleasure of life, the quest for love, and a deep and profound communion with nature. The Andalusian wine poem became so much a part of shared medieval culture that Christians and Jews wrote them in Arabic as well. Jews also wrote wine poems in their own unique genre of poetry in the Hebrew language, which developed along the same lines as the Arabic poetry of their day.

> Pour me a drink, and another,
> of the wine of Isfahan
> or the wine of old Chosroes
> or the wine of Qayrawan.
> There is musk in the wine cup
> or in the hand of the one who pours it;
> or perhaps it was left in the wine
> when they drew it from the jar.
> Deck me with crown and diadem,
> and sing me my own poems.
> The wine cup is a springtime
> you can touch with your fingers,
> and the heat of the wine seeps slowly
> from my tongue all the way to my feet.
>
> Abu Nuwas

Reuven Firestone

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ALEPPO

Aleppo (in Arabic, Halab) is a city in northern Syria, and it is second in size and importance to Damascus, which is the capital of the modern republic. The site has been continuously inhabited since at least the twentieth century BCE. The large, centrally situated fortified mound that still dominates the city dates from this period.

The mostly Christian population of Aleppo surrendered to the conquering Muslim armies in AH 16/636 CE. After relative obscurity during the time of the Umayyads and early ʻAbbasids, the city enjoyed a brief but splendid prominence as capital of the Hamdanid ruler Sayf al-Dawla, who captured Aleppo from its Ikshidid governors in 333/944. Among the literary figures whom Sayf al-Dawla (see Hamdanids) patronized at his court was the Syrian poet al-Mutanabbi.

The interlude came to an end in the winter of 351/962, when the Byzantine general (later emperor) Nicephorus Phocas stormed and sacked the city. Then followed half a century of disorder during which Hamdanid rule over Aleppo was repeatedly challenged by the Fatimids, the Byzantines, and neighboring Arab statelets. After a brief period of Fatimid rule at the beginning of the eleventh century, the Bedouin Arab Mirdasid dynasty took control of the city under the nominal suzerainty of the Fatimids; fifty years of progressively weakening Mirdasid rule followed. An end was put to Arab rule over Aleppo in 479/1086, when the Seljuk sultan Malikshah captured the city and installed a governor.

Turkish rule was to continue in one form or another until Saladin took Aleppo in 579/1183. After the death of Malikshah, a small Seljuk dynasty was founded in Aleppo by Malikshah's brother, Tutush.



Aleppo. Detail of the entrance. Captured during the second crusade. Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, thirteenth to sixteenth c. Credit: Werner Forman/Art Resource, NY. Citadel, Aleppo, Syria.

However, the state was too small and weak to offer meaningful resistance to the Crusaders, to whom Aleppo had to pay tribute in an effort to forestall attack. Seljuk rule gave way to a short-lived period under the ineffective control of the Ortoqid dynasty of Mardin. The weakened and disordered city was only saved from Crusader occupation in 518/1124 as a result of the enterprise of the city's qadi (Islamic judge), Ibn al-Khashshab.

Aleppo's fortunes began to change when, in 523/1129, it was taken by ʻImad al-Din Zanki, governor of Mosul and atabak (guardian) of two sons of the Seljuk Sultan Masʻud. Zanki's military successes took Frankish pressure off the city. After Zanki's death in 541/1146, his son Nur al-Din Mahmud not only continued his father's struggle against the Crusaders but also restored Aleppo's administrative order and material fabric. Nur al-Din rebuilt the city's fortified walls, the citadel atop the central mound, and the Great Mosque. To assert the orthodox Sunni nature of Zankid rule in a city with a long history of Shiʻis activity, he founded six madrasas (Islamic schools) in which an orthodox curriculum was taught.

Medieval Aleppo attained its greatest prosperity under the next ruling dynasty, the Ayyubids. In 579/1183, Saladin took the city from Nur al-Din's successors. Three years later he gave it to his fourth son Ghazi, who was first governor and then, after Saladin's death, ruler, with the title of al-Malik al-Zahir. Under al-Zahir and his two successors, Aleppo became the capital of a strong and prosperous state, the city itself benefiting especially from trade with the Venetians, who established a permanent factory there. As part of an extensive reconstruction program, al-Zahir rebuilt the citadel, thereby creating one of the most impressive military installations in the Near East. Madrasas continued to be built, and there developed a remarkable intellectual life that nurtured people like the traveler and teacher ʻAli ibn Abi Bakr al-Harawi and the chronicler and encyclopedist Ibn al-ʻAdim.

But it was not to last. In 658/1260, Aleppo was taken by the Mongols under Hulagu and sacked. The last Ayyubid ruler of the city, al-Zahir's grandson al-Malik al-Nasir Yusuf II, who had abandoned Aleppo to its fate, was later captured and killed. The city was occupied by the Mamluks after their victory over the

Mongols at ‘Ayn Jalut in the same year, but it was lost to the Mongols several more times before being finally recovered by the Mamluks at the beginning of the following century.

Aleppo took years to recover from the depredations of the Mongols. The situation was made worse by the continuing threat of further Mongol attack and by political instability. Another setback occurred in 803/1400, when Tamerlane sacked the city.

This notwithstanding, the century before the Ottoman occupation of Aleppo after the Ottoman victory over the Mamluks at the battle of Marj Dabiq in 522/1516 saw another revival in the fortunes of the city. Aleppo benefited from disruption of the existing commercial routes to the north and grew rich on the trade that came its way. The suqs (markets) expanded, khans (enclosed warehouses) proliferated, and the walls of the city had to be extended to accommodate the increased population.

David Morray

See also Architecture, Secular: Military; Excellences Literature; Madrasa; Merchants, Christian; Muslim–Byzantine Relations; Muslim–Mongol Diplomacy; Silk Roads; Sunni Revival; Trade, Mediterranean

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ALEXANDER

During the medieval Islamic period, Alexander the Great was most closely associated with the figure Dhu al-Qarnayn, who was mentioned in 18:83–101. Many of the literary motifs and themes developed in the Greek Alexander Romance, which in turn appears to be based on the Epic of Gilgamesh, can be found in Muslim exegeses, histories, and related genres.

Early Muslim exegetes identify the figure Dhu al-Qarnayn with various historical and mythical figures, including Moses, an angel, and different South Arabian kings, although the identification with Alexander predominates in later literature. Other medieval recensions of the Alexander Romance, including the Ethiopic and Persian, likewise identify Alexander with Dhu al-Qarnayn. The figure of Khidr, which was alluded to in 18:60–82 just before the account of Dhu al-Qarnayn, also appears in many of the Islamic recensions of the Alexander Romance, and he may be associated with figures mentioned in Syriac, Greek, and Armenian recensions.

Other sources associate Dhu al-Qarnayn and Khidr with the prophet Abraham. In his history, Tabari relates that there were two Dhu al-Qarnayns: one living in the time of Abraham and another being Alexander. Muslim exegetes conflate Dhu al-Qarnayn with Abimelech, the king who presides over Abraham's claim to the well of Beersheba in Genesis 21:22–34 in the Bible. Ibn Kathir preserves a number of sources that report Dhu al-Qarnayn's visit to Abraham at Mecca during his building of the Ka‘bah.

Dhu al-Qarnayn is also conflated with Moses and the Prophet Muhammad. The epithet "Dhu al-Qarnayn" is usually understood to denote a person with two horns or a person who traveled to the two ends of the earth. Moses is portrayed as horned in the Vulgate and in medieval Christian texts, and in his encounter with Khidr in 18:60–82 is said to have traveled to the ends of the earth. The Prophet Muhammad's night journey to the ends of the earth appears to be modeled on the journeys of Dhu al-Qarnayn and Alexander in the different recensions of the Alexander Romance. The journeys of both the Prophet Muhammad and Dhu al-Qarnayn to the two cities at the ends of the earth, where a remnant of the Israelites is living, may also be compared to the exegesis in 7:159, Rabbinic traditions of the "Lost Tribes," and the pseudoepigraphical *History of the Rechabites.*

Dhu al-Qarnayn's world travels in 18:83–101 are interpreted in the light of Alexander's world conquests, and his building of the wall against Gog and Magog is a motif that is found in a wide variety of texts from Josephus to the medieval Jewish and Christian apocalypses.

Brannon Wheeler

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ALEXANDRIA

Alexandria, which is presently known as the shining pearl of the Mediterranean, is the second-largest city and the main port of Egypt. Situated northwest of the Nile delta, it stretches along a narrow land strip between the Mediterranean Sea and Lake Mariut.

Founding

When Alexander the Great reached Memphis (Egypt) on his expedition of conquest, he was welcomed by the people who supported him in overthrowing Persian rule. In 331 BCE, Alexander then ordered a city to be founded there to serve as a regional capital. He was later buried there.

The Roman City (30 BC–AD 641)

By the time the Romans conquered Egypt, there was an Egyptian community centered around the old site of Rhakotis, a Greek community downtown, and a Jewish community occupying the eastern districts. Octavian, the new Roman Emperor, founded a new town, Nicopolis, just east of Alexandria (it is now part of the greater city, known as El-Raml). Higher taxes were imposed, but Octavian's successors were less harsh. Matters improved when the Red Sea Canal was cut to link the Nile to the Red Sea, serving as a forerunner to the modern Suez Canal.

During the early rule of the Romans in Egypt, Christianity was introduced into Alexandria by St. Mark, who was martyred in AD 62 for protesting against the worship of Serapis. As Christianity took root, leading ecclesiastical centers such as the oratory of Saint Mark and later the Catechetical School were established as the first of their kind in the world. However, as the Christian population grew, so did the Roman emperors intensify their persecution against those who resisted it. Persecution reached unprecedented levels during the "Era of the Martyrs" around AD 284, when an estimated 144,000 martyrs—including St. Menas, St. Catherine, and St. Peter of Alexandria—were killed. When, in October 312, Emperor Constantine announced Christianity as the official religion of the Empire, Alexandria was ready for the change.

During the next two centuries, the spiritual power of the Coptic Church in Alexandria grew among Egyptians. However, the power of the "Royal" Patriarchs, appointed by the Roman emperor, was more political than religious. The Coptic Patriarchs, on the other hand, had no political interests.

During the early seventh century, both the Persian Empire and the Roman Empire started to fall apart. In 617, the Persians peacefully captured Alexandria for a short period of five years. By the time the Roman Emperor Heraclius regained his forces and recaptured the lost provinces, the world was ready to witness the birth of a new power. From the desolate Arabian Peninsula came the Arab forces that swept both the Romans and the Persians; they were spiritually powered by the new religion of Islam, and they established an empire that would last for over a thousand years. After negotiating with the Roman Patriarch, Cyrus, who was also serving as the Roman ruler of Egypt, Alexandria was peacefully captured by the Arab commander 'Amr ibn al-'As on November 8, 642 CE and 'Amr and his soldiers entered a city which "contained 4000 palaces, 4000 baths, and 400 theatres".

The Arab–Islamic City

The Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, who ruled from Medina, appointed 'Amr ibn al-'As governor of Egypt, and he promptly relocated the capital to Fustat, which was the nucleus of modern Cairo. For the next thousand years or so, the glamour of Alexandria declined. However, the Arabs greatly admired the city, and the most descriptive accounts of the Pharos Lighthouse and the pre-Islamic monuments come from Arab historical, geographical, and travel accounts such as those from Ibn Khurradadhbih, Ibn Jubayr, al-Harawi, and Ibn Battuta. Medieval accounts also locate the tombs of Alexander and Aristotle in the city.

When significant parts of the lighthouse collapsed during the 956 and 1323 earthquakes, it was not repaired. In 1498, the medieval fort of the Mamluk

sultan Qaytbay was eventually constructed on the foundation of the Pharos. However, this failed to bring Alexandria back to prominence after the discovery of the new route around Africa to the Far East.

Alexandria was also an important port center for Arab and foreign merchants down to the early fourteenth century. European consulates and traveler hostels such as those of the Venetians were established in the city. Alexandria also served as a port of transit for goods to and from India and the Far East. Likewise, it was an important center for the manufacture of textiles.

During the Middle Ages, a number of famous scholars and Sufis hailed from or came to be associated with Alexandria, such as the famous *hadith* scholar Abu Tahir al-Silafi (d. 1180); the Shadhili Sufi Ibn 'Ata' Allah (d. 1309), the author, an important work of Sufi biography; and al-Busiri (d. 1294), the author of the famous *Ode of the Mantle (burda)* of the Prophet Muhammad.

Today, greater Alexandria stretches nearly seventy kilometers along the Mediterranean coast, with urban areas covering more than one hundred square kilometers. Her rich population of more than four million still reflects her ancient history and close ties to the Mediterranean. With ethnic minorities including Armenians, Greeks, Italians, Lebanese, Maltese, and Syrians, among others, Alexandria is considered the most culturally diverse of all Egyptian cities.

KHALID DHORAT AND JOSEF W. MERI

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ALGEBRA

The word *algebra* is a Latinized form of the Arabic word *al-jabr,* which means restoration. The word appears in the title *Book on al-Jabr and al-Muqabala;* this is the introductory treatise in Arabic on the solution of linear and quadratic equations, which Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khwarizmi wrote around 830 CE in Baghdad. During the twelfth century, after Spain had been conquered by the Christians, the work was translated as the *Book on Algebra and Almucabala,* from which the field of algebra got its name. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the meaning of the word *algebra* has changed from the science of the solution of equations to the science of a particular class of mathematical structures.

Because al-Khwarizmi's work in algebra is fundamental, a brief summary is presented here. Al-Khwarizmi discusses linear and quadratic equations without algebraic symbolism, and he even writes all numbers out as words. For example, one of his equations is called *capital,* and ten *roots* are the unknown amounts of money. Because the product of the root times itself is supposed to be equal to the capital, the equation can be expressed in modern symbols as $x^2 + 10x = 39$.

Al-Khwarizmi does not use zero and negative numbers, so he has to distinguish three different types of mixed quadratic equations; in modern notation these would be the following: $x^2 + bx = c$, $x^2 = bx + c$, and $x^2 + c = bx$, with $b, c > 0$. He also discusses the two simple quadratic equations $x^2 = bx$ and $x^2 = c$ and the linear equation $x = c$. For each of these six standard forms, he explains a general method of solution in words, using numerical examples. The solutions of $x^2 + bx = c$, $x^2 = bx + c$, and $x^2 + c = bx$ are equivalent to the modern algebraic formula, but al-Khwarizmi only gives positive roots. He correctly states that $x^2 + c = bx$ only has a solution of $b^2 \geq 4c$, but he does not clearly explain that the equation has two different roots if $b^2 > 4c$.

Al-Khwarizmi illustrates the solutions of the three mixed quadratic equations using geometrical figures. He then shows how any quadratic equation can be reduced to one of the standard forms. *Al-jabr* (restoration) is the operation of removing defective terms in the equation. For example, if our equation is one capital except two roots is equal to 10 dirhams, we "restore" the missing two roots to both sides of the equation, and we conclude that one capital is equal to two roots and 10 dirhams. This equation is in the standard form $x^2 = bx + c$, with $b = 2$ and $c = 10$.

Al-Khwarizmi then presents a long series of examples of problems that can be reduced to equations, and he explains how each equation can be solved according to the preceding theory. He adds a brief section on surveying, which has no relation to algebra. His work was a great didactical success, and he is rightly regarded as the founder of Islamic algebra.

In his preface, al-Khwarizmi says that his work contains a certain amount of material that people constantly use in computations. It is true that the contents of his work were indeed known in 1000 B.C. in ancient Babylonia, which is the same area in which he wrote his work. Al-Khwarizmi's statement has been uncritically interpreted by modern historians in the sense that Arabic algebra was "practical" and that the quadratic equations were motivated by practical applications. Al-Khwarizmi

presents "applications" of algebra in Islamic inheritance problems, but his examples are very artificial and only lead to linear equations in which $bx = c$. As a matter of fact, there were few if any applications of quadratic equations in the medieval Islamic tradition; the motivation for algebra seems to have been primarily recreational.

Al-Khwarizmi's work was translated into Latin because it was available in Islamic Spain during the eleventh century CE, just before Spain was reconquered by the Christians. In the meantime, algebra developed in the Eastern Islamic world beyond the level reached by al-Khwarizmi. During the late ninth century, Abu Kamil started to solve equations that had irrational coefficients such as *root two.* He also studied systems of linear equations involving several unknowns. Meanwhile, mathematicians were also beginning to look at equations of higher degree. The Iranian mathematician al-Mahani (ca. 860) studied a problem that Archimedes mentioned but did not solve in his work *On the Sphere and Cylinder*. The problem was a preliminary to the division of a sphere by a plane into two parts such that their volumes have a given ratio. Al-Mahani showed that a problem that Archimedes had left unsolved was equivalent to a cubic equation (of the form $ax^2 = x^3 + c$). Unfortunately, the formula for the solution of cubic equations (discovered in Italy during the sixteenth century) produces x as the sum of two complex numbers. Such numbers were meaningless to ancient and medieval mathematicians, and therefore al-Mahani could not solve the equation.

During the mid-tenth century, Abu Ja'far al-Khazin constructed a line segment of length x in a geometrical way by means of a hyperbola. After this breakthrough, other Islamic mathematicians also started to work on geometrical solutions of cubic equations. The famous Iranian mathematician and poet 'Umar al-Khayyam wrote a treatise on algebra that contained geometrical solutions of all types of cubic equations by means of parabolas, hyperbolas, and circles. Just like al-Khwarizmi, al-Khayyam only worked with positive coefficients, and therefore he had to distinguish many types of cubic equations, which were equivalent to the modern $x^3 = ax^2 + c$, $x^2 + ax^2 = c$, $x^3 + c = ax^2$, $x^3 + c = ax^2$, $x^3 + ax^2 = bc + c$, and so on, with $a, b, c > 0$. 'Umar al-Khayyam did not use modern symbolism. His work was not complete according to medieval mathematical standards, because he did not use the precise conditions for the existence of the solutions.

Other algebraic advances were also made. During the tenth century CE, the Iranian mathematician al-Karaji explained how one can draw the square roots of a polynomial such as (in modern symbolism) $x^4 + 6x^3 + 13x^2 = 12x + 4$. He did this by generalizing the way in which square roots of decimal and sexagesimal numbers were extracted. He only discussed cases in which the result comes out nicely (in the above example, $x^2 + 3x + 2$). During the twelfth century, al-Samaw'al explained the same for negative coefficients, and he showed how polynomials can be divided by the same method as decimal and sexagesimal numbers. Also during the twelfth century, Saraf al-Din al-Tusi (who is not the same as Nasir al-Din) discussed rather complicated methods for the numerical approximation of the (positive) root of a cubic equation. He also showed at what points the exact roots of cubic equations exist, and thus he solved one of the problems that al-Khayyam had left open. Neither al-Khayyam nor Sharaf al-Din realized that the cubic equation $x^3 + bx = ax^2 + c$ can have three (positive) roots.

It is perhaps surprising that the Islamic advances in algebra were made without algebraic symbolism. During the fourteenth century, Western Arabic mathematicians used abbreviations of words in equations in much the same way as Diophantus (c. 250) did in his *Arithmetica* and as the mathematicians did in sixteenth-century Europe.

JAN P. HOGENDIJK

See also Mathematics; Geometry; Numbers

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ALHAMBRA/AL-QASR AL-HAMRA'

Alhambra/al-Qasr al-Hamra' derives its name from the Arabic *hamra'* (red), which is probably a reference to the color of the dirt that makes up the high hill (the Sabika) beside the Darro river from which the Alhambra commands panoramic views of Granada and the surrounding countryside. The complex dates

largely to the middle- to late-fourteenth century and to the reigns of Nasrid sovereigns Yusuf III and Muhammad V; only the Tower of the Infantas and Christian alterations and additions are known to have been added later. Somewhat removed from the city, its placement follows traditions that began with the ʻAbbasids and that are also reflected in the ruling and dwelling spaces built by the Ayyubids and Mamluks in Syria and Egypt as well as Madinat al-Zahra', the earlier Andalusian palace built by the Umayyads outside of Córdoba during the tenth century. The high walls and towers present a forbidding façade to the visitor, who today approaches the palace through a gate (known as the Puerta del Vino) some distance down the hill; he or she is then confronted with the Renaissance-style facade of the Palace of Charles V, which was placed by Spanish architect Antonio Machuca directly against the eastern side of the Palace of the Lions and over the walkway that led through the royal cemetery.

The earliest known architectural activity on the site dates to the eleventh century CE, when Granada was ruled by the Berber Taifa dynasty of the Banu Ziri. This is perhaps connected to the patronage of the Jewish vizier Samuel ha-Levi ben Nagrila; remains from the Arabic al-Qasba (fortress) were found in the southern tip of the complex, which is known as the Alcazaba. These structures were largely functional, and their relationship to the putative vizier's palace has never been determined with certainty. It is also believed that the fountain from which the Palace of the Lions derives its modern name is owed to the Jewish vizier's patronage. It is with the Nasrids, however (the dynasty began in 1238 under Muhammad I Ibn Ahmar, with Granada as its capital), that spaces clearly planned for royal use were designed and built. The earliest of these structures, the Palace of the Generalife, was probably begun under Ismaʻil in 1314 and destined for relaxation and pleasure in a tradition that is often deemed a quintessentially "Islamic" one, although it was also adopted by medieval Christian sovereigns in Castile, Aragon, and Sicily. The palace's salons and miradors (related to the Arabic *manzara*, or belvedere—a place from which to enjoy a view) open onto a long, rectangular–pool-and-garden complex that is now considerably restored. Interiors are adorned with panels of vegetal and geometric ornamentation; their similarities to Nasrid textiles have often been noticed, but the true object of contemplation is the constructed landscape and gardens.

The Palaces of the Myrtles and the Lions (built between 1333 and 1391) are the best preserved and the most altered, whether during the adaptations of the palace to Christian use carried out under Ferdinand and Isabel (as well as their son, Charles V) or during modern restoration; these two spaces have also fostered the most contention among scholars. Earlier schools of interpretation viewed the complex composed by these two palaces as imbued with a single plan and conception; recent studies have given greater attention to the differences between the two palaces and to the fact that each possessed its own bath complex, orientation, and possibly even entrance, thereby stressing the particular architectural, ornamental, and even poetic coherence of each. The Palace of the Myrtles (in Spanish, *arrayánes*), which is also referred to as the Palace of Comares, is the earliest of the two; it was possibly begun by Ismaʻil and substantially developed under Yûsuf, but it also owes much to the patronage of Muhammad V. It is preceded by a still poorly understood area referred to as the Mexuar (from the Arabic *mashwar*), which probably served administrative purposes (petitions and other matters of civic import), although disagreements exist regarding the specific function to be attributed to each area. Corridors then lead past a small oratory and into the throne room proper, which is often referred to as the *Sala de Comares.* It looks out onto a central patio and pool complex, and it is separated from the latter by a long, narrow space known as the *Sala de la Barca* (probably from the Arabic *baraka*, or blessing); it is mirrored on the opposite side of the pool by a similar complex of rooms. The stunning effects produced by reflections of the architecture in the still rectangular pool have been commented on by numerous poets and modern scholars; they contribute to a sense of stasis that is echoed in the throne room (and, according to specialists, in the panegyric and battle-centered subject matter of the poetic compositions that adorn the walls), for which a cosmological reading based in what most read as a representation or evocation of the seven heavens in the ceiling. The poetic inscriptions—verses throughout the palace—were taken from longer compositions by three principal poets: Ibn al-Jayyan, Ibn Zamrak, and Ibn al-Khatib, although those authored by the latter would have been effaced after his fall from grace serve to support this interpretation. Again, the throne room participates in a particularly Andalusi tradition of royal spaces; however, Christian sovereigns such as Alfonso X and Muhammad V's contemporary Pedro I ("el Cruel") did not hesitate to adapt them to their own purposes, perhaps even contributing to the development of the Islamic prototype.

During the fourteenth century, it is possible that the two doorways that punctuate the impressive facade of the Palace of the Myrtles were originally located on the

southern extreme of the Patio of the Myrtles, which constitutes the palaces' most formal and elaborate entrance, and which led directly into the throne room. Entrance would have been effected through a small space topped by a dome and followed by the *Salon of the Suras;* this mirrors the Sala de la Barca, which precedes the throne room. This debate has awakened considerable controversy, and much work remains to be done before the hypothesis can be fully substantiated; however, such an arrangement would be in keeping with the tradition of Hispano-Islamic palaces, and it would help to explain Charles V's decision to place his palace where he did.

From the Palace of the Myrtles, one passes into the Palace of the Lions. Here, with the exception of the verses in the Mirador of Lindaraja (probably the privileged position occupied by the sovereign when this palace was in use), inscriptions concentrate more on the themes of beauty—specifically those of architecture and gardens—than did those of the Salon of Comares. This fact gives rise to an interpretation that is now believed by many scholars to overemphasize the pleasurable (and even paradisiacal) aspects of the palace and to give short shrift to what was possibly an official or judiciary function. The patio, which is oriented in the opposite direction of that of the Myrtles and punctuated in the center by the famous Fountain of the Lions, is flanked on all four sides by rooms that are covered with spectacular muqarnas vaults and embellished with small fountains that are channeled from the central one. The east and west rooms are preceded by porch-like structures that evoke pavilions, and columns are grouped so as to suggest movement and invite perambulation. Interpretations of the Court of the Lions vary, as noted earlier, from that of a pleasure palace with no other purpose to a new Mexuar to a Sufi madrasa and tomb complex.

Although scholars of the nineteenth century viewed the Nasrid palace through a Romantic lens that emphasized its uniqueness and quintessentially Islamic qualities, the Alhambra in fact gives ample evidence of interactions with contemporary cultures, both Christian and Muslim. Relationships to Marinid Morocco have been suggested on the basis of both shared ornamental tastes and the particular plan of the Palace of the Lions, which the structure in turn shares with the original state of the cloister of a convent of Poor Claires that was established in the Castilian villa of Tordesillas by Pedro I "el Cruel" of Castile in 1373 (the building was previously a palace built under his and his father's patronage). Numerous and as yet incompletely studied interchanges are documented in the corpus of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century architecture and ornament built or adapted by Christian or Jewish patrons according to Islamic models known as *mudéjar.* The textiles that ornamented the Alhambra's salons and walls evidence intriguing similarities to those produced throughout the Mediterranean, including Italy. The painted leather ceilings, moreover, that adorn the so-called Sala de Justicia at the eastern end of the Patio of the Lions are clearly related to European models, although their program has yet to be fully deciphered. Finally, it is known that Isabel I spent a considerable amount of time in the palace before her death and was in fact buried (in the habit of the Poor Claires) for a time in one of the miradors of one of the complex's older palaces that she had donated to the Franciscan order so that a convent might be founded on the palace grounds, which now belonged to her.

Cynthia Robinson

See also Architecture, Religious; Architecture, Secular; Civil Architecture, Secular; Palaces; Baths and Bathing; Beauty and Aesthetics; Gardens and Gardening; Painting, Monumental and Frescoes; Poetry, Arabic; Poet; Water

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'ALI AL-RIDA

Eighth Imam of the Twelver Shi'is and heir to the 'Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun, Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Musa ibn Ja'far al-Sadiq was born sometime during the late 760s in Medina, the son of the seventh Imam Musa al-Kazim and a Nubian slave wife. His father designated him as his successor before he died in prison in 799. None of his brothers claimed the imamate, although some of them—along with his uncle Muhammad ibn Ja'far—revolted against the 'Abbasids. The real split in the Twelver community took place between al-Rida's supporters and those who insisted that al-Kazim was the messianic Mahdi of the last days and that he had not died but merely gone into occultation. The Waqifiyya, as they became known (particularly in the heresiographies), were prominent in Iraq and withheld the payment of the khums from al-Rida. In Medina, al-Rida narrated hadith from his forefathers, but it seems that he was not received well by Sunni traditionists (or, rather, by the later constructors of hadith criticism), because few Sunnis transmitted from him; however, at the same time, when al-Rida went to Khurasan, famous Sunni traditionists such as Ibn Rahawayh and Yahya ibn Yahya were said to have met him in Nishapur.

In 816, the 'Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun invited al-Rida to Khurasan and, in a radical policy shift, designated al-Rida, an 'Alid, as his successor and married his daughter Umm Habib to him. Some of the sources, especially the Twelver accounts, make much of al-Rida's "royal progress" to Marv, although it is unclear whether he had even accepted al-Ma'mun's proposal at the time. In an official ceremony in March 817, al-Rida was formally designated an heir apparent. Historians have debated the intentions of all the protagonists; recent research suggests that al-Ma'mun had decided that the best candidates for the caliphate ought to come from the wider pool of Hashimites and that 'Ali ibn Musa was the best candidate. He even gave him the title *al-Rida,* no doubt as a preemptive move against Shi'i rebels who often raised the banner of al-Rida min Al Muhammad, the chosen (messianic) candidate from the family of Muhammad. Al-Rida was given a high status at the court of al-Ma'mun, where he often took part in religious disputations; accounts of this were recorded later in Ibn Babuwayh's *'Uyun akhbar al-Rida*, the main collection of reports about him. Twelver sources

categorically state that al-Rida accepted the post reluctantly; he had little taste for political power, and he suspected bad faith on the part of al-Ma'mun. Certainly there is a sense in which the disputations were designed as set pieces to embarrass al-Rida, and it seems unlikely that he would ever have succeeded the much younger al-Ma'mun. Suspicions were further raised by the sudden death of al-Rida at Tus in September 818. Most accounts allege that he was poisoned; most Twelvers historians blamed al-Ma'mun. The sudden change in al-Ma'mun's policy and the attempt to eradicate his memory (despite the immediate signs of grief and funeral arrangements that placed al-Rida's body in the tomb of Harun al-Rashid) seemed to confirm these suspicions. According to Twelver tradition, al-Rida was succeeded by his son Muhammad al-Jawad, whose minority raised issues about the ontological status of the Imam and his knowledge. The tomb near Tus became a major pilgrimage site for the Imam martyred in foreign lands. Pilgrimage to his shrine city, which was renamed Mashhad (place of martyrdom) in his honor, was commended in Shi'i pilgrimage manuals. Miracles ascribed to him in his life multiplied after his death; pilgrims were cured, dilemmas solved, and spiritual guidance found.

Three works are attributed to al-Rida. *Al-Risala al-Dhahabiyya fi 'l-Tibb* is a treatise on Prophetic medicine that is said to have been commissioned by al-Ma'mun and copied in golden ink. Despite questions concerning its provenance, it remains popular in Twelver circles. *Sahifat al-Rida* is a collection of 240 hadith mentioned in some early Imami sources. *Fiqh al-Rida*, which is a work that purports to record al-Rida's legal pronouncements, was unknown until the Safavid period; it is in fact the legal work, *Kitab al-taklif*, of the Imami heresiarch Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-Shalmaghani (d. 934).

Sajjad H. Rizvi

See also al-Ma'mun; Messianism; Nishapur; Shi'ism; Shi'i imams

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'ALI IBN ABI TALIB

'Ali ibn Abi Talib (c. 599–661) was the first cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad; the fourth of the four Rightly Guided Caliphs (al-khulafa' al-rashidun); and the first of the Imams deemed by all Shi'is Muslims to be appointed by divine mandate. The word *Shi'is* itself is derived from the term *shi'at' 'Ali*, which means "partisans of 'Ali."

Few figures of nascent Islam had as pervasive and enduring an influence—both symbolic and actual—on the unfolding of Islamic thought, culture, and spirituality as 'Ali. Referred to by the Prophet as the "gate" to the city of prophetic science, one of the most noticeable features of his legacy for medieval Islam is indeed the range of disciplines—from theology and exegesis to calligraphy and numerology, from law and mysticism to grammar and rhetoric—that are regarded as having been first adumbrated by 'Ali.

As Companion of the Prophet

'Ali was about five years old when he was taken into the household of Muhammad, and, from this time until the death of the Prophet, was his constant companion. He was one of the first to accept the mission of the Prophet, although he was still but a youth. After the migration *(al-hijra)* to Medina (622), 'Ali distinguished himself principally as the most outstanding warrior in the early battles fought by the Muslims, his valor and strength assuming legendary dimensions through the reports of the battle of Khaybar in 629. He was also one of the scribes of the verses of the continuing revelation of the Qur'an.

In Medina, the Prophet instituted a pact of brotherhood between the emigrants from Mecca and the

"helpers" (the Muslims of Medina), and he adopted 'Ali as his brother. The Prophet married 'Ali to his daughter, Fatima, who was considered (along with her mother, Muhammad's first wife, Khadija) to be a paragon of feminine sanctity in Islam. The Prophet's *ahl al-bayt* ("people of the House")—the members of which the Qur'an refers to in 33:33 as being purified of all defilement—was indicated by the Prophet as consisting of himself, 'Ali, Fatima, and their two sons, Hasan and Husayn.

In one of the most famous and controversial sayings of the Prophet, known as the Hadith al-Ghadir, 'Ali is referred to as the *mawla* (guide/master/nearest) of all those who regard the Prophet as their mawla. For Shi'is, this implied a clear designation *(nass)* by the Prophet of 'Ali as his successor. It was belief in 'Ali as the true, divinely appointed successor *(khalifa)* and heir *(wasi)* of the Prophet that formed the theological basis of the distinctive political philosophy of Shi'ism. Such Shi'ite dynasties as the (Isma'ili) Fatimids (q.v.) and the (Ithna'ashari) Safawids (q.v.) were founded on this political philosophy.

As Caliph

The short caliphate of 'Ali (656–661) was marked principally by the first civil wars within Islam. He fought three major battles: that of Jamal (656) against the forces of Talha, Zubayr (two leading companions), and 'A'isha (one of the Prophet's wives); that of Siffin against Mu'awiya (657); and that of Nahrawan (658) against the "Seceders" (Kharijites [q.v.]; those who seceded from his own ranks). Although victorious in the first and last of these battles, the second resulted in a stalemate and an attempt at arbitration. When this attempt collapsed, 'Ali roused his forces for a resumption of the war against Mu'awiya but was attacked by a Kharijite during morning prayers at the congregational mosque in Kufa on 28 January 661; he died from his wounds two days later.

Intellectual and Spiritual Legacy

The chief vehicle of 'Ali's intellectual legacy is the *Nahj al-Balagha*, a text of sermons, letters, and aphorisms that was compiled by al-Sharif al-Radi (d. 1016), a renowned Shi'i scholar of 'Abbasid Baghdad. Few texts have exerted a greater influence on the field of Arabic literature and rhetoric than the *Nahj*. Despite ongoing questions about the authenticity of the text, recent scholarship suggests that most of the material in it can in fact be attributed to 'Ali (Djebli, 56). The numerous commentaries on this text—the most important being that of the Mu'tazilite, Ibn Abi l-Hadid (d. 655)—greatly amplified its influence on theological speculation, philosophical thought, and literary discourse.

With regard to 'Ali's spiritual legacy, this was transmitted in the Sunni world principally through the widespread Sufi brotherhoods (turuq, s. tariqa, q.v.), all of which trace their spiritual genealogy back to him through an unbroken chain of initiatic masters. In the Shi'i context, his spiritual influence is discerned in the tradition of what came to be called *'irfan* (*gnosis;* q.v.), which partly overlaps with Sufism but is distinct from it in certain respects.

'Ali's shrine in Najaf, near Baghdad, remains one of the most important places of pilgrimage in the Muslim world.

Reza Shah-Kazemi

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ALMOHADS

The Almohads were the Berber dynasty that ruled the Islamic West (Morocco, Algeria, Tunis) and al-Andalus (Muslim Spain) from the sixth/twelfth century to the first half of the seventh/thirteenth century.

The name *Almohads* derives from the Arabic *al-muwahhidun* (the Unitarians), which was adopted by the followers of an Islamic reformist movement originating with the teachings of the Masmuda Berber Ibn Tumart, who led a doctrinal opposition against what he saw as the religious and moral corruption of Almoravid times. The sources of Ibn Tumart's thought, which are to be understood within the theological

and legal debates about the acquisition of certainty in the interpretation of God's revelation, are still open to discussion.

Ibn Tumart's life in Almohad sources follows the paradigm of the Prophet Muhammad's biography, which makes the disentangling of legend from history difficult. Ibn Tumart performed an emigration (517/1123) with his disciples to the village of Tinmallal (Atlas mountains) to escape Almoravid persecution. There, having gained the allegiance of neighboring Berber tribes, the religious movement transformed itself into a revolutionary army that engaged in military fighting against the Almoravids. Purges of dissidents were carried out, and Ibn Tumart proclaimed himself (or was proclaimed) Mahdi (rightly guided one), a title with Messianic overtones.

After Ibn Tumart's death, his disciple ʻAbd al-Mu'min (Zanata Berber) proclaimed himself caliph (r. 524/1130–558/1163), eventually adopting an Arab (Qaysi) genealogy. ʻAbd al-Mu'min was the founder of the Almohad empire, managing to conquer Marrakech (the Almoravid capital) in the year 542/1147. He introduced changes in the composition of the Almohad Berber army, incorporating the Arab tribes (Sulaym, Hilal) that had been moving westward in North Africa since the fifth/eleventh century. ʻAbd al-Mu'min was also responsible for the creation of the religious elites known as *talaba*. Al-Andalus was partly occupied during ʻAbd al-Mu'min's times, and so was Tunis, where he defeated the Normans of Sicily. His successors Abu Yaʻqub Yusuf (r. 558–580/1163–1184) and Abu Yusuf Yaʻqub al-Mansur (r. 580–595/1184–1199) had to face the Almoravid Banu Ghaniya and internal opponents as well as continue the struggle in the Iberian Peninsula against both local Andalusi independent rulers and the Christians. These groups were defeated at the battle of Alarcos (591/1195), although some years later the Almohads would prove unable to stop them; and by the third decade of the seventh/thirteenth century, major towns such as Seville and Cordoba were lost to the King of Castile. The ruling dynasty was weakened by internal splits, some of which were associated with the maintenance or abandonment of the original Almohad ideology. The empire disintegrated during the first half of the seventh/thirteenth century, and former Almohad territory was divided among the Marinids in Morocco, the Hafsids in Tunis, and the ʻAbd al-Wadids in Algeria.

The Almohad movement had aimed at a complete religious renewal that was conceived as a return to the situation of the early Muslim community, when the Prophet ensured the correct understanding and implementation of God's design for the believers. By this, they were proclaiming a break with the existing society, because it represented the degradation of the original community. This break showed itself in certain Almohad peculiarities that aimed at proving the beginning of a new era: the qibla of the mosques was changed; changes were introduced in the public call to prayer; in the Almohad coins, the square shape predominated over the round; and the study of the fundamentals of belief and law was promoted. The Almohad period also witnessed the flourishing of Sufism in the Islamic West and also of philosophy; the main representative of this was Ibn Rushd al-Hafid (d. 595/1198), known in the Latin West as Averroes. The effort for propagating Almohad doctrine among the population led to the use of the Berber language in ritual and writings, while at the same time the penetration of Arab tribes in Morocco would eventually help the process of linguistic Arabization.

Maribel Fierro

See also Ibn Tumart; Almoravids

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ALMORAVIDS

The Almoravids were the dynasty that ruled Morocco and al-Andalus (Muslim Spain) from the fifth/eleventh century to the first half of the sixth/twelfth century.

The Almoravids were recruited from among Berber Sanhaja nomads who inhabited southern Morocco and the Sahara and who were involved in the salt, gold, and slave trades. They were known in Arabic as *al-murabitun*, which means those who engage in *ribat* (this term refers to a fortified convent on the frontiers of Islam but also metaphorically to a spiritual discipline that could be directed to military aims). The origins of the Almoravid movement are connected by sources to the desire of a leader of the Gudala tribe to improve the religious life of his tribesmen (and their relatives, the Lamtuna), convincing a Maliki scholar, Ibn Yasin, to settle with them in what is now Mauritania. Ibn Yasin, while keeping for himself the political and religious leadership, appointed Yahya ibn 'Umar al-Lamtuni leader of the army after the Sanhaja had been organized into a raiding force. They conquered the Sahara and southern Morocco. Ibn Yasin died in 450/1058 while fighting the heretic Barghawata Berbers; although mention is made of some spiritual successors, the movement eventually united under a single religious, political, and military leadership. Yahya ibn 'Umar died in 447–448/1055–1057 and was succeeded by his brother Abu Bakr, who left for the Sahara to put order there and who appointed as commander of the army in Morocco his cousin Yusuf ibn Tashufin (d. 500/1107). The latter became the supreme authority of the Almoravid movement, which he led to the conquests of Morocco, part of Ifriqiya (see North Africa), and al-Andalus. The capital of the empire was established in Marrakech. Ibn Tashufin and his successors, who claimed a Himyari (Southern Arab) genealogy, adopted the title *Prince of the Muslims (amir al-muslimin)* and are said to have acknowledged the 'Abbasid caliphate.

The Andalusi Taifa kings (see Party Kings [Iberian Peninsula]), unable to stop Christian military advance in the Iberian Peninsula, asked for Ibn Tashufin's help; he crossed the Strait of Gibraltar, obtaining a resounding victory at Zallaqa (479/1086). This and later military interventions eventually led to the dethronement of those same Taifa kings, and al-Andalus became part of the Almoravid empire.

The Almoravid dynasty was supported by the Sanhaja murabitun, who constituted a military and political elite, and by the employment of Christian mercenaries and black slaves in the army.

In the religious and legal spheres, the Maliki jurists had great influence, because the Almoravid rulers usually tried to back their political and religious decisions with fatwas (see Law and Jurisprudence). Although the Almoravid movement has usually been portrayed as fanatical and conservative, supporting those Malikis who opposed theology and Sufism (with the episode of the burning of al-Ghazali's *Ihya'* 'ulum al-din [Revivification of the Religious Sciences] figuring prominently in this regard), recent scholarship indicates a more complex situation. The Almoravid program of religious reform, which centered on jihad and the abolition of illegal taxes, went in fact together with an increasing interest in theology, the fundamentals of religion (usul al-din), and the rational sciences, as well as with the flourishing of Sufism, thus prefiguring in many ways the subsequent Almohad intellectual and religious revolution.

The Almoravids, who were weakened by their fight against the Christians of al-Andalus, lost their power at the hands of the Almohads, who accused them of heterodoxy for their un-Islamic dressing (the men were veiled and the women were not) and for their anthropomorphism. In al-Andalus, the disintegration of Almoravid power was the result of the formation of independent polities led by charismatic leaders (e.g., the Sufi Ibn Qasi), military men, or urban notables (mostly judges). Almost all of these autonomous political entities disappeared with the Almohad intervention in the Iberian Peninsula. Only the branch of the Massufa Banu Ghaniya managed to survive, ruling first in the Balearic Islands and then in Ifriqiyya.

MARIBEL FIERRO

See also Jihad; Gibraltar

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ALP ARSLAN

Alp Arslan (r. 1063–1073 CE) was the second sultan of the Great Seljuk Empire. Born in 1029, he was a son of Chaghri Beg, a grandson of Seljuk ibn Duqaq (the eponymous founder of the Seljuk dynasty), and a nephew of Toghril Beg, the first sultan of the Great Seljuk Empire (of which Chaghri and Toghril were cofounders). Soon after their conquest of the Middle East began in 1040, Chaghri became ruler of Khurasan, using Merv as his capital. Other regions of the empire were subsequently parceled out to other members of the family. Alp Arslan was close to his father, who, as early as 1043, sent him as the head of forces against the Ghaznavids. In 1050, he plundered Fasa far to the west, in Fars. He fought the Ghaznavids again, successfully, in 1053–1054. When Chaghri died around 1059, Alp Arslan succeeded him as ruler of Khurasan and placed Nizam al-Mulk, who had previously entered his service, in charge of its administration. At about the same time, he marched to Rayy, the capital of the Seljuk Empire, to help Toghril crush a revolt by his cousin Ibrahim Yinal.

Toghril died childless in 1063. Before he died, he married one of Chaghri's wives, whose son he designated his heir. With the support of powerful amirs, Alp Arslan rid himself of his half-brother, overcame rebellious family members (the most formidable of whom was his brother Qavurt, the ruler of Kirman), and took the throne at Rayy, placing Nizam al-Mulk in charge of running the empire. Shortly thereafter, the 'Abbasid caliph al-Qa'im recognized him as sultan; he then concentrated on continuing the Seljuk conquests. In 1064, Alp Arslan marched to Azerbaijan. From there he invaded Georgia and conquered the Armenian cities of Kars and Ani, and afterward he returned to Rayy. In 1065, he consolidated his hold on Transoxania and campaigned beyond the Jaxartes (Syr Darya). In 1067, he turned south to crush a revolt by Qavurt and then returned to the western frontier where, in the meantime, Turkmen raiders had been penetrating ever more deeply into Byzantine territory. In 1068, he again invaded Georgia, and, in 1070, he moved into northern Syria, besieging Edessa and Aleppo. In 1071, while in Syria, he made plans to overthrow the Fatimid caliphate in Egypt. His attention was diverted, however, when he learned that the Byzantine emperor Romanus IV Diogenes was marching into eastern Anatolia. The emperor had decided to put an end to the growing Turkish menace by taking the fortresses of Manzikert and Akhlat, thus sealing off major immigration routes into Anatolia. At Manzikert, Alp Arslan defeated the Byzantine army and captured the emperor. Byzantine defenses in Anatolia collapsed, and Turkish immigration began on a large scale, driven by a desire for booty and pastures. There is no evidence that Alp Arslan ordered a systematic conquest of Anatolia. Indeed, he immediately returned east to face hostilities with the Qarakhanids in Transoxania. In 1073, in the midst of this campaign, a captive Castellan managed to stab him to death; his son Malikshah succeeded him.

GARY LEISER

See also 'Abbasids; Armenia, Byzantine Empire; Fatimids; Muslim–Byzantine Relations; Raids; Seljuks; Seljuk Warfare; Turks

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ALPHABETS

The Arabic alphabet (abjad, abajad, or abu jad) consists, in its present state (which has been attested to since the end of the seventh century) of twenty-eight graphemes that are consonantal phonemes. They are as follows (here with a simplified transliteration and numerical value): alif (', 1), ba' (b, 2), ta' (t, 400), tha' (voiceless gingival or interdental: th, 500), jim (j, 3), ha' (h, 8), kha' (voiceless spirant fricative: kh, 600), dal (d, 4), dhal (voiced gingival: dh, 700), ra' (lingual vibrant: r, 200), zay (z, 7), sin (s, 60), shin (voiceless cacuminal spirant, hushing sound, 300), sad (voiceless velar postdental, 90), dad (voiced velar occlusive, 800), za' (voiced velar interdental spirant, 900), 'ayn (voiceless fricative spirant: ', 70), ghayn (voiced fricative spirant: gh, 70), fa' (f, 80), qaf (voiceless back-velar occlusive, together with occlusion of the larynx, 100), kaf (k, 20), lam (l, 30), mim (m, 40), nun (n, 50), ha' (voiceless breath: h, 5), waw (w and long u, 6), and ya' (y and long i, 10).

Like other Proto-Sinaitic–derived scripts, Arabic does not have letters for vowels (haraka [motion]). However, at a later period, diacritical signs were invented to mark the vowels of Arabic and other phenomens of pronunciation. The marks for the short vowels are as follows: fatha (a), kasra (i), and damma (u). The marks of the short vowels, when doubled, are pronounced with the addition of the sound *n* (an, in, un); this is called *tanwin* (*nunation,* from the name of the letter *nun*). The long vowels and diphthongs are indicated by *alif* (long a), *ya'* (for long i and ay), and *waw* (for long u and aw).

When *alif* is not a mere letter of prolongation (i.e., a long *a*) but rather a consonant, pronounced like the *spiritus lenis*, it is distinguished by the mark *hamza,* which means compression, and is shown as follows: '. With the vowels u and a, it is written over the alif; with the vowel i, it is written under. In special conditions, it is put over a ya' or a waw; in others, it is directly on the line, without a support. The alif maqsura (the alif that can be abbreviated) and the ta' marbuta (the tied ya') are in their forms, respectively, variants of the ya' and the ha'.

The *sukun* (rest) corresponds to the sheva quiescens of the Hebrew: it indicates the absence of vowel or a consonant. A consonant that is to be doubled without the interposition of a vowel is marked by a *shadda* (strengthening mark). When the vowels with hamza ('a, 'i, 'u) at the beginning of a word are absorbed by the final vowel of the preceding word, the elision of the *spiritus lenis* is marked by the sign wasla (union).

There are at least two positions among Western scholars regarding the origin of the Arabic alphabet and writing: the Nabatean Aramaic one and the Syriac one (via the towns of Anbar and Hira). It should be noted that, for most of the ancient Muslim scholars, the Arabic script came from these towns to Mecca. There are also several legends surrounding the origin of the Arabic script. According to the Kufian Ibn al-Kalbi (d. AH 204/819 CE or 206/821), the first to form it was a group of Bedouin Arabs, whose names were Abu Jad (Abdjad), Hawwaz (or Hawwiz), Hutti, Kalamun (or Kaliman), Safas (or Safad), and Qurusa'at (or Qarishat, Qarashat). These legendary persons are supposed to have been kings of Midian (Madian). These names are actually combinations of the letters of the alphabet in the traditional order of the Semitic alphabet that have been combined in groups of four, three, four, and four, from aleph to taw.

Other languages are written in Arabic script: Hausa, Kashmiri, Kazak, Kurdish, Kyrghyz, Malay, Morisco, Pashto, Persian/Farsi, Sindhi, Tatar, Turkish (before the reform of Ata Turk), Uyghur (in the Xinjiang Uyghur autonomous region of China and also in Afghanistan), and Urdu.

Also present are the following consonant alphabets: ancient Berber, Divehi Akuru (Maldivian Indo-Aryan language—"island letters" that were replaced, after the conversion of the Maldives to Islam in 1153, by a new Arabic-influenced alphabet known as *Thaana*), Hebrew, Mandaic, Middle Persian, Nabatean, Parthian, Phoenician, Proto-Hebrew, Psalter (a variant of Persian script), Sabean, Samaritan, South Arabian, Syriac, Tifinagh, and Ugaritic. Tifinagh is thought to have derived from ancient Berber script; it could mean "Phoenician letters," or it may come from the Greek *pinaks* (writing tablets). Since September 2003, the Tifinagh alphabet has been taught in primary schools in Morocco; it is also used by the Tuaregs, particularly the women, for private notes and decoration.

Claude Gilliot

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AMIR KHUSRAW (1253–1325)

Nasir al-Din Abu 'l-Hasan, the son of a Turkish soldier and Indian mother, was born in Patiala in the Punjab in 1253. Perhaps the greatest Persian poet of pre-Mughal India, he took great pride in his Indian origins and was recognized as being the "Parrot of India" for singing its praises. As a boy, his grandfather encouraged his poetic talents; once in Delhi, he found patronage with Sultan Balban and his son Boghra Khan. Amir Khusraw joined the prince on campaign to Multan, which was promptly sacked by the invading Mongols in 1284. The prince was killed, and Amir Khusraw was taken prisoner. Once released, he found favor with the Khalji sultans of Delhi, especially 'Ala' al-Din (d. 1315), under whose patronage he wrote most of his compositions. Like other medieval poets, he moved from one royal patron to another; this occurred quite often given the vicissitudes of political life in the Delhi sultanate.

Amir Khusraw wrote a cycle of five epic poems (khamsa) in imitation of Nizami, odes to the conquests of his patrons, and Hindi love poems and riddles; he is credited with the invention of Hindustani music. He was also a close disciple of the great Chishti Sufi of Delhi Nizam al-Din Awliya'. Throughout his work, Amir Khusraw stressed his Indianness and even wrote a poetic work in nine meters entitled *Nuh Sipihr* that was about nine spheres of existence, with India elevated above all others. Amir Khusraw died in 1325, shortly after his beloved Sufi master and was buried next to him.

Sajjad H. Rizvi

See also Delhi; Chishti; Epics, Persian; Poetry, Persian; Sufism

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AMULI, Al-

Al-Amuli, Al-Sayyid Haydar al-Husayn (d. after AH 787/1385 CE) was an early proponent of the close association between Sufism and Imami Shi'ism and of the notion that the Imams had been guides for their own followers but also for travelers along the mystical path. He was also one of the earliest Imami thinkers to have incorporated the thought of Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 638/1240) into his writings.

Al-Sayyid Haydar initially studied in his hometown of Amul, in Mazandiran, which was long known for its Shi'i proclivities, and then later in Astarabad and Isfahan. Having returned to Amul, he became close to and served the local ruler, whose assassination in 750/1349 coincided with Haydar's abandonment of life at court for Sufism. He visited different Shi'i shrines and also traveled to Jerusalem and the Hijaz, and thereafter he settled in Iraq. In Baghdad he studied with such prominent Shi'i figures as Fakhr al-Din Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Hilli (d. 771/1370) (son of the famous Twelver scholar al-Hasan ibn Yusuf, al-'Allama) and Ibn al-Mutahhar al-Hilli (d. 726/1325). He later resided in the Shi'i shrine city of Najaf.

Of the more than forty works authored by Amuli, seven have survived, and some have been published. Perhaps the most famous is *Jami' al-Asrar (A Compendium of Secrets)*, which was completed in 752/1351. His *Asrar al-Shari'a*, which was mentioned in the *Jami'*, has been translated into English as *Inner Secrets of the Path* (1989) and includes Muhammad Khajavi's 1982 essay about Amuli and his thought.

Amuli insisted on the common origins of Shi'ism and Sufism, understanding all knowledge as having derived from the Imams. His project involved an effort to transcend both the normal literal/juridical approach to Islam, especially Shi'i Islam, and those dimensions of Sufism that rejected the grounding of its doctrine and practices in those of the Imams.

The *Compendium* is especially noteworthy for Amuli's efforts to reconcile aspects of Ibn al-'Arabi's thought with Twelver Shi'ism, particularly his reference to pure monotheism and inner/ontological monotheism; in addition, he postulated that the former was taught by the prophets and the secrets of the latter by the awliya' (sing. wali). 'Ali was the seal of the universal walaya, and the Mahdi—who, for Amuli, is the twelfth Imam—was the seal of the Muhammadan walaya. By contrast, for Ibn al-'Arabi, Jesus was the seal of the former.

Amuli's efforts to establish a synthesis between Sufism and Shi'ism were continued by Mir Damad (d. 1630), Mulla Sadra (d. 1640), Hadi Sabzavari (d. 1873), and the Ayatollah Khomayni (d. 1989).

Khajavi's contribution and Corbin's recently translated 1981 lecture remain the only English-language essay-length studies of Amuli's legacy. Kohlberg offers a list of non-English editions of Amuli's published works.

ANDREW J. NEWMAN

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AMULETS

See Talismans and Talismanic Objects

AL-ANDALUS

Al-Andalus is the name used to refer to the Iberian peninsula territories that were ruled by Islamic regimes between 711 and 1492; scholars have yet to reach agreement about the origin of this name. For some, the meaning of al-Andalus is "the land of the Vandals"; others suggest "the Island of the Atlantis," whereas some believe that it comes from the German expression *Landahlauts,* which means "land allotment."

The expressions *Muslim Spain* and *Andalusia* are inaccurate renditions of al-Andalus and should therefore be rejected, because they reflect neither the historical nor the geographical reality of al-Andalus. The territorial limits of al-Andalus varied over time, although they diminished steadily from the eleventh century onward. The political control of the territory also varied significantly from urban centers to rural areas and to the territories on the border with the Christian kingdoms. However, certain elements were constant, including the following:

1. Al-Andalus constituted an Islamic Mediterranean society (which meant a disruption with the previous Hispano-Roman and Visigoth society), and it was distinct from the feudal societies of Christian Medieval Europe. Another important characteristic was its "frontier society" character.
2. Al-Andalus has to be set in the wider context of the premodern Islamic West. The discontinuity with the previous historical reality is evident in the new forms of government, territory organization, production, fiscal system, legal system, religious life, and generational and patrimonial transmission within the family. In addition, a significant aspect of Andalusi collective identity was its majority ascription to the Maliki juridical school.

From the second half of the eighth century (after the arrival of the Umayyad prince 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Mu'awiya), al-Andalus became an Umayyad emirate. During this period, all kinds of exchanges with the rest of the Islamic world occurred. At the beginning of the tenth century, one of 'Abd al-Rahman's descendants, 'Abd al-Rahman III, proclaimed himself caliph. When the caliphate collapsed at the beginning of the eleventh century, al-Andalus was fragmented into a series of independent kingdoms (ta'ifas) that were unable to face the growing strength of the Christians of the North. At the end of the eleventh century, al-Andalus was under the ruling of the North African dynasties of the Almoravids and Almohads. Lastly, Andalusi political power was

limited to the kingdom of Granada (thirteenth–fifteenth centuries), which continued in a precarious fashion until 1492.

Political power fluctuated between the two sides of the Strait of Gibraltar, being marked by the supremacy of al-Andalus during the first stage, whereas the Maghrib had priority over al-Andalus after the end of the eleventh century.

The Romance language was preserved in al-Andalus. The Andalusi population spoke Romance along with Arabic, although it is impossible to determine the actual scope of its use. However, the written production that has been preserved had Arabic as its main language of use. Andalusis' input into the development of Islamic culture was derived from Eastern influences, sometimes advancing their Oriental sources. Al-Andalus also played a significant role in the transmission of classical thought and Islamic science to the medieval Christian West. The end of the Islamic state did not put an end to the presence of Islam in the peninsula. Muslim communities, known as *mudejars*, continued to be present in some of the territories conquered by the Christians until the sixteenth century. After the conquest of Granada, their inhabitants were obliged to convert to Christianity. Many of these neoconverts, known as *moriscos*, secretly kept their faith until they were finally expelled from the peninsula at the beginning of the seventeenth century. By this time, some of these moriscos (mainly the elite classes) had already migrated, with the Maghrib as their main destination. To this date, an Andalusi origin in the Maghrib is an important identity mark of their descendants.

DELFINA SERRANO RUANO

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ANGELS

The Arabic word for angel is *malak* (pl. *mala'ika*; Persian, *firishta*). The Arab lexicographers and exegetes consider it original to Arabic, but in fact it dates back to early north–west Semitic. In Ugaritic, *ml'k* means "messenger" (Hebrew, *malak*; Aramaic, *mal'ak*). Some Western scholars believe that the

approximate source of the word in Arabic was the Ethiopian *mal'ak* (pl. *mal'eket*), which is presumably a loanword into Ethiopic from Aramaic or Hebrew. According to some scholars, it is more likely that the word *mal'ak* had already crept from Abyssinia and was known to the people of Mecca before Muhammad used it.

To believe in angels is an article of Muslim creed. The following is from the first article of one of the Creeds that is attributed to Abu Hanifa:

> "The heart of the confession of the unity of God and the true foundation of faith consist in this obligatory creed: I believe in God, His Angels, His Books, His Apotels, the resurrection after death, the decree of God the good and the evil thereof, computation of sins, the balance, Paradise and Hell; and that all these are real."

The angels play a role in three major themes of the Qur'an (creation, revelation, and eschatology), and they play a still greater role in hadith and Qur'anic commentary and in special books about them and about eschatology. The imagination of Muslim scholars with regard to angels seems to have no limit. In the Qur'an, the angels are called the "heavenly host" or "multitude" (al-mala' al-a'la) (37:8; 38:69). They are supposed to guard the walls of heaven against the "listening" of the jinns. The Qur'an stresses the absolute submission of the angels to God (21:19–20).

Some of the angels are named in the Qur'an. The Meccan Qur'an mentions the spirit Gabriel that was sent to Mary to announce the conception of Jesus (19:17). Later in Medina, however, Muhammad gave the name Gabriel (Jibril) as that of the messenger by whom the Qur'an was communicated to him (2:97). Muhammad possibly learned this name from the Jews of Mecca, among whom was his secretary Zayd b. Thabit (who knew Aramaic and/or Hebrew before Muhammad came to this town, according to al-Ka'bi [Abu l-Qasim al-Balkhi, d. 319/931]). *Mika'il* (or *Mikal;* i.e., *Michael*), which is a word that may have come directly from the Hebrew or the Syriac, is mentioned together with Gabriel, also in the Medina Qur'an (2:98). Commentators claim that the two are contrasted: Gabriel is the opponent of the Jews, and Michael is their protector.

In the same sura (2:102), Harut and Marut meet. Muhammad probably became acquainted with the names of these mythical figures in the form in which they are found in the *Avesta* (i.e., Harvotat and Amurtat—Perfection and Deathlessness). In the Slavonic Book of Enoch, they appear as Orioch and Marioch. The Syriac (Aramaic) Marut (Mastery, Lordship) may have been known by the Jews of Medina, and especially by Zayd b. Thabit, the "Secretary of Revelation" and one of the redactors of the Qur'an.

In sura 32:11, the mythical Angel of Death (malak al-mawt) appears, but not by name; he is identified in traditional Muslim literature as *'Izra'il ('Azra'il).*

Special books were written about the angels, including *al-Haba'ik fi Akhbar al-Mala'ik (The Orbits of the Stars: On the Stories of the Angels),* by Suyuti (d. 911/1505). This is a collection of legendary and mythical stories taken from Prophetic hadith or from early Muslim scholars.

Claude Gilliot

See also Al-Suyuti

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ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Animal husbandry was critical to medieval Islam because of Islamic dietary laws. Some animals, such as pigs, for example, were forbidden (haram) to eat because they were scavengers. However, shellfish and most animals that lived underwater were lawful (halal) and could be eaten, save for those that breathed both air and water (i.e., amphibians and crocodiles). This exception allowed for industries like the ancient pearl fisheries in the south of the Persian Gulf. Although what an animal ate determined its appropriateness for consumption, some animals were set outside of food purposes regardless. Dogs were considered unclean, although not so much as pigs. Other animals, such as cats, were favored by the Prophet and therefore forbidden as food.

Aside from the statutes in the Qur'an, some early Islamic sources discussed the subject, showing a keen, scientific interest in the raising of camels, horses, and sheep. Ya'qub ibn akhi Hizam wrote about veterinary matters in his book on horsemanship in 785 CE. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Quraib al-Asmai (740–828), a philologist from Basra, wrote about zoology, human anatomy, and animal husbandry. His books *Kitab al-Ibil (The Book of the Camel), Kitab al-Khail (The Book of the Horse), Kitaba al-Sha (The Book of the Sheep)*, and *Kitab al-Wuhush (The Book of Wild Animals)* had great influence in the field through the ninth and tenth centuries. During the same period, Jabril Ibn Bakhtyshu (d. 828–829), a Christian physician, wrote a book about animal husbandry called *Manaeh al-Hiwan (The Uses of Animals)*. Their contemporary, Abu 'Uthman Al-Jahiz (776–868), wrote a book about zoology called *Kitab al-Hawayan (The Book of Animals),* which discussed the effects of diet on animals.

The early Islamic Meccan economy prized herd animals like camels, horses, cattle, sheep, and goats. In a dry environment in which agriculture was not possible in many places, raising herd animals could maximize the use of marginal land. Even then, pasture land needed to be close to sources of good water. The Qur'an stated that animals had as much right to life as humans and that humans were only more important than animals because of humans' role as stewards of the earth. According to Islamic law, animals should not be deprived of water where it is available (an important consideration in a desert environment), nor should an animal be forced to witness another animal being slaughtered before it or to see the knife used to kill it sharpened before it. In Islam, animals should be slaughtered as painlessly as possible, with a single cut to the throat that would bleed out most of the blood. Blood, carrion meat from dead animals not slaughtered properly, and meat taken from live animals were also forbidden; this derived from the pre-Islamic Arabian practice of cutting the humps off of camels or the tails off of sheep so that the animals could be eaten yet kept alive for further use. Muhammad condemned the practice and forbade meat taken from living animals as carrion.

Islamic law also forbade the unnecessary caging of birds and animals. The Qur'an frowned on the unnecessary killing of animals (i.e., for sport rather than food) and favored kindness toward them, especially cats. One early story states that a man who killed a bird would answer to the creature at the Last Judgment; another story put a woman who starved a cat to death in Hell.

However, hunting was popular enough to make hawk raising an important part of animal husbandry. Hawks were used to hunt other birds, but only for sport. Pigeons had the more useful function of carrying messages. These usages, like the keeping of zoos, indicate that practice could differ widely from law.

Camels were especially important for use in transportation in addition to the production of milk, meat, and hides, with early Meccan caravans including up to 2,500 camels. Cattle also appeared repeatedly in the Qur'an as an important commodity, providing—like camels—milk, meat, and hides. Oxen also pulled plows and provided the power for other agricultural machinery. Sheep and goats provided milk, meat, wool, and hides. Horses were prized and carefully bred for racing, war, and transportation. By 1285, Muslims were practicing artificial insemination on these animals.

Animal husbandry was sufficiently lucrative to be one of the commodities covered under the zakat (alms) tax, specifically herds of camels, cattle, sheep, and goats (but only over a certain number). This tax was paid in kind. Animal husbandry represented the management of a critical source of movable wealth, especially among the more nomadic elements of Islamic society.

PAULA R. STILES

See also Ayyubids; Camels; Hunting; Tulunids; Zoological Parks

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'ANTARA IBN SHADDAD

'Antara Ibn Shaddad, the Historical Character

'Antar ("the valiant one"), also known as 'Antara ("courage in war"), was a member of the 'Abs tribe who lived in Arabia shortly before Islam (c. 525–615 CE). 'Antar composed one of the seven famous "suspended odes," which were known individually as mu'allaqa. 'Antar's factual and fictional exploits are recorded in the *Sirat 'Antar*, the most important romance of chivalry in Arabic literature; it is for his exploits as recounted in this epic that he is best known today.

Verifiable historic facts about 'Antar are sketchy. Classical Arab scholars such as al-Tibrizi (d. 1109) and Ibn Qutayba (826–889) agree that 'Antar was the son of Shaddad, born a slave of a black African mother. He is portrayed as a great knight and pre-Islamic poet. Both literary and historical sources mention that 'Antar participated in the battle known as *Dahis wa al-Ghabra'* between the 'Abs and Fazara tribes. The most widely accepted account of 'Antar's death is that he was killed by al-Asad al-Rahis, a knight from the Tayyi' tribe, with a poisoned arrow.

'Antara Ibn Shaddad, the Poet

Ibn Qutayba recounts how 'Antar composed his mu'allaqa in response to an insult about his skin color. Respected scholars attribute various numbers of verses to this poem; al-Tibrizi says it consists of 74 verses. The poem's tripartite structure is common to the highly stylized form of classical Arabic poetry: the nasib (opening section) describes the poet's beloved 'Abla and the ruins of her nomad camp; the second section, known as the journey section, describes 'Antar on his horse and then describes a camel, the pre-Islamic Arabs' most important animal; the third section is the poet's "warrior's boast," which praises his own nobility and generosity, his prowess in battle, and his heroic deeds. 'Antar's mu'allaqa is his most famous poem.

The *Sirat 'Antar*

Many other poems are also attributed to 'Antar in the *Sirat 'Antar,* the epic story of his life. This work was discovered by Europeans in 1801, when the Austrian Joseph Von Hammer-Purgstall came across a manuscript of it in Cairo. In 1820, Terrick Hamilton partially translated the work into English. No European-language translation of the 5,300-page work exists.

The *Sirat 'Antar* paints a striking portrait of the Arabs before Islam and the qualities that the Bedouins admired. Some of the epic's highlights are Shaddad's capture of the beautiful Abyssinian slave Zabiba; his later recognition of 'Antar as the legitimate son of this union; 'Antar's rise in importance in the 'Abs tribe; his adventures while seeking a dowry to marry 'Abla; his voyages to far-flung kingdoms; and the hero's death. The last volume of the *Sirat 'Antar* touches on Islam and Muhammad's miracles. Thanks to the *Sirat 'Antar,* 'Antar remains alive as an eternal hero in the popular mind throughout the Arabic-speaking world.

Driss Cherkaoui

See also Abyssinia; Adab; Folk Literature, Arab; Heroes and Heroism; Historical Writing; Ibn Qutayba; Ibn Shaddad; Ka'ba (Kaaba); Names; Poets; Popular Literature; Sira; Slaves and Slave Trade, Western Islamic World; Women Warriors

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APOSTASY

Apostasy (irtidad) is the abandonment of Islam by either a declared desertion of Islam in favor of another religion or a clandestine rejection of Islam that is often combined with secretly practicing another religion. From the earliest time of Muslim law in the seventh century, Muslim jurists agreed that apostasy from Islam bears the death penalty. During the early period, jurists also developed institutions to circumvent this harsh punishment; these institutions set the standard for what counts as apostasy from Islam so high that before the eleventh century, practically no judgment of apostasy could have been passed. This changed during the eleventh century, when jurists lowered the criteria that prevented the death penalty from being executed. During the following centuries, judges could interpret the law in various ways, setting either high or low criteria for apostasy from Islam.

The Qur'an does not mention the case of explicit rejection of Islam after conversion. However, it does address the assumed clandestine apostasy of a group of people at Medina called the hypocrites (almunafiqun). No worldly penalty is ordained for them so long as they refrain from rebellion, but harsh punishments are proclaimed for them in the afterlife. In Qur'an 49:14, a group of Bedouins is described as Muslims but not believers. This led to heated discussions of the criteria for being a Muslim, understood in terms of legal membership in the Islamic community, versus being a believer (Mu'min), understood as someone deserving otherworldly salvation.

The dispute about the meanings of *Muslim* and *Mu'min* is one of the subjects that led to the First Civil War (656–662). One party, the Kharijs, claimed that committing a capital sin (kabira) constitutes unbelief (kufr). A group of radical Kharijis felt justified to kill grave sinners as unbelievers and thus legitimized the killing of the second caliph, 'Uthman (644–656). At about the same time, Muslims agreed on the death penalty for apostasy from Islam; this judgment is based on the authority of a report (hadith) of the Prophet that said, "whoever changes his religion has his head cut off." After the Kharijis lost the First Civil War, the various groups of their enemies, who dominated the early development of Muslim law, were terrified by the prospect of Muslims killing each other over accusations of apostasy and worked to abate the harsh punishment the Prophetical hadith provides.

Muslim jurists agreed that actions other than the explicit rejection of belief in Islam could not constitute apostasy. In other words, committing a sin could not be an act of apostasy. Apostasy was regarded as the declared rejection of Islam and could only be sufficiently established after a person accused of apostasy had been invited three times to repent and return to Islam. The legal institution of the invitation to repent (istitaba) is mentioned neither in the Qur'an nor in the Prophetical hadith; in early Muslim law, it nevertheless became a necessary condition for convicting an apostate. It safeguarded the ability of an accused apostate to have a chance to return to Islam, fully avert punishment, and be reinstated in all rights as a Muslim. Subsequently, only those Muslim apostates could be punished who openly declared their breaking away from Islam and who maintained their rejection in the face of capital punishment.

Most early jurists understood that the general application of the invitation to repent effectively ruled out any penalty for apostasy. They allowed persons accused of apostasy to declare their return to Islam, even when it was understood to be nominal; this became the accepted position in the early Hanafi and Shafi'i schools of law. Their views fit well into a situation during the eighth and ninth centuries, when conversion to Islam happened collectively and often only nominally. Malik ibn Anas (715–795), the founder of the Maliki school of law, ruled differently, saying that zanadiqa should not be given the right to repent and could thus be killed straightaway. *Zanadiqa* here means clandestine apostates, but later jurists interpreted the term more widely. This ruling meant that the Maliki school of jurisprudence was, in practice, less tolerant toward heterodox Muslim views than the others, and it allowed Maliki jurists to apply the death penalty to accused apostates who had never explicitly broken with Islam. In these cases, heterodox views were regarded as evidence of clandestine apostasy.

During the eleventh century, the consensus of the Hanafi and Shafi'i jurists regarding the general application of the invitation to repent broke down. Hanbali jurists had already argued that some points of religious doctrine were so central to the Muslim creed that a violation should be regarded as apostasy from Islam and punished by death. During the middle of the eleventh century, scholars from all schools argued that, in the case of the political agents of the

Isma'ili counter-Caliphate, no invitation to repent should be granted, and the agents could be killed as apostates. This view was shared by the influential Shafi'i jurist al-Ghazali (1058–1111), who wrote systematically about the criteria of apostasy. Whoever held the views that the world was not created at one point in time, that God is not omniscient, or that the resurrection in the afterlife does not extend to the body was, according to al-Ghazali, an apostate and could be killed.

FRANK GRIFFEL

See also Hadith; Heresy and Heretics; Fatimids; Ibn Hanbal; Kharijs; Malikism; Schools of Jurisprudence

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APPRENTICESHIP

Defined by a variety of terms (mubtadi, terbiye, nazil, yiğit, şagird), an apprentice was the lowest member of a guild in the medieval Islamic world. He was always initiated into a guild along with others who would work under a master teacher (üstad, usta) and the founder of the individual guild (pir). The apprentice's place in the hierarchy was indeed small; his master and the guild founder were themselves part of a greater hierarchy in which masters would form their own councils to select a founder, and the founders of a city's individual guilds played a prominent part in representing the urban social order. At the top of the order were a series of local judicial officials (naib, muhtesib, kadi) who were in charge of keeping the social and moral order of the town.

Although the apprentice was at the bottom step of this urban social order, he immediately gained important privileges. As a member of the guilds, he was likely to live in the town or city itself, and he had much less of a fiscal burden than many peasants in the countryside. Peasants were often tied to the land and forced to deliver a variety of customs and dues. The apprentice was particularly privileged if he was a Muslim urban resident, because only non-Muslims were subject to a special poll tax (haraç, cizye).

The apprentice also had the chance to work his way up the social ladder, changing from a novice to journeyman and, if fortunate, becoming a master of a craft. He could likewise participate in the various social councils, and he might be able to represent his trade, city quarter or even his whole town, if the situation occurred. The role of guildsmen as manufacturers was confused at times with both religious and military hierarchies. Beginning in the tenth century, apprentices—like all guildsmen—tended to be associated with Sufi orders, and they could play a role in the formation of these institutions; sometimes they could even rise to the level of sheikh (a head of a Sufi organization and/or an urban district). During the sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire, guildsmen were often associated with the janissaries (the slave elite that had dominated the sultan's army until the seventeenth century). Association with the military meant that guildsmen were even more autonomous from central control, having the theoretical right to practice arms, if need be.

These opportunities for an apprentice's advancement and social privileges created tensions within the guilds. On the one hand, most apprentices were themselves sons of guild members who wished to carry on the trade of their fathers. The urban hierarchy typically favored this succession and often created legal measures to ensure it. For instance, there are a variety of injunctions in the rules and regulations of guilds that were drawn up in elaborate regulatory documents (fütüvvet-name). Eventually, by the sixteenth century, the Ottomans gave many guildsmen the right to pass on their place in the guild to their sons (gedik). Nevertheless, many had ambitions to enter the guilds despite all obstacles. Indeed, it is interesting that the first mention of guilds after the Arabic conquest refers to apprentices as *fityun*, a term that also meant "young ruffians." Such apprentices were allowed by authorities in towns that were starved for working populations; this was particularly true in frontier societies, where the rulers themselves felt threatened and needed a subject population that would support their cause. The clearest examples of this phenomenon can be seen in fifteenth-century Andalusia and in the Ottoman outposts in the Magreb and the Balkans during the mid-sixteenth century.

Scholars have also tended to see apprentices as part of the stagnant urban order that characterized the Islamic city. Apprentices were supposedly new generations of Muslims who carried the ideal of a noncompetitive social order, who promoted public welfare, and who contended with one's place at the expense of competition, profit, and commercial

authority. Although it is true that religious orders played a prominent role in the guilds, there were also times when the guilds would act according to the needs of the market and the society around them. This was demonstrated by the participation of apprentices and guildsmen in the military-item market and pious foundations in the emerging market town of Sarajevo during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The guild members played a critical role not only in supplying the empire's military needs but also in helping establish cash-credit institutions that could give credit to parties independently of the will of the central government. Thus, at least in some cases, apprentices appeared to be the youngest members of emerging Islamic civil societies.

York Allan Norman

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AQSA MOSQUE

The Aqsa mosque (al-Masjid al-Aqsa) and the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem constitute the area known as al-Haram al-Sharif (the Noble Sanctuary), which corresponds to the Temple Mount area and which is regarded by large numbers of Muslims as the third Islamic sacred sanctuary after Mecca and Medina. The Aqsa mosque is located on the southern side of al-Haram al-Sharif, and it has been identified in medieval and modern Islamic scholarship as the place referred to in the chapter of the Qur'an known as "Al-Isra'" ("The Night Journey") (17:1): "Praise be to Him who made His servant journey in the night from the sacred sanctuary (al-masjid al-haram) to the remotest sanctuary (al-masjid al-aqsa) which we have surrounded with blessings to show him of our signs." It is primarily this identification of the Aqsa mosque as the location of the Prophet Muhammad's night journey that has bestowed on the site its most significant religious importance in Islam; the legend describes how the Prophet Muhammad rode the heavenly creature al-Buraq and was transported by night from Mecca to Jerusalem, where he led the prophets in prayers on the spot of the Aqsa mosque. It is not clear when the association between the Qur'anic reference and the Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem was first established, but it is almost certain that it was made some time after the building was erected. Early Qur'an commentators were in disagreement about the location of the Qur'anic al-masjid al-aqsa; some located it near the town of Mecca, whereas others associated it with the Temple in Jerusalem. Gradually the association with the Temple became cemented in Islamic scholarship and popular imagination.

Another equally fundamental religious belief that Muslims in later centuries have employed in explaining the sanctity of the Aqsa mosque is that it was erected by Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khattab (r. AH 13–23/634–644 CE) when he visited Jerusalem. This tradition is questionable as well, being another likely case of later projection; the mosque built by Caliph 'Umar, if he actually made it to Jerusalem, was adjacent to or part of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. One can ascertain, however, that a small mosque built by the Umayyad Caliph Mu'awiya ibn Abi Sufyan (r. 41–60/661–680) stood on the site, and it was destroyed to make room for the Aqsa mosque, which was built by orders from the Umayyad Caliph al-Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik (r. 86–96/705–715), the son of Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan (r. 65–86/685–705), who had ordered the erection of the Dome of the Rock a few decades earlier.

The structure has been subjected to a number of major renovations and even reconstructions over the years, largely because of devastating earthquakes. For instance, it is very likely that the dome was added to the mosque in one of the reconstructions undertaken by orders from the 'Abbasids. The form of the current structure, however, dates to the middle of the eleventh century, because the Aqsa mosque was rebuilt by the Fatimids after a devastating earthquake that leveled most of the city of Jerusalem.

During the early Crusader period, the Aqsa mosque was occupied by the Knights of the Templar order, who used it as a residence and transformed part of it into a chapel. Usama ibn Munqidh (d. 584/1188) reports how his close friendship with some of the Templars earned him permission to pray in the Aqsa mosque, which was otherwise inaccessible to Muslims.

The centrality of Jerusalem and the significance of the Aqsa during the Crusader period are also attested to by the efforts of Sultan Nur al-Din (d. 569/1174) to employ them in his ideological and

religious propaganda to rally the Muslims of Syria around him when fighting the Christian invaders. In preparation for the liberation of Jerusalem, he ordered a masterpiece minbar to be built in the hope that he would transport it himself to the mosque. However, it was left for his successor Sultan Saladin (r. 569–589/1174–1193) to bring the minbar, when he reconquered Jerusalem in 1187 and ordered minor renovations to the Aqsa mosque; the minbar in question was unfortunately destroyed in the fire of 1967, which destroyed parts of the mosque.

SULEIMAN A. MOURAD

See also Jerusalem; Muhammad, the Prophet; 'Umar ibn al-Khattab; al-Walid ibn 'Abd al-Malik; Usama ibn Munqidh; Nur al-Din; Saladin

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AQUEDUCTS

An aqueduct (L. *aquaeductus*) is a structure for artificially conveying a constant supply of water; it consists of a channel that passes underground, that continues on the surface (where topographical conditions are not suitable), that is usually covered to prevent evaporation and/or pollution, and that is supported on piers over valleys, roads, and so on and cut through hills. Numerous remains of aqueducts from the medieval Islamic civilization survived, with the most impressive ones being in Istanbul.

Knowledge of water supply to the urban settlements and irrigation of agricultural areas was based on the ancient civilization. The shadouf, noria (na'ura), quanat, saqiya, and hafirs are the inventions of the Middle East. Besides these, available water sources were utilized by transporting water under pressure and over long distances with aqueducts during the Roman period to supply the heavily populated cities, which were one of the features that shaped the urban landscape during the Roman times in the Middle East; this was continued in some areas during medieval times. Traces of these aqueducts exist in almost all areas that were once under Roman rule.

These pre-Islamic aqueducts did in fact need maintenance, and soon after most of them collapsed. Two aqueducts in Ceasarea built during the reign of Herod were such examples. The more monumental of the two was renovated under Hadrian, and it is now partially freed from the sand that buried it for so long. Several other aqueducts were constructed during the early Islamic period in the Middle East and Europe. One notable example is the system that was built for the holy city of Mecca by Princess Zubaida, wife of the 'Abbasid Caliph Harun al-Rashid (786–809 CE). This aqueduct was later repaired with the addition of cisterns and bends (reservoirs/dams) and extended into the city by Mihrimah Sultana (br. 1522), daughter of Süleyman the Magnificent. The king Al-Mansur Ya'qub Ibn Yusuf also built an aqueduct to supply the capital city Marrakech in Morocco in 1190. The Magra–El-Oyon Aqueduct is another important Islamic monument in Cairo, and it extends between El-Saida Zeineb and Misr–El Kadima. Many quanat (underground canals) discovered in Jordan, Syria, and Iran are also connected to or built in connection with the aqueducts. Noria (paddle wheels) that were powered by either wind or animals, or water-driven ones mounted vertically in front of an aqueduct, were also commonly used in medieval Islamic countries. Aqueducts were also used to supply power to the wheels of wheat or olive-oil mills in the rural areas.

Istanbul is one of the most important cities in the world, and aqueducts from both Roman and Ottoman times can be encountered there. There were four main systems built during Roman times: (1) the aqueduct built by Hadrian (117–138), although there is no sign of a definite route it followed; (2) another major line that came from the Stranca Mountains (Yıldız Dağlari) in Thrace and that was most probably begun by Constantine between 324 and 357; (3) one built by Valens (364–378) that is thought to cross over the Mazul Kemer Aqueduct; and (4) one built by Theodosius I that runs through Belgrade Forest to the north of the city.

When the Ottoman Turks conquered Istanbul, they stopped using the Byzantine cisterns, for both religious and hygienic reasons. Therefore, Mehmet the Conqueror immediately ordered the restoration of the old and damaged water-supply systems; this was done, and new ones were also built to supply water to the city. Monumental aqueducts, as well as smaller ones, were used commonly throughout the empire, with the most imposing ones being those that supplied water to Istanbul. Uzun Kemer (710 m), which had two tiers with fifty upper arches and forty-seven lower arches, and Maglova Aqueduct (258 m in length and 25.30 m in height) are the two aqueducts

of the Kirkçesme water-supply system that were built during the reign of Süleyman II (Süleyman the Magnificent) by Sinan, the great architect.

The main sources of water in Istanbul were the bends (reservoirs) that were fed by the springs of the Belgrade Forest. These waters were conducted to the city by aqueducts; the grandest, which was two tiered, was built by Justinian. This aqueduct and others carried water to the taksim (distribution point) at Egrikapı, where the main flow reached the Aqueduct of Valens in the middle of the old city between the mosques of Fatih and Shehzade. These aqueducts were repaired by the Ottomans and properly maintained. However, the Valens Aqueduct was considerably rebuilt by Sinan, the great architect, during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent in the 1560s, which resulted in the increasing number of fountains. It is easy to distinguish the Turkish stonework, but it is difficult to date some sections of the work, because Mustafa II also ordered extensive repairs to the same aqueduct. The Uzun Kemer (Long Aqueduct) on the Belgrade Forest follows the Byzantine pattern of tiers of tall arches that are pointed but not rounded, and these may have been built in accordance with Sinan's plan; however, the short Kavas Aqueduct, which has only eleven arches, is likely to date from soon after the conquest.

The aqueducts of both Roman and Byzantine origin were usually of equal widths at both the bottom and the top. For this reason, only very thick ones survived, Valens being one of these. The aqueducts built by Sinan demonstrate more engineering calculations. Unlike a normal aqueduct, over which water is transported via an enclosed conduit that consists of a series of arches supported on massive piers, the system used in the Maglova Aqueduct shows further technical solutions. Sinan designed the width of the arches to be even smaller, and he enlarged the piers perpendicular to the arches and extended them in pyramidal shape, like buttresses, toward the ground, thereby forming three-dimensional rather than two-dimensional forms. For this reason, these aqueducts are more durable against the horizontal friction forces, and they retain the equilibrium force to remain at a 1:3 ratio. In addition, on each of these piers Sinan constructed three discharging arches to prevent any damage during flooding; these, when incorporated into the main piers, gave a sense of streamlined unity. The structure is uniquely successful and almost expressionist in nature; vertical, horizontal, and diagonal stresses are uniformly absorbed. The expressionist effect is most obvious in the way in which the static forces are distributed throughout the structure and visibly expressed on that structure. This work of Sinan represents the most important departure from the traditional form of the aqueduct, which had shown little change up to that point since classical Rome.

There are several aqueducts in Balkan and African countries that were under the Ottoman sovereignty, some of which are attributed to the Roman times. There is an aqueduct that is located two kilometers northwest of Skopje (Yugoslavia) that is built of stone and bricks and that has fifty-five arches supported on massive pillars; this structure used to be attributed to Romans or Byzantines, but it was recently discovered that it had in fact been built by İsa Bey during the sixteenth century. Several aqueducts were built in Cyprus during the Ottoman period, the most notable being the Bekir Pasha Aqueduct in Larnaca, the harbor town in which the holy shrine of Hala Sultan (Umm ul Haram bint Sultan) is also located.

It has become clear through written records inherited from medieval times and through manuscripts and inscribed stone tablets that water systems of the Islamic societies were built by local people as charitable works of waqf. Three important sources about the aqueducts constructed by Sinan during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent and others are the books *Tezkiretü'l Bünyan* (1583–1584), *Tezkiretü'l Ebniye* (1586–87), and *Tuhfetü'l Mimarin* (1590). Several inscription tablets still attached to the monuments, in addition to manuscripts about deeds performed by pious foundations, mention the aqueducts.

NETICE YILDIZ

See also Irrigation; Mehmet, the Conqueror; Sinan; Water

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ARABIA

The Arabian peninsula lies in southwest Asia, with Syria to the north, the Indian Ocean to the south, the Persian Gulf to the east, and the Red Sea to the west. Its highest elevations stand in the west, with the peninsula sloping downward to the east, except for the Hajar Mountains of Oman. Most of Arabia is desert, although there is ample vegetation in mountainous areas.

Arabs of the peninsula are traditionally said to be descendants of the tribes of ʻAdnan and Qahtan, originating, respectively, from the north and the southwest of the peninsula. The most important groupings were as follows:

In the ʻAdnan group:

1. Rabiʻa: Bakr, Taghlib, ʻAbd al-Qays
2. Mudar: Tamim, Huthayl, Asad, Quraysh, Qays Aylan

In the Qahtan group:

1. Kahlan: Tayyi', Hamdan, Kinda, Azd
2. Himyar: Qudaʻa(?), Tannukh, Kalb, Juhayna

Enmity existed between the Rabiʻa and the Mudar, which often led the former to forge alliances with Arabs of the southwest against the latter. Tribes emerged on the basis of what was believed to be genealogical origin, and tribalism (ʻasabiyya) became an essential factor in social life. This tendency facilitates understanding of many historical events before and after the rise of Islam, along with much of Arabia's poetry and literature.

Two important commercial routes crossed the peninsula. One ran between Syria and Yemen; the other linked Yemen to Bahrain, crossing through Yamama and terminating in Iraq and Persia. Urban settlements were established along these routes and thrived when commerce flourished. This contributed to the diffusion of foreign cultures and of Judaism and Christianity during the pre-Islamic era.

Competition for leadership was common, and, during the early history of the Arabs, a number of powerful figures emerged; this was accompanied by numerous wars. The people were known for their courage and generosity and for their close attachment to their tribal affiliations. The character of the Arabs was shaped by their physical environment. The influence of the desert was evident in their lifestyle and their means of expressing themselves. This can be seen in early Arab poetry, with its frequent reference to the sands and to the flora and fauna of the desert, and in the ethics, traditions, and beliefs that governed all aspects of life. Poetry was an important aspect of Arab culture in both the pre-Islamic and Islamic eras, together with the oral stories ("ayyam al-ʻArab") that people shared in social gatherings.

People ate simple food and wore simple clothes, and medical knowledge was limited to herbal remedies. The lunar calendar was observed, and it was adapted to approximate the solar year to fix dates for the religious and trading seasons.

The Rise of Islam

Islam had a powerful impact on the Arabs of the peninsula, uniting them for the first time and enabling them to conquer vast areas. The new religion helped to eradicate tribal fanaticism, because it classed all Muslims as equal, regardless of race. In addition, the Arabs rallied in the belief that it was their duty to spread the religion throughout the world, because Islam was the last of the divinely revealed faiths. This conviction inspired them to venture to the lands of older civilizations, as far away as China and Spain.

The conquests stimulated massive migrations out of Arabia. This weakened the peninsula itself, dissipating the unity that had been established during the early years of Islam. Spectacular victories by the Muslims in the Ridda wars, together with the initial confrontations against the Byzantine and Sasanian Empires, led Arabs to flock to take part in battle and then migrate to the newly acquired territories.

Once there, the ideas and beliefs of the immigrants were influenced by the culture of the local populace. Persian converts to Islam, for example, did not abandon their traditions, and over time the melding of cultures affected the doctrines and practices of

Islam, along with Arabic language and literature. The Arabs also built on the heritage of the Greco–Roman past, particularly in the domains of philosophy and the sciences. All of these influences were transmitted back to the peninsula. As a result, the people of Arabia came to be intimately connected with a wider Islamic world. The most tangible link was the annual pilgrimage (hajj), which drew thousands of Muslims to Mecca and Medina.

During medieval times, the most important provinces of Arabia were Hijaz, Yamama (or Najd), Yemen, Oman, and Bahrain.

The Hijaz

With the emergence of Islam, the Hijaz became the center of the new community and the destination of the hajj. During the lifetimes of Muhammad the Prophet and the Rashidun Caliphs (622–660 CE), Medina was the capital of the Islamic state, and it was from there that the first armies of conquest set out.

Even after the seat of government moved outside of Arabia, Mecca and Medina remained the loci of the conflicts that raged throughout the Umayyad and ʻAbbasid periods. These included activities by sects whose ideas contravened the policies of the Umayyad and ʻAbbasid authorities as well as violent rebellions that depleted the economic and military capacities of both states.

The Hijaz during the Umayyads (661–749 CE)

During 680–692 CE, ʻAbd Allah ibn al-Zubayr rose against the Umayyad government in Damascus and, from Mecca, gained control over most of the territory of the Islamic state. He was killed in Mecca in 692 CE. Traces of his movement continued to influence the Muslim community in Mecca, which became the symbol of Sunni opposition to the central authority.

In 746, Abu Hamza al-Khariji, a member of the Yemeni movement led by Talib al-Haqq, was briefly able to take control of Mecca and Medina.

Leading figures among the sons of the Companions of the Prophet, such as Ibn ʻAbbas and Ibn ʻUmar, concentrated on religious matters and set up, in two mosques of Mecca and Medina, religious groups that laid down the basis of the schools of Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) that later emerged, becoming the well-known Sunni schools of law.

During the Umayyad era, poetry, song, and literature flourished in the Hijaz, with the salon of Sakina bint al-Husain being the best-known gathering. Intermingling among men and women was commonplace in such salons, and strict rules regarding women's apparel had not yet emerged.

The Umayyads rebuilt the two grand mosques of Mecca and Medina and introduced a number of new facilities for residents and pilgrims alike.

Hijaz during the Abbasid Period (741–1258 CE)

When the ʻAbbasids assumed power, the leaders of the ʻAlawites refused to pledge allegiance to them. In 762 CE, Muhammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya rose in rebellion in the Hijaz, which became a major center of ʻAlawite opposition. Al-Husain ibn al-Hasan rebelled in 785, followed by Ibrahim ibn Musa al-Kazim in 817, Ismaʻil ibn Yusuf in 865, and Muhammad ibn Sulayman in 913. Although these rebellions were suppressed, the ʻAbbasids failed to eradicate ʻAlawite political and religious influence in the region.

In 929, the Qarmathians invaded Mecca under the leadership of Abu Tahir al-Qurmuti, carrying the Black Stone to Bahrain, where it remained for twenty-two years. From 942 to 968, the Ikhshidids of Egypt controlled the Hijaz.

During the ʻAbbasid period, the Hijaz attracted religious students and collectors of the traditions of Muhammad the Prophet (hadith), the most renowned of whom was Imam Malik. The influx of scholars generated a tendency toward asceticism in local society. At the same time, many of the region's singers, poets, writers, and merchants migrated to the more congenial atmospheres of Baghdad and Egypt.

By the end of the ʻAbbasid era, the Shafiʻi school of law replaced the Maliki school as the dominant body of legal interpretation in the Hijaz.

The Hijaz during the Fatimids (909–1171 CE)

The coming of the Fatimids to Egypt in 969 CE opened the door for the ʻAlawite Sharifs of the Hijaz (969–1924 CE), who declared their own state during the same year that the Fatimids founded Cairo. ʻAbbasids and Fatimids competed to win the loyalty of the Sharifs, hoping thereby to enhance the legitimacy of their respective caliphates. This competition, however, prompted power to shift from one ʻAlawite family to another.

Fatimid influence affected religious and social life more profoundly, and Shi'ism spread widely during the years of Fatimid dominance. Meanwhile, trade with Egypt became more active, and Jeddah's harbor thrived.

The Hijaz during the Ayyubids of Egypt (1171–1250 CE)

Sharifian rule over the Hijaz persisted despite the fall of their Fatimid allies and renewed efforts by the 'Abbasids to destroy them. Competition for hegemony over the Hijaz continued until the end of the 'Abbasid state in 1258. Throughout these years, education was restricted to the study of religious doctrine and jurisprudence. The influence of Shi'ism was reduced, and the Shafi'i school of law prevailed once again. Ibn Jubayr, who visited Mecca in 1183, left lively descriptions of social life and economic affairs.

The Hijaz during the Mamluks (1250–1517 CE)

During their long rule in Egypt, the Mamluks intervened in the Hijaz, forcing the Sharifs to recognize their spiritual authority over Mecca and Medina. Persistent tension marked the relationship, and this was accompanied by many wars. In addition, the rulers of Yemen moved in at the end of the thirteenth century.

Mamluk influence peaked during the fifteenth century, when the authorities in Cairo appointed and removed the Sharifs at will. They paid great attention to the pilgrimage and the ritual covering of the Ka'aba, which was sent from Cairo each year. Widespread cultural and social exchange cemented relations between the Hijaz and the rest of the Muslim world.

Religious teaching remained the area's most salient activity, and the Hanbali school of law began to spread.

Yamama

Yamama, which is now a term used for central Najd, was applied during the medieval period to the whole area between Bahrain and the Hijaz. It was a center for Arab migration both northward and eastward. In pre-Islamic times, Yamama's capital was Hajr, and the area was known for its abundant water and fertile soil.

During the sixth century, the Hanifa tribe replaced the Kinda as the dominant power, deriving its strength from commerce and wheat cultivation. The Hanifa chief, Huda ibn 'Ali, was closely allied with the Sasanians. Other tribes included the Tamim, the Amir ibn Sa'sa'a, the Bahila, the Dabba, the Numair, and the Quda'a. In struggles for pasture and water sources, weaker tribes generally allied with stronger ones.

Although Nestorian Christianity was strong in central and eastern Arabia at that time, pagan elements were also present. Yamama was one of three important religious centers, the others being Mecca and Ta'if.

Huda ibn 'Ali died before the death of Muhammad the Prophet in 632, and he was succeeded by Musaylima ibn Habib, who claimed to have received revelations from God. Musaylima resisted Islam and defeated two armies sent against him by Caliph Abu Bakr. His army of forty thousand men was eventually defeated at the decisive battle of 'Aqraba in 634 by an army led by Khalid ibn al-Walid. This was the most ferocious war yet fought by the Muslims, with many people killed on both sides.

After the war, the Qur'an was collected and written down for the first time. Yamama then lost its political importance, instead becoming a center for amassing armies to send against Iraq. During the Umayyad period (660–749), the only event of importance in Yamama was the rise of the Khariji movement.

'Abbasid influence in Yamama weakened from the middle of the ninth century, and the area fell to the tribes and their neighbors in Bahrain.

During the ninth and tenth centuries, the tribes of 'Amir ibn Sa'sa'a increased their power in central and eastern Arabia. This coincided with the rise of the Qarmathians (c. 900–1076), with whom they shared political interests. Together they defeated the Yamama rulers and the Banu al-Ukhaydir in 928; the Banu 'Amir supported the Qarmathians in their wars in the peninsula, Iraq, and Syria.

The trans-Arabian land route declined with the growth of Red Sea navigation during the Fatimid period. When Nasir-i Khusraw visited Yamama in 1051, he found it to be of minor importance.

From the twelfth century C.E. onward, Yamama was intimately connected to Hasa (Bahrain).

Hasan M. Al-Naboodah

See also Arabs; Islam; Bahrain; Oman; Yemen; Mecca; Medina; Poetry, Arabic; Hajj; 'Abbasids; Umayyads; Fatimids; Kharijis; School of Jurisprudence; Tribes and Tribal Customs

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ARABIC

Arabic language includes the formal medieval and modern written idioms (al-'arabiyya al-fusha; Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic), past and present dialects (Neo-Arabic), and varying degrees of mixture between these two levels during the premodern period (Middle Arabic).

Following Akkadian and Aramaic, Arabic became the third Semitic lingua franca along the Eastern rim of the Mediterranean as a result of the Islamic conquests, and it extended its linguistic reach to Central Asia, North Africa, and the Iberian Peninsula, coinciding with most of the areas formerly served by Latin in classical antiquity. As the language of Islam, it was further used in liturgy and, in epigraphic form, in architecture by Muslim communities in Middle Africa, Central Asia, Western China, Northern India, and the Southeast Asian archipelago.

The basic grammar of Classical Arabic has remained stable over thirteen centuries. A language of prestige, it developed a rich intertextuality, conferred status on those who mastered it (irrespective of their ethnic background), and retained a unique bimodal transmission in which oral and written media complemented each other.

Successor to both the Byzantine and the Sasanian territories, Arabic–Islamic culture selectively incorporated part of its lexicon and written heritage, especially through the 'Abbasid translation movement from the eighth to the tenth century CE. Inversely, Arabic terms and genres played an important role in the flourishing of Medieval Hebrew, Old Spanish (Castilian), and New Persian (Farsi) literature.

A Semitic Language

Arabic belongs to the Semitic language family, itself forming part of the Afro-Asiatic phylum. Arabic exhibits the typical Semitic features of emphatic (velarized) sounds; a morpheme structure based on a triliteral root that conveys a basic meaning; a highly integrated system of inflection, derivation of word structures (internal flexion), and apophony, which adds semantic nuances to the root; a verbal system with prefix and suffix conjugation; a paratactic syntax; and a list of vocabulary cognates. Nevertheless, the specific place of Arabic within the Semitic family remains unresolved. Advocates of a genetic-tree model place it within the Central Semitic group, together with Canaanite and Aramaic, whereas proponents of natural language change and linguistic drift assign it to the Southwest Semitic group, together with the Ethiopian and South Arabian languages, the latter model being perhaps better suited to the close coexistence and succession of related tongues within the same geographical area, which characterize the Semitic family.

Proto-Arabic

Beginning with the ninth century BCE, Arabic names and terms are seen in Akkadian, Biblical, Greek, Coptic, and late Aramaic sources, whereas, from the sixth century BCE. to the fourth century CE, short epigraphic texts in Old North Arabian

(recorded in a derivative of the South Arabian alphabet) survive in the Arabian Peninsula and Syro-Palestine. Their language differs from later Classical Arabic in many ways; for example, the article *ha-* is seen, as opposed to later Classical Arabic *al-*.

Between the third and sixth centuries, five short inscriptions in Syro-Palestine show the adoption of a late Aramean (Nabatean) cursive by writers of Arabic. From Nabatean, the Arabic script inherits salient traits, such as the nondenotation of short vowels (abgad type) and inflectional endings and the lam-alif ligature. Sporadic positional variants and connections and the mergers of letters (e.g., *r* and *z*) in late Nabatean were fully systematized in Arabic, and merged letters were distinguished by diacritic markers.

Pre-Classical and Classical Arabic

The Arabian Peninsula was home to numerous Arabic dialects that were sporadically recorded by later medieval Arabic grammarians, which permits a rough subdivision into a western (e.g., Hudhayl, Tayyi'), an eastern (e.g., Tamim), and a southern group of tribes (e.g., Kinda, Hamdan). Highly complex heroic poetry was composed from the sixth century CE in a supratribal idiom and was notably characterized by inflectional endings (i'rab; literally "making Arabic"), which were absent in many dialects. Scholars still debate whether inflectional endings in the early dialects disappeared long before the onset of Islam or whether they were lost only during the early conquests and the massive adoption of Arabic by foreigners, with the former option being the more likely one. The most influential Arabic text was the Qur'an, which was revealed in 610–632 in a language that was close to the poetic idiom but that displayed certain Western traits.

The codification of Islam's holy book as well as communication within the rapidly expanding Arabic–Islamic state required a unified official tongue, which Arabic came to fulfill under the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik around 700. It then became the task of grammarians during the mid-eighth century to synthesize prestige literature (the Qur'an, prophetic tradition [hadith], and pre-Islamic poetry and prose) with data gleaned from qualified Bedouins, who were considered experts in the pure Arabic language ('Arabiyya). Grammarians selected core languages (e.g., those of the tribes of Tamim and Hudhayl), and, when these diverged, they chose features according to their prestige (e.g., the hamza [glottal stop]), frequency, or analogical derivation (qiyas). The result was a reduction and systematization of morphology, syntax, and lexicon, and this was completed with the works of al-Khalil (d. 793) and Sibawayhi (d. 791), the respective founders of Arabic lexicography and grammar. The grammarians, however, did not create Classical Arabic; however, through established principles and fieldwork, they homogenized and systematized its disparate and redundant ingredients into a codified common tongue. They then proceeded to link the varied phenomena of language (furu') to a few underlying principles (usul) to demonstrate the perfection of the language that God had chosen for His revelation.

Classical Arabic sounds consist of twenty-eight consonants and three short or long vowels. The noun (ism) is modified by genus (male or female), number (singular, dual, or plural), state (indeterminate, determinate, or construct), and inflection (subject, possessive, or object cases). The verb (fi'l) has both a prefix and a suffix conjugation and expresses time or aspect (perfect or imperfect), mood (indicative, subjunctive, or jussive), voice (active or passive), person, gender, and number. A third and indeclinable word type is the particle (harf); its syntax includes both nominal clause (topic or comment) and verbal clause (verb, subject, or object), which may be built into compound sentences, although the older language tends toward parataxis.

During the same period, Arabic script was made to more accurately reflect spoken Classical Arabic by the addition of (mainly) supralinear symbols for short vowels, hamza, long alif (madda), the doubling of letters (tashdid), and the elision of the initial vowel (wasla).

From contact with preceding civilizations on its territory and in particular the 'Abbasid translation movement, Arabic incorporated vocabulary from Aramaic, Greek, and Middle Persian (Pahlavi), among others. The foreign words entered the language as simple borrowings, or they were likened to Arabic morphological patterns (jins; "species" from the Greek *genos*), recreated by derivation (ishtiqaq; e.g., *kayfiyya,* which means "quality" or, literally, "how-ness"), or again reproduced as Arabic calques. A further method was to extend an existing Arabic root with a meaning it had in another Semitic language; for example, *darasa,* meaning "to be effaced," was thus acquired in addition to the root's Aramaic meaning of "to study" (e.g., *madrasa,* meaning "school; religious college").

Neo-Arabic

The inflective, synthetic language represented by Classical Arabic coexists with a noninflecting analytical

type called Neo-Arabic, thereby forming a situation of diglossia. No agreement has been reached about the date of the inception of Neo-Arabic, whether it was extant long before Islam or brought about by the Islamic conquests. Neo-Arabic has many regional dialects, although they share a number of features. Most of these may be subsumed under the analytical trend (fixed word order, expression of the verbal mood by prefixes and of the possessive and object cases by the particle *l*- rather than by inflection) and reduction of the paradigm (the loss of hamza and of the interdentals *dh* and *th*, the merger of the emphatic *d* and *z*, the loss of the dual and feminine plural forms, the merger of different types of defective verbs, and the loss of inflection of the relative pronoun), although some (e.g., the *i*-vowel in the imperfect verb) may derive from ancient Arabic dialects or contact with other Semitic languages. The common traits of Neo-Arabic are attributed to convergence, drift, and parallel developments and are no longer motivated by a koinè that supposedly evolved in the Islamic army camps, although the conquests undoubtedly propelled the development of Neo-Arabic. One medieval dialect that, although extinct (unlike most Arabic dialects, which survive today), has been preserved in written documents is Andalusi Arabic.

Middle Arabic

This label covers all texts whose writers strayed from the rules of Classical Arabic (thus denoting not a chronological period but a level of language). Middle Arabic is characterized by a mixture of dialectal and Classical Arabic forms and pseudocorrections (i.e., instances in which the writer aimed for and missed the more prestigious register and created a form that existed neither in Classical Arabic nor in his native [Neo-Arabic] dialect). Accordingly, Middle Arabic offers a wide spectrum, ranging from the informal level of the uneducated scribe to the grammatical nonchalance or dramatic purpose of the literary author. Middle Arabic is generally divided into three groups of Muslim texts (early papyri, scientific texts, and historiographical and popular literature since the thirteenth century CE), Jewish texts (or Judeo-Arabic, written in Hebrew characters), and Christian texts (occasionally written in Syriac script), although the evidence for the last group is limited.

Today Arabic is the official language of approximately two hundred million speakers in twenty sovereign nations, of the Arab citizens of Israel and the Palestinians, and of communities in Central Asia and East Africa; it is the liturgical language of approximately one billion Muslims.

Beatrice Gruendler

See also Arabs; Arameans; Books; Bureaucrats; Education; Libraries; Folk Literature, Arabic; Greeks; Linguistics, Arabic; Persians; Qur'an and Arabic Literature; Qur'an and Manuscripts; Scribes

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ARABS

Arabs, who are considered to belong to Semitic tribes, are the biggest community of these tribes. Aside from where they may reside as a result of different unions, it is accepted that their homeland is Arabia. The word *Arab* came after Semite nations established various states with different names in Yemen and Mesopotamia. The oldest information we have about the Arab Peninsula and the communities that lived there is found in the tenth chapter of Genesis in the Old Testament of the Bible. *Arab,* which also means "desert" and which has an origin that is still not clarified, was first seen in an Assyrian document dating back to 853 BCE.

There had been a long period of contact between Arabs and Assyrians in the fields of politics and the military. Both Assyrians and north Arabian tribes were ruled by the Babylonian King Nabonidus. It is possible that, when Alexander the Great conquered Syria and Egypt, he also took north Arabia during his Asian expedition. Meanwhile, The Arab peoples, then a tribal society, and Persians had friendly relations.

Arab historians divide Arabs into two groups, Arab Ba'idah and Arab Baqiyyah. Ba'idah Arabs lived in ancient times and then disappeared. 'Ad, Thamoud, Madyan, 'Ubayl, Jasim, Tasm, Jadis, and Amaliqa are among the important branches of the Ba'idah. Information related to these groups is only found in the Holy Books and in Arab poetry. Arab Baqiyyah refers to still extant Arabic groups. These are divided into two groups: Arab 'Aribah and Arab Musta'ribah, which are mentioned in the Old Testament. Arab genealogists assume that all Arabs are descendants of Abraham; the Old Testament is the basis of this belief, and the Qur'an also states that Arabs are descendants of sons of Abraham. Again, according to the same genealogists, people of north Arabia are descendants of Samuel, and the inhabitants of south Arabia, who have a settled life, are descendants of Qahtan. The people of both regions were always migrating for economic reasons.

Arab 'Aribah, whose homeland is Yemen, are also called Qahtanis. The most famous tribes are Jurhum and Ya'roub. Ya'roub also has two branches, Kahlan and Himyar, and many tribes and branches descend from these.

Arab Musta'ribah (or Arab Muta'arribah) were comprised of tribes that were Arabized afterwards. These were the majority of nomadic Arabs who settled in the area in the central regions of Arabia extending from Hijaz to Badiyah al-Sham; Adnanis, Isma'ilis, Ma'addis, and Nizaris are included in these tribes. Among the main tribes belonging to Adnan, there are Adnan, Ma'ad, Nizar, Rabi'ah, Muzar, Qays, 'Aylan, Ghatafan, Ilyas, Kinanah, Quraysh, Qusayy, and Abd Manaf. The tribes called Adnanis are descendants of Adnan's son Ma'ad. Some tribes of Adnanis settled in the south, where they united with the Qahtanis and became the ancestors of today's Arabs. The states such as the Ma'in, Saba', and Himyari Kingdoms were found in Yemen, and the Nabati, Tadmur, Ghassani Hira, and Kindah Kingdoms were founded in northern Arabia during the tribal period.

The Arab Golden Age, during which a system based on the principles of freedom and equality (especially in the tribes during the Jahiliyyah period) was seen, started with Islam. During Caliph Abu Bakr's period, Damascus was conquered in 635 and Jerusalem was conquered in 638. Iraq was conquered after the Nihawand war in 642, opening the doors of Iran to Islam. In addition, two important encampment cities were founded in Iraq (Basra and Kufah), and these played an important role in the conquest of Iran. Meanwhile, Khalid Ibn Walid's victory in the war of Ajnadayn on July 30, 634, opened the doors of Byzantium to the armies of Islam. Actually, this war opened the doors of the Syrian and Palestinian states to the Arabs and ended the Ghassani state, which was founded as a buffer state of Byzantium.

In the Ajnadayn war, the Arabs defeated the Byzantines soundly; after this war, they started conquering the fortresses and cities in Jordan, Syria, and Palestine, and they finally conquered all of Syria during the period of Caliph Umar. Amr Ibn As conquered Egypt in 641 and Babylon in 641. Alexandria was conquered on September 17, 642. During this period, Arabs progressed from a small state to a major power. During this expansion period, Amr Ibn As controlled the general policies himself, and he determined policy for the conquered lands.

Caliph Othman also continued the expansion period that was begun by Caliph Umar, and conquered Tripoli, Cyprus, Rhodes, Malta, and Crete. During this time, important events such as the Jamal event and the Siffin war took place, and control of Egypt and Hijaz was lost. Afterwards he sent an army commanded by Abd al-Malik Hassan Ibn Nu'man to North Africa, and North Africa was completely conquered between the years of 697 and 703. During this period, the Berbers of Moroccan tribes accepted Islam.

Islamic conquests, which came to an end as a result of caliphate fights, began again after Mu'awiyah

dominated events in the country. In 647, Arab armies passed the Ceyhun river and reached Na Wara' al-Nahr. There was a temporary decrease in the conquests, but they accelerated again during the years 705 to 715, after Walid became the caliph.

The most important periods for Arabs were during the reigns of the Umayyids and the 'Abbasids, which enlarged their borders considerably. They faced a new page in their history after the 'Abbasids took over the caliphate. There were separations from the Islamic State during this era, and new states were formed. In the ninth and tenth centuries, new Islamic states were founded in Egypt, Syria, Yemen, and Palestine, and this breakdown continued until the reign of the Ottomans.

In 945, the occupation of Baghdad by Buwayhis resulted in power being transferred to Iranians; afterward, the caliphs did not have any power. In 1258, the occupation of Baghdad by the Mongols ended Arab domination in Iraq, and, beginning in the thirteenth century, Arabs withdrew from the political stage. The conquests that began in 1517 with Yavuz and that were continued by Kanuni resulted in the dominance of the Ottomans in all the regions except the inner regions of Arabia.

HÜSEYIN YAZICI

See also Arabia

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ARAMAEANS

Aramaeans are first mentioned in Akkadian texts of the late twelfth century BCE as dangerous enemies to the west of the Assyrian empire. Their territories were organized into independent city states that eventually fell under Assyrian domination, the last being Damascus in 732 BCE. Hostilities between these states and ancient Israel are recorded in the historical books of the Bible and in a fragmentary Aramaic inscription from Tell Dan. The Aramaeans were probably nomads who had settled along the Fertile Crescent and who also spread to the southeast to southern Iraq (Beth Aramaye in Syriac sources). Certain strands of the biblical traditions that concern Jacob point to Aramaean connections, most notably the following profession: "My Father was a wandering Aramaean..." (Deuteronomy 26:5; the passage has subsequently been given many different interpretations).

By the time of the Achaemenid Empire, "Aramaean" had largely lost its ethnic sense and was used instead to denote speakers of Aramaic. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, "Aramaean" was understood as being synonymous with "Syrian" (i.e., an inhabitant of the general area of Syria). In both Jewish Aramaic and Christian Syriac sources, "Aramaean" also took on a new meaning of "gentile, pagan." In later vocalized texts in both languages, a distinction is made between *Aramaye* (Aramaeans) and *Armaye* (gentiles, pagans). The appearance of the personal name Aram in two different genealogies in the Bible (Genesis 10:22 and 22:21) gave rise in late antiquity to many different mythographic views of the origin and relationship of the Aramaeans to other ethnic groups. According to Strabo (*Geography*, I.2.34; XVI.4.27), the Aramaeans were also identified by Posidonius (early first century BC) as being featured in the works of Homer.

In the Middle Ages, Syriac writers continued to equate *Aramaye* and *Suryaye*. Muslim authors appear to have shown little interest in identifying the ancient Aramaeans, but they used the term *Nabat* to describe the Aramaic speakers of the conquered territories, especially the farmers and peasantry of Iraq.

The *Nabataean Agriculture (al-Filaha al-Nabatiyya)*, which was translated into Arabic from the ancient Syriac by Ibn Wahshiyya in the tenth century, is now thought to be based on reworked late antiquity writings that reflect local traditions. Besides agricultural lore, it contains much about pagan religion and magic. The latter materials were taken up by the Andalusian pseudo-Majriti (dates uncertain) in his *Ghayat al-Hakim (The Aim of the Sage)*. Translated into Latin as *Picatrix* (1256), this work greatly influenced Western magic.

During the late twentieth century, Aramaean has been taken up as an ethnic identity by parts of the Syrian Orthodox Diaspora.

Sebastian Brock

See also Aramaic; Syriac

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ARAMAIC

Aramaic, like Arabic, belongs to the central group of West Semitic languages and is within the Syro-Palestinian subgroup (with Ugaritic, Phoenician, Hebrew, and others). Its closest affinities are with Arabic. First seen in inscriptions of tenth/ninth century BCE, Aramaic still continues to be used in several modern dialects some three millennia later. The earliest evidence of Aramaic comes from inscriptions and documents on papyrus and skin, but, especially during the first millennium CE, it became an important literary language for three religious communities (Jewish, Christian, and Mandaean), and extensive bodies of literature survive. For well over a millennium, Aramaic (in different dialects) served as the main language of the Middle East, situated between Akkadian and Arabic.

Aramaic is known through many different dialects and scripts, several of which have their own designations (e.g., Palmyrene, Syriac, Mandaic). Different classifications of these dialects have been suggested, but the following seems to be the most satisfactory:

1. Old Aramaic (tenth/ninth–eighth century BCE): This is seen in inscriptions ranging from southeast Turkey to northern Iran.
2. Official Aramaic (seventh–fourth century BCE): Aramaic was already replacing Akkadian in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian empires; under Achaemenid rule, it became the official language of communication. Besides inscriptions, there are archives of documents from Egypt and Afghanistan; those from Egypt include the oldest fragments of a literary text in Aramaic, the story of Ahiqar, which is a political fable followed by a series of wise sayings that subsequently enjoyed great popularity in many different languages.
3. Middle Aramaic (third century BCE–second century CE): Many dialects had by now developed their own scripts (Nabataean, Palestinian Aramaic, Palmyrene, Hatran, Old Syriac), and a fairly standard form of literary Aramaic was emerging. In addition to the Aramaic portions of the biblical books of Ezra and Daniel (which preserve older features), further fragmentary literary texts have come to light among the Qumran manuscripts.
4. Late Aramaic (third century CE onward): Several dialects were used for literary texts; of the western dialects, Jewish Palestinian Aramaic has the most extensive texts, whereas those surviving in Samaritan Aramaic and Christian Palestinian Aramaic are much fewer in number. By contrast, the eastern dialects have proved much more influential. Jewish Babylonian Aramaic features most importantly in the Babylonian Talmud, but many additional texts survive; Mandaic is the vehicle for the corpus of Mandaean religious texts, whereas Syriac provides by far the largest corpus of literary texts in Aramaic.
5. Modern Aramaic (seen in written form from the seventeenth century onward in both Jewish and Christian texts): The modern spoken dialects fall into three groups: (1) Western dialects, which are spoken only in a few villages in the Anti-Lebanon; (2) Central Aramaic, which consists of the dialects of Tur 'Abdin in southeast Turkey (collectively known as Turoyo); and (3) the much more numerous Eastern dialects (Jewish, Christian, and Mandaean).

Aramaic has had a certain influence on Arabic, and some Aramaic loan words are found in the Qur'an.

Sebastian Brock

See also Aramaeans; Syriac

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ARCHITECTURE, SECULAR: MILITARY

Islamic military architecture assumed a variety of forms—fortified city walls, citadels, castles, and palaces—that in general did not diverge significantly from the Roman and Byzantine fortifications that Muslim armies encountered in the eastern Mediterranean world or those in Sasanian Iran or Soghdian Central Asia. Many of the standard features of Islamic fortifications (towers, bent entrances, portcullises, machicolation, barbicans, and donjons or keeps) were found not only in pre-Islamic military architecture but in that of medieval Christendom as well. Evidence of early purely Islamic fortifications is scarce, perhaps because many preexisting fortified structures were simply occupied and reused by Muslim armies as a byproduct of conquest. As the Islamic world expanded, the need for new fortifications (especially on the frontiers) became paramount.

The earliest Islamic structures that might properly be considered fortifications are the isolated walled enclosures that were erected as rural or desert retreats by the Umayyad dynasty of Syria (r. 661–750 CE) in the eighth century. These structures (Qasr al-Hayr East and Qasr al-Hayr West in Syria and Mshatta and Qusayr Amra in Jordan) usually featured outer walls with half-round solid towers that are descended in form rather than function from pre-Islamic Roman, Byzantine, and local architectural traditions.

Among the earliest fortified cities in the Islamic world were Raqqa in Syria and the Round City at Baghdad, both dating to the eighth century and both largely the creation of the ʿAbbasid Caliph al-Mansur (r. 754–775). The surviving walls at Raqqa are mud-brick rather than stone, and there are remnants of numerous towers on the inner wall of the city. The Round City is today known only through literary evidence, but it seems also to have had mud-brick outer and inner walls punctuated by towers and a moat between the two walls. One notable feature of the Round City was the use of bent entrances in the exterior gates, which forced anyone entering the city to make a series of repeated turns in close quarters that thus minimized the impact of frontal assaults. The bent entrance was later used in monumental gateways in many citadels and palaces (e.g., the Alhambra in Granada, Spain), although its origin is pre-Islamic.

More tangible evidence of military architecture survives from a later date in the walls and gates of Cairo and the remarkable citadel at Aleppo. Cairo was founded in 969 north of the old city of Fustat, and it was originally surrounded by mud-brick walls that were subsequently replaced with stone by the Fatimid vizier Badr al-Jamali between 1087 and 1092. From this same period survive three monumental stone gates (each more than twenty meters high): Bab al-Nasr (Gate of Victory), Bab al-Futuh (Gate of Conquest), and Bab Zuwayla. The masonry techniques here are thought to derive from northern Syria. These gates have straight rather than bent entrances and in general more closely resemble earlier Roman gates than, for example, the aforementioned Islamic examples at Raqqa and Baghdad.

The Ayyubid dynasty (r. 1169–1260) constructed fortified citadels at Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo, the last of which is the most impressive and best preserved. The Aleppo citadel, which was built on an enormous, partly artificial mound, was established in 1209 and repaired in 1292 and again during the early sixteenth century. It stands nearly forty meters above street level and was preceded by a fortified gate, a bridge, a moat, and a massive barbican. Inside the enclosed citadel was a somewhat random arrangement of baths, living quarters, a mosque, and a royal audience hall—in essence a small city within the city.

One area in which Islamic fortifications differ from their European or pre-Islamic counterparts is the relative lack of isolated castles in the Muslim world. To be sure, these do exist in some areas (e.g., the mountainous regions of northern Iran), but castles in general functioned as adjunct structures to fortified (or soon-to-be conquered) cities. An example of the latter is the well-known Rumeli Hisar on the Bosphorus north of Istanbul, which was built in 1451–1452 by the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II (also known as Mehmed the Conqueror; r. 1445 and 1451–1481) on the site of an earlier Byzantine fortress. It was used (along with its earlier sister fortress Anadolu Hısar on the opposite Asian shore, which was begun by Bayazid I [r. 1389–1402]) to control water traffic and communication between Constantinople (as Istanbul was then known) and the Black Sea before the Ottoman conquest of the city in 1453. The changing nature of siege warfare during Ottoman

times is marked by the provisions for gun ports in both the barbican and the easternmost tower of Rumeli Hısar.

RICHARD TURNBULL

See also 'Abbasids; Agra Red Fort; Alhambra; Architecture, Secular: Ayyubids; Bayazid, Yıldırım; Conquest; Mehmet II, the Conqueror; Ottoman Empire; Palaces; Umayyads; Urbanism; Warfare and Techniques

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ARCHITECTURE, SECULAR: PALACES

Except for famous complexes—like the Topkapı Saray in Istanbul, the Alhambra in Granada, Fatehpur Sikri near Agra, the Fort at Lahore, and the Red Forts at Agra (all built c. 1565–1573 CE) and Delhi—extant palaces in Islam are few. Essentially used as settings for the ceremonial of princely magnificence, they were often as flimsy as stage scenery. The lack of information about this ceremonial (see "Marasim" and "Mawakib" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed.) and its relation to neighboring cultures (this information is enshrined in the *Liber de Ceremoniis* of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus [Stern 1950; Canard 1951; Sourdel 1960]) complicates the interpretation of excavated remains; literary descriptions, which are frequently lacunary and misleadingly hyperbolic, are limited to the public areas.

Islamic palace architecture is often vernacular or domestic architecture writ large, but many palaces exhibit features that are derived from Western Asiatic cultures: a regular layout on built-up terraces, along an axis of symmetry, and a deep axial iwan, fronting, as in palaces of the first Sasanian ruler, Ardashir I (?–242 CE) at Firuzabad (Huff, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*), a central domed throne room, while the great iwan of the Taq (or Iwan)-i Kisra at Ctesiphon on the Tigris south of Baghdad (Kröger, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*), probably built by Khusraw I Anushiravan (r. 531–579 CE), became a topos for palace architecture throughout the Islamic world.

The Umayyad Caliphs in Syria and Palestine favored the villa rustica of late antiquity (a large-scale agricultural enterprise with baths, audience halls, and other amenities), and they progressed seasonally from one to another. More elaborate is Khirbat al-Mafjar, north of Jericho (Baer, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*), a winter residence with a rectangular arcaded courtyard fronting sets of apartments, a bath with rich mosaics, and a porch with a standing figure in Caliphal robes. Later Islamic rulers also made seasonal progresses, and the stations on their route (e.g., the early twelfth-century Seljuk Ribat-i Sharaf, between Tus or Meshhed and Sarakhs) were built like major caravansarays, with inner and outer courtyards. Residences like Madinat al-Zahra outside Córdova and the Seljuk palaces Kubdabad (c. 1220–1230 CE) on Lake Beyşehir (Arık 2000) in Anatolian Pisidia also spawned local satellites (i.e., hunting lodges, garden refuges from the heat of summer, race courses, and grandstands [Northedge 1991]). In addition, the palace of Topkapı (Eldem 1969–1973; Necipolğu 1991) expanded both seasonally and over time to include pavilions, gardens, and summer houses (yalı) all the way up the shores of the Bosphorus.

In palaces, space was ordered hierarchically, from the public to the private domain. The outermost areas included the King's Musick (tabl-khana, naqqara-khana), government offices, the archives, the mint, the armory and stables, and the kitchens, with the hall of public audience beyond. The private areas included halls of private audience, the women's quarters, libraries, treasuries for heirlooms or relics, an observatory, a menagerie, some luxury workshops, and architectural follies, often with glamorous names: Firdaws (The Paradise), Thurayya (The Pleiades), and Chihil Sutun (The Forty Columns, which is the traditional name for the ruins of Persepolis). These might also include belvederes, like those surmounting the towers of the Alhambra (Fernandez-Puertas 1977–1978), or apartments that were artificially cooled, employing running water with weirs and runnels to decorative effect (Rabbat, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*).

Palaces, as seen in Cairo and Aleppo, are often fortified, both for the ruler's security and for prestige (Behrens-Abouseif 1988; Rabbat 1995). Tamerlane's most famous palace, the Aksaray at Shahr-i Sabz (c. 1380 CE), had a colossal tiled entrance but no protective walls. At Samarqand (Clavijo/Sreznevskj, p. 244–45), he entertained in garden pavilions such as the Dilkusha and the Bagh-i Naw, which were set on artificial mounds that were approached by steps.

These were wooden, with tiled dadoes and lavishly painted and gilded ceilings that, as seen in Mughal India, may be transportable. For receptions and feasts, the pavilions were expanded by tents with hangings of cloth of gold and silver (O'Kane 1993). A typical Timurid pavilion is the Çinili Köşk in Istanbul, a two-story structure of brick and stone that was built for Mehmed II in AH 877/1472–1473 CE below the walls of the Topkapı Saray, with a tiled entrance iwan on a columned terrace. Its plan is cruciform, with rectangular rooms in each corner and a domed crossing on plaster fan pendentives, an axial apse providing a view of the palace gardens below. Under Tamerlane's descendants, the formal settings often included picture galleries (suratkhana).

In the Sasanian and Byzantine traditions, rulers presented themselves as magnificent collectors. The 'Abbasids' marble halls, magnificent thrones, lion fountains (e.g., the Patio de los Leones in the Alhambra [Fernandez-Puertas 1997–1998]), golden trees with mechanical singing birds and other automata, pools of mercury or polished tin, displays of arms and armor, and rich wall hangings were described in al-Khatib al-Baghdadi's account of the marvels (see Qaddumi 1996, paragraphs 161–64) encountered by an embassy from the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus that was received at Baghdad in 917 CE; these set a norm for palace decoration (Gabrieli 1959).

Audience halls in the Jawsaq al-Khaqabi at Samarra (after 836 CE), the palace of the Ghaznavid Mas'ud III at Lashkari Bazar in Afghanistan (Bombaci 1960), the Qarasaray built at Mosul by the Atabeg Badr al-Din Lu'lu' (d. 1259 CE), and the contemporary Qasr al-Dhahab of Baybars I in the Citadel of Cairo (Rabbat 1995) bore monumental painted friezes of the ruler's amirs. Sometimes inscriptional programs were also seen, as in the palace of Mas'ud III at Ghazni, where there are panels of verse from the *Shahnama* of Firdawsi (Bombaci 1960), and on the palace walls of 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad I's citadel (c. 1220 CE) at Konya in Turkey (Laborde 1836; Bombaci 1969). The elaborately displayed poetical inscriptions of the Court of the Lions in the Alhambra (Fernández-Puertas 1997–1998) paralleled those of the main iwan (Melikian-Chirvani, 1991) at Takht-i Sulayman in the mountains of northwest Persia, which was built around 1270 CE by the Ilkhanid ruler Abaqa and that included verses of Sufi poets as well as more extracts from the *Shahnama* (although there is no indication that his mastery of Persian was such that he could read it). Later palaces, like the Chihil Sutun at Isfahan (Luschey-Schmeisser, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*), which was begun under Shah 'Abbas I (996–1038/1588–1629 CE) and remodeled by Shah 'Abbas II in 1057/1647 CE, bore less intellectually taxing but more splendid paintings of victories and triumphal celebrations.

The Islamic palaces the Topkapı Saray in Istanbul, which were built in the later 1460s C.E. for Mehmed II, were inhabited for four hundred years, despite the discomfort caused by the heat of summer and the scanty protection against the savage winter climate (Davies 1970; Eldem and Akozan 1982; Necipoğlu 1991). To European visitors, the imposing view of it from a distance did not bear closer inspection; however, the interior plan exhibits a certain cumulative effect in a processional sequence and, with its intimate pavilions and belvederes that are named after conquered kingdoms (thus evoking the imperial pretensions of the Ottoman sultanate), it perhaps reproduces the effect of the great Byzantine palace of Constantinople.

Its three courtyards, each with a grand entrance, were progressively less accessible. The outermost housed the arsenal (the church of St. Irene) and the mint, the second held the Council of State (the Divan) and a large block of kitchens, and the third, with the private audience chamber (Arz Odası), was the sole preserve of the Sultan and his attendants, including the private treasury and a shrine complex, where the Mantle of the Prophet was preserved. On three sides there were landscaped gardens with fountains and splendid views that stretched down to the old Byzantine sea walls; in the late spring on a fine warm day, these views might—according to the praise of Ottoman chroniclers—be a reflection of paradise.

The Topkapı Saray is the only Islamic palace in which the history of the harem quarters—virtually a palace within a palace—is documented (Peirce 1993). Under Murad III, these quarters were reorganized and rebuilt (1578–1579 CE), with additional quarters for the Queen Mother and the eunuch guards and with permanent apartments for the Sultan, including a bedchamber in a two-story domed pavilion, a domed reception hall, two baths, and, from the late sixteenth century onward, schoolrooms and apartments for the princes.

Michael J. Rogers

See also Agra Red Fort; Alhambra; Gardens and Gardening; Painting, Monumental and Frescoes; Furniture and Furnishings; Ilkhanids; Mahmud of Ghazna; Sasanians; al-Khatib al-Baghdadi; Shahnama; Tamerlane (Timur); Timurids

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ARCHIVES AND CHANCERIES

Muslim tradition has it that the Prophet Muhammad used scribes for record-keeping and that the caliph 'Umar set up the divisions of diwan al-jaysh (bureau of revenues) and diwan al-insha' (chancery) in the central bureaucracy of the state. The ensuing Umayyad period saw the rise of professional writers *(katib*, pl. *kuttab)* serving as confidants of the caliphs and

playing a major role in shaping the institution of chancery. Under the ʻAbbasids, the growing influence of the vizier resulted in the consolidation of the chancery under his direct supervision. The chancery also became one of the few institutions in the Muslim empire that provided career opportunities for non-Arab and non-Muslim civic professionals. It is from Egypt, however, that original archival materials emerged, shedding light on the organization, protocols, and activities of the chanceries. At the Fatimid court, the centrality of the chancery within the state bureaucracy was firmly established. The Ayyubids inherited many of the traditions. Of the preeminent chancery writers, some had honed their skills at the Persianate Sasanid court, whereas others had flourishing careers in the Fatimid chancery before serving the Ayyubid sultans. The Mamluk time witnessed the final phase of the evolution of the chancery, which was by now a complex of central bureaus and provincial branches. It was also during the Mamluk time that relatively comprehensive documentation of the chanceries was produced, in both archival and literary sources.

Very few Arabic Islamic archives of the pre-Ottoman era have survived (see Appendix). The ample evidence afforded by literary sources, on the other hand, attests to the sophisticated efficiency of the chanceries throughout Islamic history. Chief among these literary sources are chancery manuals, such as al-Qurashi's (c. twelfth century CE) *Kitab maʻAlim al-Kitaba*, al-Nuwayri's *Nihayat al-Arab*, and Ibn Nazir al-Jaysh's *Tathqif al-Taʻrif*. Particularly significant is al-Qalqashandi's *Subh al-aʻSha*, an encyclopedic work that offers detailed descriptions of the history of the chancery, the training of the katib, procedures and protocols, and the formulas and guidelines, along with samples of chancery writings.

Chronicles and royal biographies also form a significant source of chancery writings. By the Mamluk time, nearly all of the chronicles and royal biographies contained some chancery documents; however, many of these were edited later. Of these, some Mamluk treaties with the Ottomans may be collated with the originals that are preserved in the Ottoman archives.

According to al-Qalqashandi, two tasks were to be performed at the chancery: (1) diplomatics (al-mukatabat): communiqués, treaties, and decrees; and (2) personnel management (al-wilayat): certificates of hiring, firing, and promotion. Preparing legal briefings for the civil criminal court (al-mazalim) also fell into the responsibilities of the chancery. Guidelines and rules were developed to standardize the technical aspects of paperwork preparation and processing, and they ranged from the terminology of ranks, titles, and honorifics to the size of the paper used, the writing style, and the formulas of treaties, royal decrees (al-mukatabat al-sultaniyya), and personal correspondence (al-mukatabat al-ikhwaniyya). Administrative documents under the rubric of al-wilayat are further categorized into subtypes: appointment, dismissal, pledge of allegiance, leases and contracts regarding the iqta' land revenues, advisory memos regarding religious and public affairs (al-wasaya), and so forth.

The qualifications of a chancery writer were commonly defined as al-balagha wa-husn al-kitaba ("rhetoric eloquence and excellent writing skills"). Some chancery writers were among the finest in classical Arabic literature, such as ʻAbd al-Hamid al-Katib, Ibn al-Muqaffa', and Ibn Zaydun. Accordingly, the adab al-katib ("the art and craft of chancery writers") developed into an academic discipline that encompassed such pursuits as languages (Arabic and Persian); calligraphy and penmanship; rhetoric; phraseology and stylistics; poetry and proverbs; history; geography; architecture; and knowledge of commerce, weights, and measures.

Appendix: Medieval Arabic Archives

The Mount Sinai documents. This is the only extant archive of chancery documents from medieval Egypt, and it is made up mostly of decrees issued by sultans as edicts of protection and privilege to the Greek Orthodox Monastery of St. Catherine's.

The waqf deeds in Cairo. This collection includes some nine hundred deeds of waqf (religious endowments drawn up on behalf of the sultan and other officials); these are the only Egyptian "state" documents from before the Ottoman conquest.

Arabic documents from European archives. Certain European archives (Venice, Genoa, the crown archives of Aragon, Palermo) house a number of Arabic documents, mainly treaties and diplomatic correspondence of the Mamluk sultanates.

Arabic documents from Jerusalem. These are Mamluk chancery writings preserved in the Franciscan Custodia Terrae Sanctae in Jerusalem.

In addition, some non-archival collections—the Cairo Geniza, "the Vienna papers," and the Haram al-Sharif documents in Jerusalem—contain random chancery documents (see Further Reading).

Li Guo

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ARISTOTLE AND ARISTOTELIANISM

The rise of philosophy and theology in Arabic Islamic civilization was accompanied by the reception of the Aristotelian canon of the rational sciences. Developing in close contact with Near Eastern Hellenism—at home in Syria and Mesopotamia—the urban culture of Islam not only received the practical arts and sciences of the Greeks from a continuous tradition of teaching and learned transmission but also adopted Greek concepts and methods of reasoning into the disciplines of theology and the law.

Early reports from Umayyad Damascus (seventh–eighth centuries CE) bear witness to the first exchanges of the arts, crafts, and practical knowledge and also a few translations in the fields of popular wisdom and political ethics (e.g., the correspondence of Aristotle with Alexander the Great). After the shift of power to Iraq and the Iranian East under the ʻAbbasid caliphate (from 750), the reception of the practical sciences and the progressive Arabization of the Near East under Islamic rule led to a massive translation movement from Persian, Greek, and Syriac–Aramaic sources into Arabic, first in Baghdad and the Eastern provinces and soon in all of the urban centers of the Near East. Initially, Iranian traditions in astrology, medicine, and popular ethics were

predominant. From the turn of the ninth century began the triumphant advance of the Greek authorities and their basic manuals, particularly the mathematics of Euclid, the astronomy and astrology of Ptolemy, and the medicine of Hippocrates and Galen and their schools. From the beginning, Aristotle accompanied the professional disciplines as a teacher of the encyclopedia of the sciences, the principles of rational deduction, and the scientific conception of the world. Foremost in the center of interest—and first translated—were Aristotle's writings about physics and natural science: *Physics,* about the principles of natural processes; *On the Heavens,* about the celestial cosmos; *On Generation and Corruption,* about composition and change of the elements; *Meteorology,* about sublunar phenomena, and the *Books on Animals*, about the natural history of the animate creatures.

In the milieu of rationalist theologians supported by the early ʿAbbasid court and its administration, interreligious debate fostered a growing interest in hermeneutics and logic. Methods of syllogistic reasoning entered legal and dogmatic deduction. What is more, monotheistic theology sought solutions of its aporias—the antinomy between the absolute One and the multiple phenomena of created being, the chasm between the transcendent, ineffable First Cause and the possibility of knowledge via the sensible world—in the Aristotelian books about the principles of being and movement and of the soul. Aristotle's authentic *Metaphysics*—his exposition of a science of being *qua* being, and his philosophical theology (i.e., the doctrine of the First Unmoved Mover)—was read in Arabic from the first half of the ninth century. The book *On the Immortality of the Soul* was first read in a paraphrase that stressed the immortality of the rational soul, which was regarded as a substantial, intelligible form. On the other hand, the authentic writings of Aristotle, which were transmitted by the Neoplatonic schools of Athens and Alexandria and their Christian continuators, were accompanied by and harmonized with Neoplatonic texts, which were interpreted excerpts from Plotinus and Proclus published under Aristotle's name: the so-called *Theology of Aristotle* and the Proclean sources of the *Book of the Pure Good,* which was translated into medieval Latin under the title *Liber de Causis*. These connected the doctrine of the First Mover with the model of emanation: creation as an eternal pouring forth from the One, passed on by the Intelligences of the celestial spheres. The interpretation of the Arabic Aristotle identified First Cause, first being, and first intelligence and made this the efficient cause of creation: a creation from nothing.

In this understanding—and applied to the questions discussed in earlier Islamic theology—Arabic Aristotelianism served the philosopher–scientists of the early ʿAbbasid society to legitimate rational science as a superior way to establish the true creed of monotheism. On this basis, the versatile al-Kindī (d. after 868) demonstrated the harmony between Islamic monotheism and philosophical principles. From al-Kindī to the branches of his school in Transoxania, from the natural sciences in Jābir ibn Hayyān's alchemy to the Gnostic cosmology of the *Book of the Sincere Brethren* (→ *Ikhwān al-Safā'* → Ismāʿīliyya), the sciences of proportions, arithmology, and musical harmony led the rational soul on its way to a vision of the absolute: to the World of Intellect. The cosmic blueprint of this world, as depicted by the progression (creation) and regression (knowledge) of intellect through a cosmic hierarchy of ensouled spheres, was found in the teachings of late Neoplatonism, which harmonized with the Aristotelian and Ptolemaic models of celestial mechanics. Still in the same tradition, the Platonic ethics of knowledge was supplemented with Aristotelian catalogs of virtues and vices in tenth-century ethical handbooks by the Christian Yahyā ibn ʿAdī (d. AH 363/974 CE) and by the Iranian Muslim → Miskawayh (d. 421/1030).

In a further phase of reception, Aristotle came to be the authority of an autonomous philosophy that was seen as a universal demonstrative science. The rise of Aristotelian metaphysics and epistemology among the scientific and administrative elite of Islam introduced a more strictly Aristotelian paradigm. Carried by the competitors of al-Kindī's circle inside and outside the ʿAbbasid court and its administration—above all by the activity of Qustā ibn Lūqā, Thābit ibn Qurra, and those around Ishāq, the son of Hunayn, as translators and original authors encompassing all of the scientific encyclopedia—science was raised from empeiria to apodeixis. Until the middle of the tenth century, the *Organon* of logic was translated in its entirety, including the *Analytica Posteriora (Book of Demonstration)*, which was regarded as the crown of logic and the basis of epistemology. Finally, all commentaries on the *Corpus Aristotelicum*—from Alexander of Aphrodisias [c. 200 CE]) to the lecture courses of the late Alexandrian school (fifth–sixth centuries)—that could be traced in Syriac versions from the Greek were made accessible by the Christian translators of Baghdad, who taught logic as the leading art of all rational activity (most notably Abū Bishr Mattā and Yahyā ibn ʿAdī).

On this basis, al-Fārābī (d. 345/950) founded the philosophy of Islam by integrating prophecy,

revelation, and religious language into the Aristotelian theory of the cosmos and of intellect. Aristotle's Active Intellect—the active momentum in the acquisition of knowledge by the rational soul—is seen as a cosmic entity in a Neoplatonic model, and it serves as a mediator conveying the universal forms in the process of abstraction from the sensible particulars and translating the universals—in the superior mind of the Prophet—into the representations of positive religion. Here the concepts of Aristotelian poetic and rhetoric are employed to build a theory of religious language: the symbols of revealed religion imitate the absolute. From the perspective of metaphysics as the ruling science of being *qua* being, the theoretical and practical sciences and the *Organon* of logic (interpretation and deduction) are integrated into a unified system of the rational sciences, together with their corollaries in the particular disciplines of the religious–linguistic community, theology, jurisprudence, and grammar.

Aristotle is, from this point forward, regarded by his Arabic followers (the falāsifa) as the guarantor of the way toward demonstrable truth, for both the rational sciences and the religious disciplines: the First Teacher, so called by Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna, d. 428/1037). Ibn Sīnā set out to rewrite the *Peripatetic* canon of readings according to the order and under the titles of the Aristotelian works: *Logica, Physica,* and *Metaphysica,* supplemented by the mathematical quadrivium and by the *Canon* of theoretical and practical medicine. His *Summa* of philosophy was based on a new metaphysics that was to supersede Aristotle's. It is Aristotelian in that the universals are bound up with real substances, but they can be abstracted by intellectual analysis, relying on self-evident principles and on demonstrative reasoning; it is Platonic in that the divine mind is given the role of the Active Intellect, conferring the divine illumination necessary for all true and necessary knowledge. Departing from the concepts of substance and accident, essence and existence, matter and form, potentiality and actuality, Ibn Sīnā specified the concept and proof of the divine cause under the terms of Kalām theology. He established the First Cause as the necessary existent that alone has being essentially and that is necessary by itself and not composite of essence and existence. All contingent, temporal being needs a first cause, which is necessary and eternal and confers being upon the creation; together with its eternal cause, the whole of the world coexists eternally. The hierarchy of creation is modeled in a Neoplatonic cosmology: descending from the First Cause over the celestial spheres to the sublunar world of form in matter. The emanation of the forms from the Giver of Forms, the Agent Intellect, into the genera and species of the material substances, corresponds with the Plotinian model of the return of the soul to its origin: to the vision of the intelligible cosmos.

For the religious community, however, this Aristotelian/Neoplatonic cosmology—which implied the eternity of the world—remained a stumbling block, even for those theologians who adopted Aristotelian logic as a basis of rational discourse. The refutation written by the jurist and theologian → al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), who was well versed in philosophy, contested the philosophers' claim that human reason was consistent with God's wisdom, but he nevertheless placed Aristotelian logic and hermeneutic into the service of the religious disciplines. Through al-Ghazālī's adoption of Aristotelian concepts and systematized by the schools of Sunnī Kalām that developed in his wake (→ Fakhr-al-Dīn al-Rāzī), Avicenna's new interpretation of Aristotelian metaphysics shaped the scholarship of later Islamic theology.

Meanwhile, the Aristotelians of the Muslim West (Andalusia and North Africa) took up the challenge of al-Ghazālī: Ibn Bājja (d. 533/1139) in the spirit of al-Fārābī; Ibn Tufayl (d. 581/1185) in an attempt to mediate between Avicenna and al-Ghazālī; and, finally, Ibn Rushd (Averroes, d. 595/1198) in his large-scale defense of the authentic Aristotle, based on extensive commentaries of his works and summaries of his doctrine. Against Avicenna, Averroes purged Aristotle from the elements of Neoplatonism and re-established metaphysics on the basis of Aristotle's physics of real substances, providing the demonstration of being that must precede the demonstration of the cause. The Latin and Hebrew translations of his commentaries became the main sources of Jewish and Christian Aristotelianism during the Middle Ages, lasting until the early Renaissance.

Syntheses of rationalist and religious discourse in the religious community created complex systems of legal demonstration, of speculative theology, and of mystical philosophy. The philosophy of illumination (ishrāq)—as established by Shihāb-al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 587/1198)—employed the formal epistemology of the *Peripatetics* (i.e., Avicenna) as a metaphor for the process of illumination, going forth from the First Cause, which is first light and highest reality (Avicenna's Necessary Being). Although the "divine Plato" is invoked as an authority, the concepts result from a chain of re-interpretations of Aristotle. For the vision of the cosmic hierarchy, mediating through monads of light between the First and the inner eye of contemplation, the spiritual metaphysics of the Arabic Plotinus provided a proven paradigm that was read by Avicenna as well as his successors until

the theosophy of Safavid Iran (Sadr-al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, d. 1050/1640).

GERHARD ENDRESS

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ARWA

Daughter of Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Qasim al-Sulayhi and a celebrated Queen of Yemen of the Sulayhid dynasty, Arwa was de facto co-ruler with her husband, Sultan Ahmad al-Mukarram, from 467 AH/1074 CE and sole ruler from 477/1084 until her death in 532/1138, which marked the end of the Sulayhid dynasty. She exercised both political and religious leadership in Yemen on behalf of the Fatimid Isma'ili Caliphs of Egypt for almost sixty years. She became the founder of the Tayyibi Da'wa, independent of Egypt, in 526/1132 after the death of the eleventh Fatimid Caliph al-Amir in 524/1130. She is alternately known as Arwa and Sayyida in many sources and by the popular designation *hurra* (an independent lady) or, as Leila al-Imad would describe her, a "liberated woman."

Arwa was born in 440/1048 and was brought up by her mother-in-law, Asma' bint Shihab, herself a cultured lady known to people as *hurra.* She was married to al-Mukarram ibn 'Ali al-Sulayhi in 458/1066. Many sources, Isma'ili and otherwise, praise Arwa's knowledge of the Qur'anic exegesis, Prophetic hadith, history, and poetry, and her personality and prowess are widely admired. No doubt, they would dare not refer to her by her first name Arwa.

When her husband died, Arwa's minor son 'Ali 'Abd al-Mustansir was named as ruler; however, Arwa exercised complete authority. She was served by several prominent leaders and army commanders. The Qadi 'Imran ibn al-Fadl, who had been 'Ali al-Sulayhi's envoy to the Fatimid Caliph and the Commander of the Sulayhid army but had later fallen out of grace, nevertheless fought for her against the Najahids and was killed in battle in 479/1086. Two Amirs, Abu Himyar Saba' ibn Ahmad al-Sulayhi and Abu 'l-Rabi' 'Amir ibn Sulayman al-Zawahi (both bitter rivals who fought several battles against each other), served Arwa nevertheless and carried out her bidding. Saba' contrived to get the Fatimid Caliph's permission to marry her. She obeyed; the marriage was contracted but never consummated. Saba' remained loyal to her in any case. Both Amirs died around 492/1098. Arwa's two sons, 'Ali and al-Muzaffar, also died near this time. In her sorrow, the Queen turned to yet another, 'Amir al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakat ibn al-Walid al-Himyari, to whom she entrusted her treasury at Mount Ta'kar near Dhu Jibla. He was not able to withstand the inroads made in her realm by the Zuray'ids of Aden, who owed tribute to her but were now falsely claiming to be da is.

The affairs of the Da'wa occupied Arwa. Imam al-Mustansir had appointed her as the Hujja of Yemen, which was the highest rank in the region; in a letter to her in 481/1088, he asked her to supervise the Da'wa in India. Lamak b. Malik al-Hammadi was the Da'i Balagh under her. On his death, also around 492/1098, his son Yahya took charge of the Da'wa. On Yahya's death in 520/1126, the scholar Dhu'ayb ibn Musa al-Wadi'i was entrusted with the affairs of the Da'wa.

In the meantime, Al-Afdal, son of Badr al-Jamali and the dictator in Egypt under the Fatimid Caliph al-Must ali (487–495/1094–1101), had sent, in 513/1119, Ibn Najib al-Dawla as an administrator and Da'i of Yemen, sensing the power vacuum that prevailed after 'Amir al-Mufaddal's death in 504/1110. His conflict with Queen Arwa's Da'wa and the local Amirs prompted the Queen to contrive to get him drowned in the Red Sea. However, she patched up the problem by giving a member of her own Sulayhid family, 'Ali ibn 'Abd Allah, the title of Fakhr al-Khilafa to please the Fatimid Caliph, who now was al-Amir (495–524/1101–1130). By now Arwa had tired of the Fatimid connection. The opportunity for independence came when, on al-Amir's death in Egypt in 524/1130, his minor son al-Tayyib's right to succeed was usurped by his uncle al-Hafiz li-din Allah.

The Queen and her Da'wa under Dhu'ayb declared for Tayyib and severed their relationship with the last Fatimid Caliphs in 526/1132. Dhu'ayb al-Wadi'i was declared the first Da'i Mutlaq of the new Tayyibi Da'wa of Yemen and India, and he was assisted by a valiant Sultan of Jurayb, al-Khattab ibn al-Hasan ibn Abi 'l-Haffaz al-Hamdani, a warrior and a poet. When the enemies pointed out that a woman could not have religious leadership, al-Khattab defended

Arwa's position with the argument that her womanly form is only an outward cover. He stated that one had to look to her inner essence, and he compared her to Maryam, the mother of Jesus; Khadija, the wife of the Prophet Muhammad; and Fatima, the wife of ʻAli.

The power options of the old Queen had now run out. The last Fatimids were supporting the Zurayʻids of Aden and the Hamdanids of Sanʻa'. There were other rivals, such as the Najahids and Mahdids of Zabid, the Sulaymani Sharifs, and the Banu Akk. Arwa realized that the end of her dynasty had come. She died in 532/1138, leaving a long list of her treasures in a will and bequeathing them to the absent Imam Tayyib (i.e., the Daʻwa that now continued to exist in Yemen, not as a state but as a community, and which proliferated in India).

Arwa's last supporter, ʻAmir al-Khattab, died the next year, in 533/1139, and Yemen was soon inundated by the Ayyubid invasion and conquest in 569/1173.

ABBAS HAMDANI

See also Sulayhids; Women Rulers

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ASCETICS AND ASCETICISM

The terms *ascetics* and *asceticism* refer first to deliberate austerity as part of a life of devotion. This discussion will chiefly address the ascetics (zuhhad, nussak) of the eighth century CE, who are widely regarded as the forerunners of the Sufis of the later ninth century and after. Some did wear wool (suf), which was scratchy, smelly when wet, and liable to become ragged. However, the term *Sufi* did not appear until the later eighth century, and few of the ascetics whom later Sufi writers regarded as their forebears were expressly called "Sufis" during their lifetimes.

As for austerity, many early exemplars of piety were notable for their poverty. When some Basrans went to visit al-Hasan al-Basri (d. 728) on his sickbed, they found that "there was nothing in the house: no bed, no carpet, no pillow, and no mat except a bed of palm fronds that he was on." His fellow Basran Malik ibn Dinar (d. late 740s) thought the only necessary furniture for one's house was "a prayer mat, a copy of the Qur'an, and a stand for ritual ablutions." The Kufan Dawud al-Ta'i (d. ca. early 780s) would move from room to room of his house as it gradually fell into ruin.

More than particular austerities, early Muslim ascetics had in common their devotion of extraordinary amounts of time to Qur'anic recitation and prayer. *Qari'* ("reciter") became another term for *ascetic*. The Basran Thabit al-Bunani (d. ca. 744–745) recited the whole Qur'an daily and fasted throughout the year (i.e., he abstained from food and drink during daylight hours). The Kufan al-Hasan ibn Salih ibn Hayy (d. 814–815), his brother ʻAli (d. ca. 768–769), and their mother used to recite the Qur'an nightly in shifts; the two brothers continued to do this in shifts after their mother died, and finally al-Hasan performed this task alone after his brother died. ʻAmr ibn Dinar, a Meccan jurisprudent (d. 743–744), divided his nights into a third each for sleeping, studying hadith, and performing the ritual prayer. Nighttime devotions had the advantage of taking place outside of most people's observation, and hence they were less likely to be performed merely to impress others. Makhul of Damascus (d. 730s) asserted, "There are two eyes that will not be touched by Hellfire: an eye that has wept for fear of God and an eye that has stayed awake out of sight of the Muslims."

Morally, the early ascetics cultivated sadness and fear—sadness especially over past sins and fear of judgment to come. They interpreted the Qur'an as enjoining such sadness and fear. The chief point of austerity was to keep one's attention on the important things, mainly God and future judgment. When

someone suggested to al-Hasan al-Basri that he wash his shirt, he replied, "I cannot but see that the matter is more pressing than that." Malik ibn Dinar gave away a pot because it made him fear its being stolen. Practically, it was probably difficult to make a good living if one stayed up every night to recite and pray.

Disparagement of outward austerity seems to have arisen during about the last third of the eighth century. Ascetics such as al-Hasan al-Basri had called for inward dispositions to match the outward ones, but Sufyan ibn 'Uyayna, a Kufan, who was active mainly in Mecca (d. 814), went further, calling for inward detachment alone: "Renunciation means shortness of hope, not eating poorly." Al-Shafi'i (d. 820) and Ibn Hanbal (d. 855) likewise considered poverty no necessary part of an ideally righteous lifestyle. At the same time, there arose more extreme forms of asceticism. Shaqiq al-Balkhi (d. 809–810) rejected all deliberate pursuit of gain, teaching that the pious should live on alms alone. Tawakkul (dependence [on God]) came to be practiced with such recklessness that ascetics would set off on journeys across the desert without carrying food or water, expecting to be sustained accidentally; that is, by divine provision alone. As it crystallized around al-Junayd (d. ca. 911), Sufism repudiated the most extreme forms of austerity in favor of inward dependence on God. Moderate asceticism remained an important part of ideal religious deportment among Sufis and non-Sufis alike until modern times.

Sociologists have used the term *asceticism* to refer to the piety that stresses obedience to the transcendent deity. They contrast it with *mysticism,* which is defined as the piety that stresses communion with the immanent deity. Islamic law is a major expression of Islamic asceticism in this sense (i.e., Sufism or Islamic mysticism). A predominantly mystical piety seems to emerge in the literary record during the mid-ninth century, in the generation before al-Junayd.

Christopher Melchert

See also Al-Hasan al-Basri; Hadith; Sufis

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ASKIYA MUHAMMAD TOUARE

After the death of Sunni Ali in 1492, his son Abu Bakr succeeded him as the ruler of the Songhay Empire, for which Sunni Ali's father had laid the foundations. However, Abu Bakr was soon overthrown by one of Sunni Ali's generals, a person of mixed Soninke/Songhay origin. This ruler took the title of Askiya, and he ruled from 1493 until 1529. Under his rule, the Songhay Empire gained territory and increased its hegemony throughout its territory as well as its vassal states; the empire's influence stretched from Hausa-land (present-day northern Nigeria) to present-day Senegal. Several of Askiya Muhammad's conquests were, however, temporary, and debate surrounds which areas were dominated and to what extent. Askiya Mohammad is said to have gone on a pilgrimage to Mecca, launched a series of military campaigns to expand the empire, and spread the word of Islam throughout the region; he was deposed by his son Askiya Musa, who exiled him.

Currently Askiya Muhammad and his empire are considered to be the historical predecessors of the Republic of Niger, and they are extensively celebrated in oral tradition. These oral accounts, which suggest his downfall resulted from his policy of following both Islam and pagan tradition, appear to be modeled on modern themes of interest, and they do not provide information about the historical figure of Askiya Muhammad.

Jan Jansen

See also Sunni Ali; Songhay Empire

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ASSASSINS: ISMAILI

Assassin is a name that was applied originally by the Crusader circles in the Near East and other medieval Europeans to the Nizari Ismailis of Syria. From the opening decade of the twelfth century, the Crusaders had numerous encounters with the Syrian Nizaris,

who reached the peak of their power under the leadership of Rashid al-Din Sinan (d. 1193 CE), their most famous dai and the original "Old Man of the Mountain" of the Crusaders. It was, indeed, in Sinan's time (1163–1193) that the Crusaders and their European observers became particularly impressed by the highly exaggerated reports and rumors about the daring behavior of the Nizari *fidais,* who were devotees who selectively targeted and removed their community's prominent enemies in specific localities. As a result, the Nizari Ismailis became famous in Europe as the Assassins, the followers of the mysterious "Old Man of the Mountain."

The term *assassin,* which appeared in European languages in a variety of forms (e.g., assassini, assissini, and heyssisini), was evidently based on variants of the Arabic word *hashishi* (pl. *hashishiyya, hashishin*). The latter was applied by other Muslims to Nizaris in the pejorative senses of "low-class rabble" or "people of lax morality," without any derivative explanation reflecting any special connection between the Nizaris and hashish, a product of hemp. This term of abuse was picked up locally in Syria by the Crusaders and European travelers and adopted as the designation of the Nizari Ismailis. Subsequently, after the etymology of the term had been forgotten, it came to be used in Europe as a noun meaning "murderer." Thus, a misnomer rooted in abuse eventually resulted in a new word, *assassin,* in European languages.

Medieval Europeans—and especially the Crusaders—who remained ignorant of Islam as a religion and of its internal divisions were also responsible for fabricating and disseminating (in the Latin Orient as well as in Europe) a number of interconnected legends about the secret practices of the Nizaris, the so-called "assassin legends." In particular, the legends sought to provide a rational explanation for the seemingly irrational self-sacrificing behavior of the Nizari fidais; as such, they revolved around the recruitment and training of the youthful devotees. The legends developed in stages from the time of Sinan and throughout the thirteenth century. Soon, the seemingly blind obedience of the fidais to their leader was attributed, by their occidental observers, to the influence of an intoxicating drug like hashish. There is no evidence that suggests that hashish or any other drug was used in any systematic fashion to motivate the fidais; contemporary non-Ismaili Muslim sources that are generally hostile toward the Ismailis remain silent on this subject. In all probability, it was the abusive name *hashishi* that gave rise to the imaginative tales disseminated by the Crusaders.

The assassin legends culminated in a synthesized version that was popularized by Marco Polo, who combined the hashish legend with a number of other legends and also added his own contribution in the form of a secret "garden of paradise," where the fidais supposedly received part of their training. By the fourteenth century, the assassin legends had acquired wide currency in Europe and the Latin Orient, and they were accepted as reliable descriptions of the secret practices of the Nizari Ismailis, who were generally portrayed in European sources as a sinister order of drugged assassins. Subsequently, Westerners retained the name *assassins* as a general reference to the Nizari Ismailis, although the term had now become a new common noun in European languages meaning "murderer." It was A.I. Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838) who succeeded in solving the mystery of the name and its etymology, although he and the other orientalists continued to endorse various aspects of the assassin legends. Modern scholarship in Ismaili studies, which is based on authentic Ismaili sources, has now begun to deconstruct the Assassin legends that surround the Nizari Ismailis and their fidais—legends rooted in hostility and imaginative ignorance.

FARHAD DAFTARY

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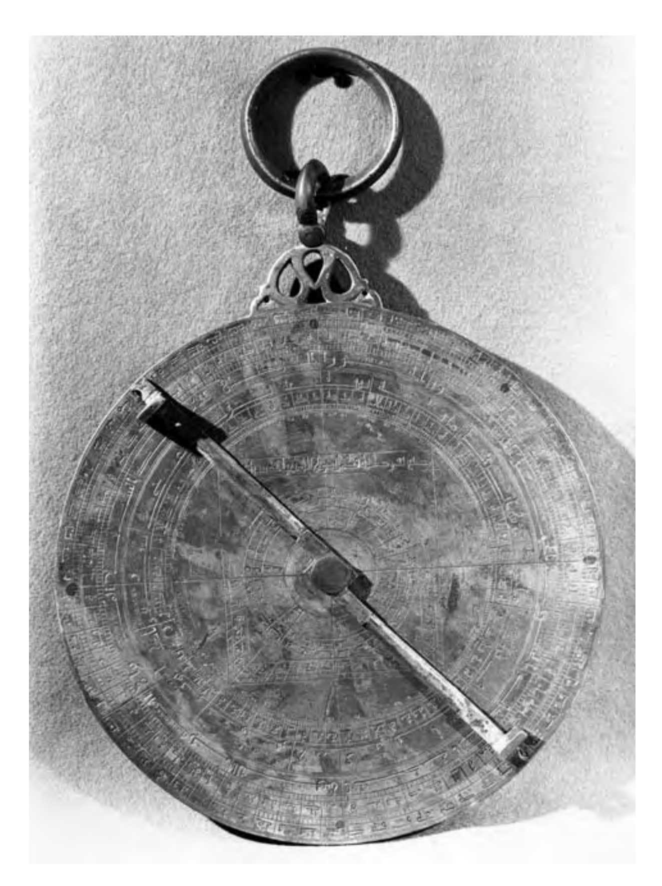
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ASTROLABES

The astrolabe is a two-dimensional representation of the three-dimensional celestial sphere, a model of the universe that one can hold in one's hand. The representation is achieved by a mathematical procedure known as stereographic projection. There is a "celestial" part called the *rete,* which is a cutout frame with star pointers for various bright stars and a ring for the ecliptic (the path of the sun against the background of the stars). Next, there is a "terrestrial" part that consists of a set of plates for different latitudes, with markings for the local horizon and altitude circles up to the zenith and azimuth circles around the horizon. The rete is placed on top of the appropriate plate, and the ensemble fits in a hollowed-out frame called the *mater.* On the back of the mater is a



Astrolabe. From Cordoba. Moorish, 1154. Engraved with the Latin Julian calendar in Italy during the fourteenth century c. Credit: Bridgeman-Giraudon/Art Resource, NY. Jagellon Library Museum, Cracow, Poland.

viewer called the *alidade* that is used for measuring the altitude of any celestial body, and there are also scales for finding the position of the sun using the date, for measuring shadows, and often for obtaining additional information. If one rotates the rete over one of the plates, one can simulate the apparent daily rotation of the sun or the starry heavens above the horizon of the observer. The passage of time is measured by the rotation of the rete (360 degrees corresponds to 24 hours). In addition, one can investigate the position of the ecliptic relative to the local horizon and meridian; these are configurations of prime importance in astrology.

The astrolabe is a Greek invention that was inherited by the Muslims during the eighth century and much developed by them thereafter. It was the favorite instrument of the Muslim astronomers, and hundreds survive, although only about 150 of them are from before 1500. Below are some of the most historically important examples.

- An astrolabe that was preserved until recently in the Archaeological Museum in Baghdad can be dated to the late eighth century. It has a Hellenistic design for the rete and plates for each of the climates of antiquity. The star positions are wrong (they are based on Greek coordinates updated with the incorrect Greek value of precession), proving that the instrument predates the Baghdad observations of the early ninth century.
- One of a dozen astrolabes surviving from 'Abbasid Baghdad and Buwayhid Isfahan was made by the astronomer al-Khujandî in 984. Already the astrolabe is a scientific work of art; it is richly decorated with a quatrefoil and zoomorphic star pointers, and it has highly accurate markings. (The so-called Astrolabe of Pope Sylvester II, which has featured in several exhibitions, is nothing more than an unsigned, undated astrolabe from 'Abbasid Baghdad with some dubious nineteenth-century Italian additions on the back.)
- Of some dozen and a half astrolabes from al-Andalus, all from the eleventh century, one made in Cordova in 1054 bears later additional markings in Hebrew on the plates for Cordova and Toledo, and another bears later medieval Catalan additions. The study of the second and further layers of inscriptions is particularly rewarding for investigating the later fate of individual instruments.
- Some two dozen astrolabes survive from Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt and Syria, and their variety reflects the colorful tradition of astronomy there. Of these, the remarkable universal astrolabe of Ibn al-Sarrâj (made in Aleppo in 1328) is the most sophisticated astrolabe ever made. It can be used for any latitude in five different ways. An astrolabe with numbers in Coptic alphanumerical notation has been dated to 1282 and comes from Cairo.
- An astrolabe signed by the Yemeni Prince al-Ashraf in 1291 was deemed suspicious until (1) it was established that there was a vibrant tradition of astronomy in Yemen from the tenth to the nineteenth century (which was confirmed by the finding of many Yemeni manuscripts about astronomy) and (2) that there is a manuscript in Cairo of a treatise on the construction of the astrolabe authored by and penned by the prince himself. Appended to this are some notes of approval (ijâzas) in the handwriting of the prince's teachers describing six astrolabes that he made under their supervision and authorizing him to continue making the instruments.
- Alas, none of the instruments made for the fourteenth-century Delhi Sultan Fïrûz Shâh

Tughluq [q.v.], which are described in a historical work, survive. Some were made in silver and others in gold and silver; others were very large. The earliest surviving astrolabe from Muslim India, which is half a meter in diameter, can be associated with Maqsûd Hirawî in Lahore (c. 1550). He is known from a contemporaneous chronicle to have made astrolabes and globes for Humâyûn "in such a manner that the observers of his work were wonderstruck."

- On an astrolabe signed by Jalâl al-Kirmânî and dated 1426, the name on the dedication to the throne has been eradicated, although the person it was made for was obviously a prince of some importance. Special plates serve Samarqand and Herat; Jalâl al-Asturlâbî is named as the instrument maker at the observatory of Ulugh Beg in Samarqand, and that ruler commuted between the two cities. A solitary unsigned rete obviously by the same maker is fitted to a magnificent thirteenth-century Syrian astrolabe (damaged booty from the Mongol attack on Damascus, perhaps) and is dated a few years earlier. Of the dedication to a sultan on the new rete, only the letter's title remains intact; the name of Shâhrukh has been broken off.
- An astrolabe now in Cairo is dedicated to the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid II, who was particularly interested in astronomy. The maker is named as Mukhlis al-Shirwânî, so it is not surprising that the instrument is in the Iranian tradition.
- Perhaps the most colorful example is a quatrefoil astrolabe that has inscriptions in Hebrew, Latin, and Arabic. It was made around 1300, probably in Toledo, and the bare instrument was made by a Jewish craftsman, who left scratches in Hebrew alphanumerical script for the latitudes on each of the plates. The design of the rete is European, with strong mudéjar influence. The inscriptions on the rete and the plates are in a scholastic Latin, with very distorted Arabic names for the stars and some regional peculiarities that could eventually localize the engraver. However, the back was never completed by the scholar, and the piece fell into the hands of a Muslim Arab, who put his name, Mas'ûd, on the shackle of the throne. He also had plans to emigrate to more hospitable climes: he replaced one of the plates with one of his own that served Algiers and Mecca. He seems to have been at least partly successful, because there is an Ibn Mas'ûd who was born in Tlemcen at the right time who later wrote on instruments. In any case, the creator's father's astrolabe ended up in Northern France by the sixteenth century, according to a fourth layer of markings.

Arabic treatises about the construction and use of the astrolabe abound. The earliest surviving one was written by al-Khwârizmî (now published), but those by al-Farghânî and al-Bîrûnî (still unpublished) are the most important.

The second most popular astronomical instrument of the Muslims was the quadrant, of which several varieties were available. Below three types of quadrants are considered: (1) horary quadrants; (2) trigonometric quadrants; and (3) astrolabic quadrants.

The horary quadrant is essentially a device for keeping time using the sun. It bears a set of markings that are graphical representations of the altitude of the sun at the hours throughout the year. The user holds the quadrant vertically with one axis toward the sun, and a movable bead on a thread with plummet, set to the appropriate solar longitude, falls on the appropriate markings to determine the hour of the day. The horary markings are either for a specific latitude or for all latitudes, with markings of the latter variety being necessarily approximate. Both types of quadrants were invented in Baghdad during the ninth century. Quadrants for a fixed latitude are known to exist for Rayy and Cairo (both from the thirteenth century), and they are also found on the backs of two astrolabes from Baghdad (tenth century). However, tables displaying the altitude of the sun as a function of the time of day for, say, each sign of the ecliptic (which one needs to construct the markings on such a quadrant) are known to be from ninth-century Baghdad. Quadrants for all latitudes are much more common, not least because they were often included on the backs of astrolabes. They provide a quick means of finding the time in seasonal hours for any latitude, whereas, with the front of the astrolabe, one can—with more effort—find the time in equatorial hours or seasonal hours for any latitude represented by the plates.

Another Islamic invention was the trigonometric quadrant, with which one can solve trigonometric formulae without any calculation. The simplest kind was developed for timekeeping in ninth-century Baghdad, and the most sophisticated kind, with markings resembling modern graph paper, was known already in the tenth century. Quadrants with such markings were often included on the backs of astrolabes or on the backs of astrolabic quadrants. This last type, which was developed in Cairo around 1200, essentially consists of half of the markings on a standard astrolabe plate (necessarily serving a single latitude), with an ecliptic scale and a thread with a movable

bead. With such a handy device, one can perform most of the standard operations that are possible with an astrolabe. It replaced the astrolabe as the most popular instrument in the Ottoman world.

David A. King

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ASTROLOGY

Astrology as it was practiced in the Muslim world is divided into two types: judicial astrology (ahkam al-nujum) and popular astrology. The former type seeks to use the Ptolemaic understanding of the cosmos and to find patterns in it that can be helpful for prognosticating the future of a given individual or group. Although judicial astrology as such is a pseudoscience, the tables used by Muslim astrologers—who were often undifferentiated from astronomers (both being referred to as *munajjim*) until approximately the twelfth to fifteenth centuries—were remarkable achievements of mathematics and gematria. Popular astrology combined the lore of judicial astrology with Sufi teachings and continues to this day to be part of mystic literature.

The Muslim attitude toward astrology is somewhat ambiguous. One statement concerning the subject reads: "The [pre-Islamic] Arabs specialized in (several) faculties: in soothsaying, in prognostication *(qiyafa)*, augury by the flight of birds *('ayafa)*, astronomy–astrology, and gematrical calculations; Islam destroyed soothsaying and confirmed the rest of them." (al-Zubayr ibn al-Bakkar. *Akhbar al-Muwaffaqiyyat*, 300 [no. 213].) Most of the paradigmatic astrologers, such as Abu Ma'shar (d. AH 273/886 CE), held prominent positions in society and were frequently advisors to rulers and elites. Many of the most famous astrologers were non-Muslims, such as the Jewish figure Masha'allah (c. third/ninth centuries). In addition to this proximity to power, many famous scientists and astronomers, such as Abu Rayhan al-Biruni (d. 440/1048–1049), either practiced astrology on the side or at least wrote books on the subject. However, starting in the tenth century, Muslim religious scholars began to cast doubt on the religious acceptability of astrology. Their task was a difficult one, because astrologers seemed to have access to genuine knowledge. Al-Sharif al-Murtada (the famous Shi'i theologian of Baghdad, d. 436/1044–1045), stated the following:

> ...how can we say that the astrologers are guessing [about their predictions] when their dictions are almost invariably right? They predict solar eclipses—their time and extent—and it happens exactly as they say it will. What is the difference between their prediction of the happening with this effect up that body [the sun] and their prediction of the happening with its effect upon our bodies?
>
> (*Rasa'il*, vol. 2, pp. 301–2.)

This dilemma and the fact that astrologers commanded a good deal of social prestige during the Umayyad and 'Abbasid periods made it more difficult for religious leaders to deal with the subject of astrology.

The most successful method of polemicizing with the astrologers was ridicule. Because most of Muslim history was written by religious leaders, there are abundant examples of their attempts to discredit the astrologers. Occasionally astrologers made verifiably incorrect predictions, the most famous of which was a deluge of fire and water that was supposed to occur on August 17, 1186. The Ghaznavid historian al-'Utbi writes the following:

> In the year 582 [1186–1187] the sign Libra had assembled within itself the seven planets; and it had been for a long time reported in men's mouths and in their books, that the astrologers had averred their judgment that at this time there would be a deluge of wind three *kos* [about two miles] long, and as some said ten *kos* wide, which would extend over twenty *kos* of ground, which would carry off high mountains, so that neither men nor beasts would remain, and at this time would be the season of the judgment, which according to the glorious Qur'an, to histories and by investigation is to come.
>
> (al-'Utbi, *Ta'rikh-i Yamini*, transl. James Reynolds, p. 489)

This prediction was recorded all over the Muslim world from Ghazna in the east to Spain, and it reached Europe as well. The disconfirmation of their

prediction was cause for the appearance of a large number of treatises attacking astrology, including that of the Jewish philosopher and community leader Maimonides.

However, astrology continued to be important for the Sufi mystical systems, especially those that were based on the thought of Muhyi al-Din Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 638/1240). This construction of astrological spirituality promoted the idea that there was a close correlation between the seen cosmos and the unseen spiritual cosmos. On the basis of this idea, one could ascend spiritually to the upper realms and experience them while still bodily upon the earth. These ideas continue to be influential in Sufi circles, although astrologers as a whole suffered from diminishing prestige after the Mamluk period. However, it was rare to find a court without an astrologer before modern times.

David Cook

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ASTRONOMY

Islamic astronomy grew out of conditions in the Umayyad and 'Abbasid Caliphates. The Umayyads had initially preserved the preexisting administrative apparatus of the lands they conquered. However, when the caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (d. 705 CE) decided to translate the administrative apparatus of the Empire into Arabic, information about surveying and calendar calculation also had to be translated into Arabic for the benefit of ministers and scribes who could not read Persian or Greek. The 'Abbasids, after coming to power in 750, invoked the pre-Islamic Sasanian cultural heritage to stabilize their rule. Original research in astronomy was part of an ongoing dialectic with translation, not merely its subsequent effect.

Although the Hellenistic influence would eventually predominate in Islamic astronomy, the earliest translations, under the Umayyads and 'Abbasids, involved ephemerides (zij, pl. azyaj) of Indian and Persian provenance. An ephemeris contained tables of planetary positions and the necessary theoretical explanations of how to use the tables. A zij was designed for applications such as calendar calculations and astrological forecasting, and the caliph al-Mansur consulted astrologers to great public effect when he commenced the construction of the new 'Abbasid capital at Baghdad. Al-Khwarizmi's (d. 833) original Zij al-Sindhind was the first complete text of Islamic astronomy to survive, although only in a Latin version of the original Arabic. Although most of the parameters in the zij were of Indian origin, the text was influenced by Ptolemy's (fl. 125–150) *Handy Tables.* First, al-Khwarizmi's *Zij al-Sindhind*, the source of which was the Sanskrit work of Brahmagupta, demonstrated that, although Islamic astronomers knew of Ptolemy's work, they would never accept it uncritically. Second, little time elapsed between Islamic astronomers' awareness of Ptolemy's parameters and the ninth-century translations of Ptolemy's *opus magnum*, *Almagest*.

Astronomers translated *Almagest* into Arabic during the beginning of the ninth century, and it would prove to be the most influential Greek text for Islamic astronomers. Two different Arabic translations survive, and reports exist of two others. As these translations were occurring, astronomers reassessed important parameters, and they found, notably, that the aphelion (the point of the sun's greatest distance from the earth) moved. In addition, Islamic astronomers criticized Ptolemy's views about how orbs could move. Specifically, during the ninth century, Muhammad ibn Musa argued that one orb could not move another with which it is concentric. By the eleventh century, Islamic astronomers detected the most famous physical inconsistency of *Almagest:* the equant problem. In the models for Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, Ptolemy's mathematical analysis showed that the planet's mean motion, which he attributed to a single orb, was not uniform about the center of that sphere. Nor was that motion uniform about the center of the universe: instead it was uniform about another point, called the *equant.* The discovery of the equant posed a problem from a physical standpoint, because spheres had to move about axes passing through their centers. Ibn al-Haytham's (d. c. 1040) *al-Shukuk 'ala Batlamiyus (Doubts Concerning Ptolemy)* enumerated the problems associated with the equant.

In addition, by the eleventh century, religious scholars and philosophers questioned the metaphysical assumptions of astrology, in part because of their threat to God's absolute unity and in part because astrological predictions could be wrong. As a result, a new field of astronomical study was generated, known as 'ilm al-hay'a ("science of the configuration"), whereas astrology came to be known most frequently as 'ilm ahkam al-nujum ("science of the judgments of the stars"). The genre of 'ilm al-hay'a became the locus for most of Islamic astronomy's subsequent achievements. Beginning during the mid-thirteenth century, Islamic astronomers proposed new models that preserved Ptolemy's models' correspondence with observations and that yet did not suffer from the physical inconsistencies of the equant. In other words, these astronomers all retained the equant, because it was the point about which the planet's mean motion was uniform; however, they no longer posited that the axis of any orb's uniform motion would pass through the equant. The early figures in this line of research who wrote 'ilm al-hay'a texts—such as Mu'ayyad al-Din al-'Urdi (d. 1259), Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (d. 1274), and Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi (d. 1311)—were associated with the Maragha observatory in Azerbayjan. Later figures, such as Sadr al-Shari'a (d. 1347) and Ibn al-Shatir (d. 1375), are said to belong to the Maragha school of thought. Recent research has shown that the construction of non-Ptolemaic models continued at least into the sixteenth century, when Shams al-Din al-Khafri (d. 1525) proposed multiple mathematically equivalent models for the complicated motions of the planet Mercury.

Astronomers in Andalusia, too, produced works of significance. Before the twelfth century, widely circulated contributions of theirs were the Toledan Tables and models for variations in the precession and retrocession of the equinoxes, known as *trepidation.* During the twelfth century, philosophers such as Ibn Bajja (d. 1138) and Ibn Rushd (d. 1198) advocated a reading of Aristotle's *Physics* that led one astronomer, al-Bitruji (fl. ca. 1217), to propose astronomical models based solely on homocentric orbs. That constraint meant that al-Bitruji's models could not approach the predictive accuracy of the Maragha astronomers' models or of those of Ptolemy. A fourteenth-century attempt to improve on al-Bitruji departed from his strict insistence on homocentric spheres. 'Ilm al-hay'a texts were also distinctly Islamic inasmuch as they contained sections about locating the qibla (the direction of prayer). Back in the ninth century, the need to determine the qibla spurred new developments in spherical trigonometry. During the eleventh century, al-Biruni's (d. 1048) *Exhaustive Treatise on Shadows* explained the calculation of prayer times according to the shadow cast by a gnomon. The relationship between astronomy and religious scholarship became closer during the thirteenth century, when information about astronomy began to appear in texts of *kalam* (speculative investigations about God) and in Qur'an commentaries. Besides the famous example of Ibn al-Shatir being employed as a timekeeper in the Great Mosque of Damascus, Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi, Sadr al-Shari'a, and Shams al-Din al-Khafri were all religious scholars of note. The research of David King, in particular, has shown that not only did astronomers develop highly sophisticated applications of astronomy to religious problems but that there was also a parallel popular literature that answered the same questions in a less exacting—but no less complex—manner.

Robert Morrison

See also Mathematical Geography; Astrology; Intellectual History; Translation, Pre-Islamic Learning into Arabic

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'ATTAR, FARID AL-DIN

A celebrated Persian poet and Sufi hagiographer, 'Attar lived during the second half of the twelfth century CE and the first two or three decades of the thirteenth century in or near Nishapur. According to the most commonly received scholarly opinion, he died during the Mongol sack of Nishapur in April 1221, but 1230 also remains a possibility. Reliable biographical information about him is scarce, and many supposed autobiographical indications derive from works that have turned out to be spurious. It is nevertheless clear that he was known as an expert pharmacist. He appears to have had close ties with the well-known Sufi of Khwarazm, Majd al-Din Baghdadi (d. 1209 or later) or with one of his disciples, Ahmad Khwari, in Nishapur. However, 'Attar generally had very little to say about the Sufis of his own time, and he never mentioned anyone as his own Sufi master,

whereas he obviously admired the great Sufi saints (awliya') of the past. Unlike his famous counterpart among the Sufi poets, Mawlana Rumi (d. 1273), he does not seem to have played any active role in organized Sufism. The oft-repeated story of 'Attar meeting young Rumi in Nishapur belongs to the realm of succession myths (F.D. Lewis, 2000). The literary historian Muhammad 'Awfi, who visited Nishapur around 1200, describes 'Attar as a pious, withdrawn Sufi and a fine mystical poet. 'Awfi cites examples from 'Attar's lyrical poetry but does not comment on his mathnawis (narrative poems). Another early account comes from the Shi'i scholar and philosopher Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (1201–1274), who visited 'Attar personally when he was a student in Nishapur. Tusi was impressed with the old poet's "eloquence" and his way of interpreting the "discourse of the [Sufi] masters, the knowers [of God] and the spiritual guides," as he later put it to his student Ibn al-Fuwati (d. 1323). The latter, in his report, adds a reference to 'Attar's complete collection of lyrical poetry (his "great *Diwan*") and to one of his mathnawis, the "Mantiq al-Tayr."

A number of works attributed to 'Attar were in fact written by a later poet using the same pen name or have otherwise turned out to be falsely attributed to the famous 'Attar. This applies not only to those works portraying him as a fervent Shi'i but also to the so-called *Khusraw-Nama* (also known as *Gul-u-Hurmuz)*, a romance that was regarded as authentic until recently, and the spuriousness of which has been convincingly demonstrated by contemporary Iranian scholarship (M.R. Shafi'i-Kadkani, 1996 and 1999). 'Attar's authentic works include, in addition to the *Diwan* and a selection of quatrains titled *Mukhtar-Nama,* four great mathnawis that are mentioned in the introduction to the latter work in the following order: "Ilahi-Nama" (properly called "Khusraw-Nama"), "Asrar-Nama," "Mantiq al-Tayr" (or "Maqamat al-Tuyur"), and "Musibat-Nama." It is not clear whether this sequence also reflects their relative chronological order; references to the poet's advanced age in the first two would rather speak against such an assumption. 'Attar's prose work about the saints, *Tadhkirat al-Awliya',* is nowhere mentioned by the poet himself, but there is no good reason to question the authenticity of its first part (i.e., the part ending with the entry about al-Hallaj).

The most famous among the mathnawis is the "Mantiq al-Tayr." This is the tale of the mystical journey of the birds through seven valleys in search of their mythical king, Simurgh, a cosmic bird of ancient Iranian lore, who turns out to be their real Self. The theme of the journey of the birds had been used long before 'Attar as a symbol for the soul's attempt to approach God in philosophical (Ibn Sina) and Sufi (Ghazali) literature; however, 'Attar's adaptation is by far the most poetic and mystical. The main theme of the "Musibat-Nama" is also a mystical journey, but this time the wayfarer is thought itself (fikrat), guided by a master who is not of this world, although he must be found in this world. This journey leads the wayfarer through forty encounters with fantastic angelic, human, and purely physical beings to the recognition that he has to submerge himself in the Ocean of the Soul: only then can the "journey *in* God" begin. In the "Ilahi-Nama", a king/caliph teaches his six sons how to transform their worldly desires into related spiritual aims. The "Asrar-Nama" is, despite its mathnawi form, not really a tale but rather a meditation on the themes of death and resurrection.

Hermann Landolt

See also Rumi; Saints; Nishapur; Mystical Poetry; Nasir al-Din al-Tusi; Ghazeli; Al-Hallaj

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AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WRITINGS

Extended first-person narrative was a recognized and frequently practiced form of writing in premodern Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. The earliest known example in Arabic is the autobiography of the physician Burzoe, translated from Sanskrit into Pahlavi in Sasanian times and later from Pahlavi into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. ca. 759 CE). The author describes his search for a satisfactory belief system, his rejection of formal religion, and his adoption of asceticism. More directly influential, however, were translations from Greek. The self-bibliographies of the Roman physician Galen inspired the Nestorian translator Hunayn ibn Ishaq (d. 873 or 877) to write a similar catalog of his own works and possibly to also write—or have written for him—a defense against the accusations of iconoclasm brought against him by his coreligionists. Similarly, the life of Socrates served as a model for al-Razi (also known as Rhazes, d. 925 or 935), who wrote a defense of his own pursuit of the philosophical life. The tradition of philosophical autobiography was later followed by Ibn Sina (also known as Avicenna, d. 1036) and Ibn al-Haytham (also known as Alhazen, d. ca. 1039). The related genre of autobiographies by physicians is exemplified by the work of Ibn Ridwan (d. 1061), who includes details about his humble birth, his struggle for recognition, and his unhappy family life, along with a description of a typical workday.

Another productive strand of first-person narrative was that of the mystics. The first such texts to have survived are those of al-Muhasibi (d. c. 857) and al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi (d. between 905 and 910). The former is a brief account of the author's conversion experience, whereas the latter begins with the author's birth and ends with the revelation of the sublime Name of God—not to the author but to his wife. The most famous example in this genre, the autobiography of al-Ghazali (d. 1111), combines the philosophical and mystical modes of self-presentation. The author describes the crisis of faith brought on by his study of philosophy, his subsequent search for truth among representatives of different Muslim traditions, and his final decision to join the Sufi mystics. Later Sufi biographies include those of Ruzbihan al-Baqli (d. 1209), who describes the mystical visions that he received beginning at the age of fifteen; Rukn al-Dawla al-Simnani (d. 1336), who served as a companion to a Buddhist prince before undergoing a conversion experience on the battlefield; and 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani (d. 1565), whose extensive autobiography offers a detailed account of his personal and professional life. There are also autobiographical accounts of conversion to Islam, including that of the Jew Samaw'al al-Maghribi (d. 1174) and the Christian Anselmo Turmeda (d. 1432?).

To be included among works of an autobiographical character are memoirs, which combine descriptions of the author's own experience with accounts of contemporary events. Examples include the works of Ja'far al-Hajib (d. ca. 954), a partisan of the first Fatimid caliph; al-Mu'ayyad al-Shirazi (d. 1077), a Fatimid missionary and holy warrior; Ibn Buluqqin (d. ca. 1090), the last Zirid ruler of Granada; Abu Bakr al-Baydhaq (d. after 1164), a companion of Ibn Tumart, the founder of the Almohad dynasty; Umara al-Yamani (d. 1175), a poet executed by Saladin for his Fatimid sympathies; Usama ibn Munqidh (d. 1188), who provides a description of the European crusaders; and 'Imad al-Din al-Isfahani (d. 1201), whose account of Saladin's reign emphasizes his own role in the events he describes. Works of this type are sometimes difficult to separate from the autobiographies of historians, such as those by Abu Shama (d. 1268), a historian of Damascus, and Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406), whose autobiography—originally an appendix to his work on history—records his meeting with Tamerlane.

Aside from autobiographies that appear as more or less independent works, there are many examples that take the form of entries in biographical dictionaries. In some cases, biographers interviewed their subjects and produced entries of an autobiographical character. In other cases, subjects prepared accounts of themselves to be used by their biographers. An example of both cases is the entry about Ibn al-'Adim (d. 1262) by Yaqut al-Hamawi (d. 1229), which combines extracts from the subject's autobiography with oral testimony taken during the course of an interview with the author. Biographers and historians commonly included an entry about themselves in their works. Many of these entries are concise accounts of the author's education, but some—such as that of the Shi'i jurist Yusuf al-Bahrani (d. 1772)—contain information of a more personal character. Occasionally a religious scholar would abandon the

convention of self-restraint and write an extended account of his career. The best-known example is the autobiography of the Hadith scholar, linguist, exegete, jurist, and historian al-Suyuti (d. 1505), which is organized thematically rather than chronologically.

The convention of writing autobiographies was carried from Arabic into Persian and Turkish. Persian examples include the autobiography of Shah Tahmasp (d. 1576) and the poet Mir Muhammad Taqi (d. 1810). The most famous example in the Turkic languages is the lively autobiography of Babur (d. 1530), the founder of the Mughal dynasty. There are also many examples of first-person narratives in Ottoman Turkish, including the autobiography of the historian Mustafa Ali (d. 1600).

Premodern Muslim scholars came to recognize self-narrative as a distinct genre. In the preface to his autobiography, al-Suyuti lists eight predecessors who had written similar accounts of themselves. For al-Suyuti and many of his predecessors, the pretext for writing such an account was "to speak of the bounty of God" (an allusion to Qur'an 93:11). Authors freely list their honors and achievements, because doing otherwise would be a sign of ingratitude. They were also willing to admit their failures and shortcomings, because doing so only emphasizes God's mercy in having guided them to the right path. However, their works differ from those written in the confessional mode that is common in the Christian tradition, where the author exposes his transgressions in the hope of gaining absolution for himself and providing a lesson for others. Muslim autobiographers are often forthcoming about themselves, albeit in different ways. Personal characteristics commonly appear in anecdotes about childhood, in stories of dreams, in reflections about the onset of old age, and, above all, in poetry.

Until the late twentieth century, Western scholarship tended to assume that there were relatively few premodern first-person narratives in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. Until recently, Western scholarship has argued that these texts—with certain exceptions, such as the self-narratives of al-Ghazali or Babur—were not genuine autobiographies, because they were insufficiently personal in character. The assumption of relative paucity is now being revised: a recent study of the genre has found more than eighty pre–twentieth century examples in Arabic alone. Similarly, growing familiarity with non-Western traditions has led scholars away from the search for "genuine autobiography" and toward a reexamination of the strategies of self-presentation in different times and cultures.

Michael Cooperson

See also Babur; Ibn al-Muqaffa; Hunayn ibn Ishaq; al-Razi, or Rhazes; Ibn Sina; Mystics; Samaw'al al-Maghribi; Anselmo Turmeda; Usama ibn Munqidh; Ibn Khaldun; Yusuf al-Bahrani; al-Suyuti

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AYA SOPHIA

The first Aya Sophia was built in 326 CE and was an aisled basilica linked to its palace by corridors and stairs. It was destroyed and rebuilt twice, and it finally acquired its present form during the Justinian period. The first church was begun during the reign of Constantine (324–337), and it was completed by Constantinus (337–361). It was set on fire during the banishment of St. John Chrysostom. However, the rededication of the second church took place in 415, under Theodosius II (408–450). The earlier church on the site was destroyed by fire during the Nika riot of 532; unfortunately, no description of either of the pre-Justinian churches has survived. Justinian ordered a new church to be built, and five years later it was solemnly inaugurated. Justinian's church, which was designed by the architects Anthemus and Isidore, was dedicated in 537.

The general plan of the building is a near square that is divided into a large central nave and two side aisles. The central nave is covered by a colossal dome that is supported on the east and west by half domes. However, the ground plan of the building is not of prime importance; the essential features of this architecture are the great central dome and the piers, arches, and subsidiary vaults that hold it up. The central nave is flanked by side aisles and preceded by a narthex and atrium on the west side, providing a gradual transition from the street to the interior of the church. The side aisles and narthex were surmounted by a U-shaped gallery. The longitudinal axis of the nave terminated in an apse, which formed the visual focus of the interior. The sanctuary, containing the altar, lay just before the apse and extended into the nave. The great dome, which is the dominant theme of the building's design, rises above the nave. To place a dome above a rectilinear plan of a basilica required some transition. A square central bay is defined by four great piers, and, above, the pendentives (spherical triangles) appear at the corners to bridge the transition from square to circle. It is actually the

four great arches that are most significant in the structural system, and, along with the pendentives, they adjust the weight of the dome to the four piers. The present dome rises about fifty-five meters above the floor.

When seen from the outside, the great church seems to rise up harmoniously from level to level to the very top of the central dome; however, its soaring lines are by no means free from a somewhat excessive ponderousness. Inside, on the other hand, everything conspires to produce the impression of an immense space that is ideally organized. From the main door to the nave, looking along the axis of the church toward the apse, the beholder can appreciate the noble sweep and majestic proportions of the vast interior, with its supporting columns and walls covered with polychromatic marble.

Much damage has been inflicted on the building by several earthquakes. The dome collapsed in 557, and it was partially repaired in 989. In 1346, another earthquake damaged the dome, and this time it was restored by Astras and the Italian Giovanni Peralta. The present dome thus represents these three periods of reconstruction.

The church of St. Sophia was converted into a mosque soon after the conquest of Constantinople. What makes the monument an Islamic building (a mosque) are the additions to the interior and exterior from all periods of the Ottoman Empire. A marble mihrab has been erected, and several mahfils were built during different periods. Of the four minarets, that at the southeast corner represents an original construction of Mehmed II. The northeast minaret was then erected by Bayezid II, and the one at the southwest corner was begun during the reign of Selim II, but it was unfinished at his death in 1574; it was completed by Murad III on his accession to the throne. The latter minaret at the northwest corner had the architect Sinan as its designer. Other structures of significance outside of the main building are the sultans' tombs to the south of the building.

Significant restorations and repairs were carried out during the Ottoman period. In 1573, the entire building underwent a thorough renovation, because various buttresses were in need of repair. In 1847, another extensive restoration was undertaken with the supervision of the Fossati brothers. Between these major phases there were various minor repairs and consolidations, both within and outside of the mosque. In November 1934, the Turkish Ministry of Education, acting on the proposal of Atatürk, converted the monument into a museum.

SUAT ALP

See also Istanbul; Ottoman Empire

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'AYN JALUT

'Ayn Jalut ("The Spring of Goliath"), located in the Jezreel Valley in northern Palestine at the foothills of the Gilboa range, is the site of an indecisive encounter between Saladin and the Franks (September 1183 CE) and, more importantly, of a crucial battle between the Mamluks and Mongols on September 3, 1260.

The Mongols under Hülegü, the grandson of Genghis Khan, had taken Baghdad at the beginning of 1258 and put Caliph al-Musta'sim to death, thereby effectively ending the 'Abbasid dynasty. From there, Hülegü, who was also known by the title *ilkhan*, moved to Azerbaijan. After desultory negotiations with the Ayyubid sultan of Syria, al-Nasir Yusuf, the Ilkhan advanced with a large army into Syria at the end of 1259 and put Aleppo under siege at the beginning of the following year. It was taken within a week (although its citadel held out for another month before it capitulated). Hülegü himself first remained in the northern part of the country, but he sent south a forward division numbering some ten thousand horsemen under his trusted general Kitbuqa. The latter gained control of Damascus without opposition and set about subjugating the surrounding area. Mongol raiders advanced as far as Gaza and Hebron, entering Jerusalem and the area north of Karak in trans-Jordan. Hülegü, meanwhile, had withdrawn from Syria, and he returned to Azerbaijan with the remainder of his army, perhaps as a result of news

about the death of his brother, the Great Khan Möngke, and the resulting political disorders, or perhaps as a result of logistical reasons (i.e., a lack of pastureland and water for his cavalry-based army in Syria during the dry summer months).

The Mamluk Sultan Qutuz, who had acceded to the throne only at the end of 1259, decided during the summer of 1260 not only to reject Hülegü's demands for unconditional surrender but to set out for Syria to take advantage of the presence of a now relatively small Mongol force. In this he was supported by Baybars, his hitherto bitter opponent. The Sultan succeeded in cajoling the recalcitrant Mamluk officers (as a result of fear of the Mongols) out of Cairo, and on July 15, 1260, the Mamluk army set out for Syria. After crossing the Sinai Peninsula, the Mamluk advanced guard, under Baybars, encountered a small Mongol force at Gaza, which withdrew and alerted Kitbuqa to the unexpected appearance of the Mamluks. Qutuz and his army advanced northward, bypassing Crusader-held cities, until they reached Acre. The Franks wisely decided to maintain neutrality in the upcoming battle, but they did give supplies to the nearby Mamluks. From Acre, the Mamluk advance guard (again under Baybars) entered the Jezreel Valley. Meanwhile, Qutuz gathered his officers and gave them an inspiring pep talk, emphasizing the need to defend Islam, their families, and their position in Egypt.

The Mongols, however, had not been idle. When they received word of the Mamluk advance, Kitbuqa—still in Damascus—moved south to meet the enemy. He took up a position at 'Ayn Jalut, some fifteen kilometers northwest of Baysan (Beth Shean), which was well watered and provided with pasturage. Kitbuqa also sent out scouts, who encountered the Mamluk advance force. Skirmishing commenced, and it seems to have been fairly wide ranging. In the end, Baybars came upon the Kitbuqa's force near 'Ayn Jalut. He withdrew a bit and was soon joined by Qutuz with the main Mamluk army. Final preparations were thereupon made for the battle by both sides.

The battle commenced on the morning of Friday, September 3, 1260 (AH 25 Ramadan 658). The Mamluks, who appear to have had a certain numerical advantage, advanced first, but they were preempted by a Mongol attack. Both armies were composed mainly—if not exclusively—of mounted archers, and the battle settled into a series of attacks and counterattacks of waves of these troops. The leadership and pluck of Qutuz, who was found at the head of his troops, is mentioned in the Mamluk sources. He did not lose his head when the left wing of the Mamluk army began to waver, but rather organized his troops and led a counterattack that supposedly won the day. No less important was the death in battle of Kitbuqa, whose bravery is lauded in the pro-Mongol sources. He was shot down during the fighting, and this probably led to a disintegration of the Mongol army. Also important was the sudden withdrawal of a group of Muslim Syrian troopers who had been pressed into the Mongol army, thereby leaving a gap in the Mongol line. The relative numerical superiority of the Mamluks (whose exact numbers are not clear) also had its effect as the battle wore on. The Mongols fled the battle, and the Mamluk squadrons under Baybars—as well as local farmers and nomads—killed many in the confusion. The remaining Mongols and their supporters withdrew from Syria across the Euphrates River.

The Mamluk sources note the importance of the similarity between the two forces: only soldiers of similar provenance, fighting with comparable methods (masses of mounted archers), had a chance of beating the Mongols. The effects of the battle were significant: Syria became an integral part of the centralized Mamluk Sultanate based in Cairo; the fledging Mamluk state (founded in 1250) was given an important basis for its legitimization; and the myth of the invincible Mongols was weakened, if not shattered. The Mamluks were aware that they had defeated only a small part of the Mongol army, and they soon began preparations for meeting a more serious threat. In any event, Qutuz was not to enjoy his victory for long: he was soon assassinated by Baybars, who assumed the throne and inaugurated one of the longest and most successful reigns in the history of the Mamluk Sultanate.

Reuven Amitai

See also Baybars I; Genghis Khan; Ilkhanids; Mamluks; Mongol Warfare; Mongols; Slavery, Military

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AYYUBIDS

The Ayyubid confederation was established by al-Malik al-Nasir Salah al-Din Yusuf b. Ayyub (Saladin), a Kurdish military commander in the service of Nur al-Din b. Zangi. Saladin took control of Egypt in 1171 CE, and, from this Egyptian base, brought much of Bilad al-Sham (Syria) and the Jazira (upper Mesopotamia) under his rule. After his death in 1193, control of the many cities and provinces of Saladin's empire was divided between his sons, his brother, his nephews, and their respective descendants. Although these princes owed allegiance to whomever was recognized as the Ayyubid Sultan, within their own territories they were autonomous. Ayyubid history after Saladin is thus characterized by complex and shifting webs of alliances and rivalries between these various Ayyubid princes, and these webs were complicated by the presence of the Crusader states, whose forces were occasionally drawn into intra-Ayyubid conflicts. (As R.S. Humphreys recently put it, the Ayyubids were "reluctant warriors" against the Franks.) Nevertheless, the political history of the post-Saladin era was usually dominated by the Ayyubid who ruled Egypt. For most of the first half of the thirteenth century, this role was filled by Saladin's brother al-Malik al-'Adil Sayf al-Din Abu Bakr Muhammad and his descendants.

Al-'Adil (d. 1218), who was known to the Crusaders as Sephadin, was supreme within the Ayyubid dominions from 1200 to 1218. He was in Egypt when the armies of the Fifth Crusade arrived in the Nile delta in May 1218. After al-'Adil died in August 1218, his son al-Malik al-Kamil Muhammad (d. 1238) assumed the sultanate, although not all of the other Ayyubids acquiesced. Al-Kamil's dealings with the Crusaders over the course of his reign were tightly interwoven with his relations with his relatives. Al-Kamil's lifting of the Crusader occupation of Damietta (1219–1221), for example, was accomplished with the assistance of his brothers al-Malik al-Ashraf Musa in the Jazira and al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isa in Syria. However, in 1227, when the armies of Emperor Frederick II threatened Egypt, al-Kamil was engaged in a power struggle with al-Mu'azzam, and he therefore offered Jerusalem to Frederick to avoid an invasion of Egypt. The emperor refused. Al-Kamil's position was subsequently strengthened by Al-Mu'azzam's death in late 1227, but al-Kamil continued negotiations with Frederick after he arrived in Acre in 1228. These negotiations led to the establishment of a limited truce, signed in February 1129, that restored an unfortified Jerusalem to the Franks for ten years, five months, and forty days. Both the emperor and the sultan were severely criticized by their respective co-religionists for this agreement.

Al-Kamil died in 1238, and two years later his son al-Malik al-Salih Ayyub assumed control of Egypt. Al-Salih was schooled in the ways of Ayyubid rivalry. To strengthen his position, he purchased and trained a corps of military slaves (mamluks). Called the Bahri Mamluks because their barracks were on an island in the Nile (bahr al-nil), this 800- to 1,000-man force was the core of al-Salih's military forces. The Bahri Mamluks played a significant role in fighting and eventually defeating the forces of King Louis IX of France when the Fifth Crusade invaded the Egyptian Delta (1249–1250). Al-Salih died in November 1249 in the midst of that invasion, and control of Egypt soon passed to his son, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Turanshah. Turanshah quickly alienated his father's mamluks, who, fearing loss of position or even life, revolted against Turanshah and murdered him in April 1250.

The events of the ten years after the murder of Turanshah are complex, but they resulted in a complete Mamluk takeover of Egypt by 1260. The Ayyubids in Syria and the Jazira subsequently fell to either the Mamluks or the Mongols, although the Ayyubid principality in Hamah was maintained until 1341 by the Mamluk Sultanate.

WARREN C. SCHULTZ

See also Fatimids; Mamluks; Mongols; Saladin or Salah al-Din; Sultan

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AZHAR, AL-

Located in Cairo, Al-Azhar is one of the earliest Jami' (mosque/university) complexes in the Muslim world. It was founded by the Fatimid Ismaili dynasty; the

dynasty's Caliph, Imam Muizz li-Din Allah, established Cairo as his capital in 969–970 CE. The complex is so named in memory of the title *al-zahra* ("the luminous"), which is associated with Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet and the wife of the first Shia Imam, Ali, from whom the Fatimids claimed direct descent.

Although it served initially as a congregational mosque for Friday prayers, it soon developed into a seat of learning. It has continued to exercise this role throughout Muslim history, attaining recognition first as the foremost center for Shi'i Ismaili learning and then, after the twelfth century, as a major Sunni educational institution.

During the Fatimid period, it developed into a center for higher learning and was richly endowed to support students, teachers, and one of the largest libraries of the time in the Muslim world. The curriculum was diverse; among the sessions offered were dedicated classes for women on topics including law and Qur'anic studies, and there were special sessions devoted to advanced hermeneutics and religious interpretations in Ismaili intellectual contexts.

After a period of neglect under the Ayyubids, who supplanted the Fatimids and ruled Egypt from 1171 to 1252, Al-Azhar was revived by the Sunni Mamluks (1252–1517) and became a center of Qur'anic teaching and Shafi'i jurisprudence. The subjects traditionally associated with the Sunni madrasas of the time came to predominate, although Al-Azhar remained open to influences, including Sufism. During the Ottoman period (1517–1805), Al-Azhar continued to be a major center, attracting Sunni ulama and students from across the Muslim world. Theology and law remained the main foci of study and research.

With the end of Ottoman rule and the onset of European occupation and influence, Al-Azhar's role began to change. Under French occupation, it became a seat of resistance and was bombarded by the French army. With the rise to power of Muhammad Ali in 1811 and his policies of centralized state control, Al-Azhar was forced to accept changes to its traditional autonomy, and it responded by bringing about internal changes in its organization, requirements, and regulations. It also developed a network of preparatory schools all over Egypt from which it could recruit students as well as extend its influence on religious education in the state.

During the early part of the twentieth century, Al-Azhar became the locus for reformist views of Islam, mainly under the influence of Muhammad Abduh (1849–1905), who taught there. Although some of his views did not gain acceptance, a change in the intellectual climate had begun to take hold. During the 1930s, Al-Azhar was granted university status and reorganized into academic units. It started to publish a journal, added new disciplines to its curriculum, and established women's colleges. Its influence in the wider Sunni Muslim world expanded, and many future international religious leaders and teachers received their training there. During the 1990s, there were approximately six thousand international students enrolled at Al-Azhar, and they represented seventy-five countries. From time to time, the institution has taken controversial positions on issues that affect Muslims and Muslim societies, as well as on international affairs. With the rise of other religious institutions and centers of Muslim learning in the Middle East and the Sunni world, Al-Azhar lost many of its best faculty members to these institutions. Having recently entered the world of the Internet, Al-Azhar continues its influential role as a place of learning and leader of opinion on Muslim issues and affairs in a more globalized environment.

Azim Nanji

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B

BABAR [BABUR]

Born in 1483 CE in the Farghana region of Central Asia, Babar, the founder of the renowned Mughal dynasty in India, claimed an illustrious pedigree by virtue of descent from two important rulers—Timur (Timurlane) (through his father, Umar Shaikh Mirza) and Chingiz Khan (through his mother, Qutluq Nigar Khanum). His father was one of several princes, all descendants of Timur, who engaged in constant rivalry and battles for control over territory in fifteenth-century Central Asia. In 1494, as a result of a fall from a collapsing wall, Babar's father died, leaving the eleven-year-old boy to succeed him to rule the kingdom of Farghana. Like his father, Babar, too, spent much of his early political career engaged in endless wars and intrigues contending with his Timurid cousins for suzerainty over territory in Transoxiana and Khurasan, particularly the cities of Samarqand, Bukhara, and Herat. In these internecine Timurid struggles, his fortunes were mixed. He found it difficult to assert his authority over any city in the region for a sustained length of time. For example, by age 30, he had won and lost Samarqand three times. Particularly intense were his conflicts with Shaibani Khan, an Uzbeg prince, whose armies managed to drive Babar and his followers out of Transoxiana to territories farther to the south. There, Babar was eventually successful in establishing control over Kabul, Ghazni, and Badakshan.

It was in Kabul, conquered in 1504, that Babar established a home base, away from the turmoil of Transoxiana. The relatively stable life there allowed him to establish a cultured court on the Timurid model and pursue his hobbies, particularly gardening. However, because Kabul was rather poor in terms of its economic resources, the wealth of India tempted Babar to look eastward. He organized several raiding expeditions into the region, bringing back with him much booty. Success encouraged him to penetrate even deeper into Indian territory, eventually threatening the Lodis, an Afghan dynasty that ruled from Agra. In 1526, in the course of his fifth expedition into India, he defeated Sultan Ibrahim Lodi at the battle of Panipat; in the following year, he defeated a coalition of Rajput forces led by Rana Sanga. Although these victories marked the beginning of his control over substantial territory in India, the task of consolidating and strengthening what eventually came to be called the Mughal empire was not to be completed until the reign of his grandson, Akbar (ruled 1556–1605).

In India, although military expeditions continued to make considerable demands on his time and energy, Babar found more opportunity to take up leisurely pursuits. He commissioned several beautiful Timurid-style gardens in North India, personally supervising their development. These gardens were intended to remind him of Kabul, providing a respite from the heat of the summer months. Babar also had literary talents, being a particularly gifted poet in Turkish. Once, during an illness, he occupied himself by reorganizing the words of a couplet in 504 ways. He is particularly renowned for his remarkable autobiography, *The Baburnama*. Written in Chagatay

Turkish, these memoirs not only record his early struggles for power in Central Asia but also contain detailed descriptions of his newly acquired Indian territory and various aspects of the social, cultural, and economic life of its inhabitants. The memoirs reveal his passion for nature through his keen observations of India's fauna and flora, which he describes with the precision of a naturalist, obviously delighting in attention to minor details. Aside from his horticultural and literary pursuits, Babar was also interested in mysticism and spirituality, as evidenced by his translation into Turkish verse of *Risala-i walidiyya*, a treatise by the venerated Naqshbandi sufi teacher, Ubaidullah Ahrar, whom Babar admired greatly. Victory in Hindustan did not, however, mean that Babar, and later his descendants, gave up hope of one day conquering their ancestral homeland of Farghana, and the city of Samarqand. Babar disapproved of much of what he saw and experienced in India and, notwithstanding the power and wealth he enjoyed there, he always longed for Kabul. The climate of India, the hardships he had experienced in his youth, and the heavy use of alcohol and drugs all took their toll on Babar's health, for he was frequently sick as he grew older. He died December 26, 1530, after a short illness, and was temporarily buried in Agra. His longing for Kabul was fulfilled posthumously when, several years after his death, his body was returned to that city for burial in his favorite garden.

ALI ASANI

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BACKGAMMON

The game of backgammon is first mentioned in Bhartṛhari's *Vairāgyaśataka* (p. 39), composed around the late sixth or early seventh century CE. The use of dice for the game is another indication of its Indic origin, since dice and gambling were a favorite pastime in ancient India. The rules of the game, however, first appeared in the Middle Persian text *Wīzārišn ī Čatrang ud Nihišn ī Nēw-Ardaxšīr (Explanation of Chess and Invention of Backgammon)*, composed in the sixth century during the rule of the Sasanian king Khousro I (530–571). The text assigns its invention to the Persian sage Wuzurgmihr (Arabic/Persian) Buzarjumihr/Buzorgmihr, who was the minister of King Khousro I, as a challenge for the Indian sages. According to the Middle Persian text, the name that Wuzurgmihr gives the game of backgammon is *Nēw-Ardaxšīr,* ("Noble is Ardaxšīr"), in memory of Ardaxšīr I (224–240), the founder of the Sasanian dynasty. *Nēw-ardaxšīr* (Middle Persian) > *nard* or *nardašīr* (Persian and Arabic), also found in *nrdšyr* (Babylonian Talmud), has had popular etymologies among Arab lexicographers, composed of *nard* and *šīr*.

According to the *al-Fihrist* of Ibn Nadim, Wuzurgmihr is also said to have written a commentary on astronomy, the *Anthologiae* of Vettius Valens, which is lost, but fragments of the Arabic translation of the Middle Persian version exist. The reason for mentioning the preoccupation of Wuzurgmihr with astronomy and astrology is the cosmological explanation of the game of backgammon in the Middle Persian text. Wuzurgmihr's explanation of the game is analogous to the processes of the cosmos and human life. He makes fate the primary reason for what happens to mankind, and the roll of the dice in the game performs the function of fate.

Wuzurgmihr explains that the pieces of the game represent humans and their function in the universe, which is governed by the seven planets and the twelve zodiac signs. The shape of the game board is likened to *spandarmad zamīg* (the goddess of the earth). The pieces represent the thirty nights and days. The die represents the *axtarān* and *spihr* (constellations and firmament), which by their turn and position (number) decide one's movement and predict human life. The "one" on the die, according to the text, represents Ohrmazd's omnipotence and his oneness. The "two" on the die represents *mēnōg* and *gētīg*, the spiritual and the material world. The three represents the three stages of heaven in Zoroastrianism, *humat and hūxt and huwaršt,* preceding paradise. The four represents another cosmological expression, *čahār sōg ī gētīg*, "the four corners of the world." The five represents the five luminaries according to the text, which are the divisions of the heavens. According to the *Avesta*, the heavens had four stations, which were the stars, the moon, the sun, and the eternal light. Here we have in a disorderly fashion the divisions of the heavens into the following stations: the sun, the moon, the stars, fire, and, finally, the heavenly brightness (Pananio 1995, 205–226). Finally, the six represents the *šaš gāhānbār,* or the six seasonal feasts, according to the Zoroastrian religion. The hitting of pieces is likened to killing, and when the pieces come back to the game it signifies the act of resurrection according to Zoroastrian cosmology.

A silver-gilded hemispherical bowl housed at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery depicts several important

scenes from the Sasanian period. They include a scene of marriage, a wrestling scene, and several other scenes, including a scene of two people playing backgammon. One can conclude that this bowl represents the things that mattered in the courtly life (Harper 1978, 75). One can suggest that the bowl represents the activities in which a noble should engage or have knowledge of. These include wrestling, being informed in religious precepts and ritual, marrying and having offspring, playing instruments, and being able to play board games, that is, backgammon (Daryaee 2002, 292). The other pictorial evidence for the game of backgammon comes from Central Asia, from the city of Panjikent. Among the wall paintings from Panjikent, which are now housed in the Hermitage museum in St. Petersburg, Russia, there is a scene of what can be called court activity. The painting shows two people playing a board game, which in all probability is a backgammon game, along with several other personages beside them (Bussagli 1963, 46–47). A nimbus appears to encircle the head of one of the players, who has his right hand raised as a gesture of victory. The man seated on the left has his left hand raised, showing the bent forefinger. A figure behind the victorious person also appears to be pointing to the loser with the bent forefinger. A fourteenth-century manuscript of the *Šāhnāme* contains two scenes, one at the court of King Khousro I and the second at the court of the Indian ruler Dēwišarm. In one of the scenes, Wuzurgmihr is seated on the floor with three other Persians, all with white turbans. In front of the Persian sage is a backgammon board. The Indian king is seated on his throne and is surrounded by Indian sages who are painted darker and have darker turbans. Wuzurgmihr has his right hand pointing to the backgammon board, which probably means that he is either challenging the Indian sages or explaining the rules of the game after the Indian sages have been dumbfounded (Wilkinson 1968, xii). It is particularly interesting to note that one of the two older Indian sages, who have white beards, has his hand by his mouth, symbolizing his amazement or perplexity.

The Arabs were familiar with backgammon as early as the time of the Prophet Muhammad and know that the game was popular (Rosenthal 1975, 88). Thaʿālibī relates a popular story that when the Arab Muslims conquered the Sasanian capital of Ctesiphon, they found a set of backgammon pieces belonging to Khousro II (CE 590–628), pieces of which were made of coral and turquoise. There were those opposed to the game, especially the companions of the prophet, such as Abu Ḥurayra (d. 676), who refused to meet Muslims who had played backgammon. He is also thought to have said, "One who plays *nard* with stakes is like one who eats pork; one who plays without stakes is like one who puts his hand in pig's blood; and one who watches the game is like one who looks at pork meat" (Al-Būkhārī 1375, 326–328). By the eighth century C.E., the four schools of Islamic jurisprudence considered the game of backgammon *ḥarām* (illicit). We, however, have many textual references to the game being played at the court in many regions of the Islamic Near East, which means that the game may have been played by the masses as well, and, in fact, its popularity confirms this suggestion.

During the early ʿAbbasid period (750–900), the game of backgammon was popular both at the court of Harun al-Rashid and that of his son, al-Ma'mun. It is said that Ma'mun liked to play backgammon, because if he lost, he could place the blame on the dice, meaning fate (Falkner 1892, 115). The same may be said of the game of chess, which was seen by many Muslims as a form of gambling. Medieval authors justified the game by stating that as long as it was played for mental exercise it would be beneficial. The *Qābūs-nāme* dedicates a chapter to the games of chess and backgammon, where the proper etiquette of playing and when and to whom one should lose or win is discussed. It is strictly stated that one should not make bets on the games, and only then does playing the game become a proper activity (Yusefī 1375, 77). During the Seljuk period, it is reported that Alp Arsalan was also fond of backgammon (Gazvini 1331, 68–69).

In Persian poetry there are many references to the game by Anwarī, Asadī, Ferdowsī, Khāghānī, Manūčehrī, Masʿūd Saʿd, Mokhtārī, Mowlavī, Saʿdī, and Sanāʾī (Moʿīn 1972:421–422). Several of the poets place the game in its original cosmological function, which means they have stayed faithful to Wuzurgmihr's description of the game. Manūčehrī gives the following couplet in regard to human fate and the cosmos: "The firmament is like the victorious looking backgammon (game), Its pieces from coral, and the quality of pearl."

Touraj Daryaee

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BADR AL-JAMALI

Badr al-Jamali was wazir and virtual dictator of Fatimid Egypt for more than twenty years, from 1074 to 1094 CE. Once in that position, he ruled with an iron fist, controlling all aspects of government save only the caliphal throne itself. Ethnically an Armenian, Badr was originally purchased in his youth for a relatively small sum, becoming thereafter a *mamluk* (slave) of the Syrian amir Jamal al-Dawla, hence his name al-Jamali, which indicates that he once belonged to this Jamal. When he arrived in Egypt, he was nearly sixty years old; he was over age eighty at his death in 1094. The date of his birth must accordingly be around the year 1015.

Prior to his arrival in Egypt, Badr had risen in military service over a long career to twice become governor of Damascus on behalf of the Fatimids. Over much of the same period Egypt suffered a series of internal disorders and revolts, leading to the near-total breakdown of the central government. The caliph al-Mustansir steadily lost ground against the encroaching chaos; by 1074, many parts of the country were run independently by tribal forces and renegade troops. Finally, al-Mustansir asked Badr to come to his rescue. Then the governor of Acre, Badr insisted that he bring with him his own army. In the winter of 1074, he crossed to Egypt by sea with that same army and began to rid the country of all opposition, both to the caliph and to himself. In rapid succession, he conducted a purge in the capital and a campaign in the Delta against Bedouin and various other rebels there, then marched through Upper Egypt for a similar purpose, and finally returned to the Delta to face an invading force of Seljuks intent on occupation and the overthrow of the Fatimids. In each of these separate conflicts he was victorious. In the process he restored the power of the caliph, resurrected the caliphate, and gave it new life in place of almost certain imminent death. Thanks almost solely to these decisive actions by Badr, it was to last yet another century.

As ruler, Badr brought calm and prosperity and, though noted at the time for harsh repression of all dissent, he is best known for numerous buildings, including the memorial shrine *(mashhad)*—the Juyushi—now visible on the plateau above the modern city of Cairo. He was also responsible for expanding the size of the medieval city enclosure and fortifying its walls, putting in place in the process a number of monumental gates—four of them survive—three of which, the Bab al-Futuh, Bab al-Nasr, and Bab al-Zuwayla, are easily recognized today.

At his death, just months before that of the caliph al-Mustansir, his favored son, al-Afdal Shahinshah, successfully claimed his legacy and control of the private militia that had sustained him. The son was therefore in a position to ensure that the new caliph would be approved by him, a transition he appears to have engineered to his liking, although it set in motion a major schism among the Ismaʻilis, both in Egypt and elsewhere. Even so, the Fatimids survived and al-Afdal himself ruled Egypt as its military wazir (Amir al-Juyush) for almost three decades.

Paul E. Walker

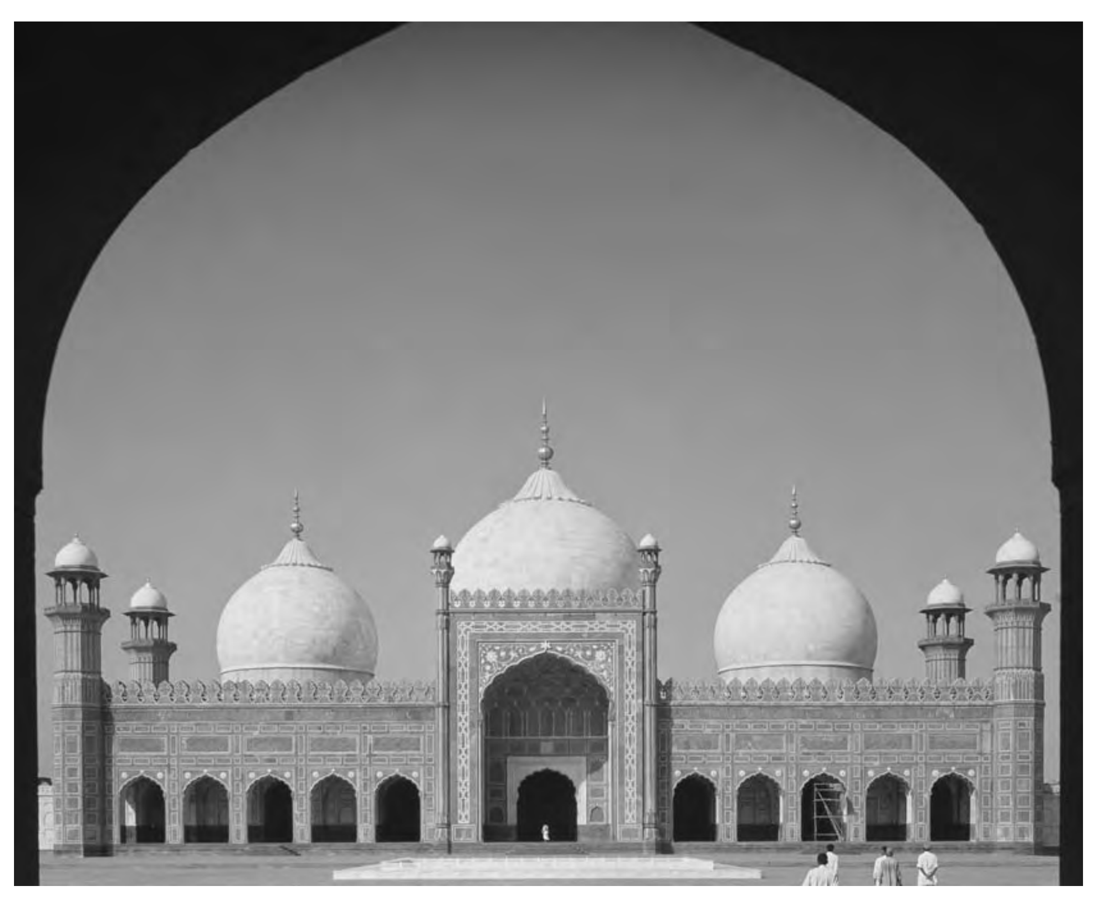
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BADSHAHI MOSQUE, LAHORE

The late-twelfth-century Qutb mosque in Delhi was based on a well-established pillared model widely used in Islam to the west. The fourteenth-century Tughluq sultans were patrons of a variety of mosque types, including mosques built around a single courtyard with a single- or multi-aisled qiblah prayer chamber covered by three domes. It was this latter type, seen in mosques in Delhi, Jaunpur, and Gujarat, that formed the basis for the classic Mughal mosque from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries.

The most striking early example is the 1571–1574 mosque in Fatehpur Sikri, the emperor Akbar's citadel. Built of red sandstone with marble accenting structural elements, the mosque consists of single-aisled trabeate arcades on the north, south, and east sides that frame a great open courtyard. A four-aisled prayer hall crowned with three domes marks the



Badshani Mosque (Imperial Mosque). Exterior. Built by Aurangzeb. Moghul dynasty. 1673–74. Red sandstone and marble. Credit: Bridgeman-Giraudon/Art Resource, NY. Lahore, Pakistan.

qiblah on the west. The central dome is the largest and is preceded by a massive arched niche (pishtaq) that projects into the courtyard. The mosque's aesthetics are characterized by clarity, order, and the grandeur of its controlled interior space.

In the great imperial cities of Lahore, Agra, and Delhi, the Mughals oversaw the construction of mosques of this type adjacent to the central citadel. These giant houses of worship accommodated huge numbers of the faithful and emphasized the power of Islam and the Mughal state. Where the Delhi sultans had experimented with a wide array of types, the Mughal rulers eschewed eclecticism and focused on a single, classic form.

The largest of the great imperial mosques, the Badshahi mosque in Lahore, is also the last. It was constructed under the aegis of the emperor Awrangzeb (1658–1707). Much of his reign was spent in military campaigns to suppress revolts and conquer southern India, and his attention to architecture was much more limited than that of his father, Shah Jahan (1627–1658), who had spent vast sums of money building forts, palaces, tombs, and mosques. The son was neither a great patron of palace construction nor a ruler inclined toward the royal rituals to which Shah Jahan had paid so much attention.

The strategically important city of Lahore in the northwest was an ancient center of commerce and culture and was strategically vital because it protected the Mughal empire from potential invaders to the west. Akbar had established it as one of the Mughal capitals, and the massive citadel he built there, like the forts in Agra and Delhi, was substantially embellished by Shah Jahan. Lahore had a marked regional tradition of architecture, and the surfaces of the 1634 Mosque of Wazir Khan are decorated in colorful glazed tiles reflecting strong Iranian influence.

The supreme achievement of Awrangzeb's architectural patronage is Lahore's Badshahi Mosque (Imperial Mosque). It commemorated military campaigns to the south, particularly against the Hindu insurgent Shivaji in Maharashtra. However, Awrangzeb's efforts weakened the state and exhausted the treasury. When he died in 1707, he left to his successor a truncated and bankrupt empire. Built between 1673 and 1674 under the direction of Fidai Khan Koka, Awrangzeb's master of ordinance, the Badshahi Mosque combined the functions of mosque and

idgah (a building for the celebration of the religious festival of the Id). On its east side is an imposing entrance stairway that leads through a great vaulted entrance made of red sandstone. The single-aisled arcades enclose an enormous central space open to the sky, and this courtyard can accommodate sixty thousand worshippers. At each corner of the mosque is a three-story, octagonal, red sandstone minar topped with an open, marble-covered canopy. Framed by four smaller minars and projecting from the west side into the courtyard, the prayer chamber is dominated by a central arched niche flanked on each side by five arches, each one-third the size of the central niche. Three bulbous marble domes on high drums divide the roofline, and the largest dome is directly behind the central arch.

On the exterior, floral and geometric decoration is inlaid in white marble; the interior is ornamented in polychromed stucco. Formerly appearing only in imperial palaces, stucco baluster columns appear like tall slender vases holding ornate, delicate floral decorations. Still one of the largest mosques in the Islamic world, the Badshahi Mosque projects great size with balanced proportions and clarity.

ANTHONY WELCH

See also Agra Red Fort; Akbar; Architecture, Religious; Babar; Beauty and Aesthetics; Dara Shikoh; Delhi; God; Hadith; Hindus; Imam; India; Islam; Lahore; Mosques; Mughals; Persians; Prayer; Qur'an; Qur'an: Reciters and Recitation; Taj Mahal

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BAGHDAD

The origin of the name Baghdad, clearly pre-Islamic, is undetermined. Few physical traces remain of the original Arab–Islamic site founded (c. 762 CE) by the ʿAbbasid caliph Abu Jaʿfar al-Mansur (r. 754–775). The written accounts by geographers and historians—these include al-Yaʿqubi, al-Tabari, al-Muqaddasi, and al-Khatib al-Baghdadi—are thus essential to any reconstruction of the city's early history. Designated officially *Madinat al-Salam* ("the City of Peace"), al-Mansur's project was built in the round, hence its nickname *al-Mudawwara* ("the Round City"). Completed (c. 777) at great expense, it surrounded the caliph's massive domed residence and a congregational mosque. The Khurasani regiments—the forces that had brought the ʿAbbasids to power—were quartered in al-Harbiyya to the northwest.

Designed initially as an administrative center—it became, in this sense, the prototype for later Near Eastern dynasts—it was soon transformed, through population growth, private construction initiatives, and other factors, into a dynamic and sprawling urban hub. By the mid-tenth century, the markets and residential neighborhoods of Baghdad were vast, both in number and in variety of population. Security demands played no less a part. Al-Mansur and his immediate successors, faced with threats in outlying districts, particularly from Shiʿi and Khariji opponents, along with restive elements within Baghdad itself, completed large-scale projects, including the palace complexes of al-Khuld and al-Rusafa in the 770s. The Round City ceased to function as the official caliphal residence by the early ninth century. Its large mosque retained its congregational function into the premodern period.

The city's subsequent political history was often troubled. A civil war (809–819) between the designated heirs of Harun al-Rashid (r. 786–809)—his sons Muhammad al-Amin and ʿAbd Allah al-Ma'mun—led to years of war in and around Baghdad, a collapse of central authority in most provinces, and the demise of the Khurasani army as the imperial mainstay. Al-Ma'mun, as governor of Khurasan, waged a successful campaign against al-Amin (r. 809–813). Only partly through his own reign (813–833) did al-Ma'mun take up residence in Baghdad (819). His brother and successor, Abu Ishaq al-Muʿtasim (r. 833–842), largely in an effort to accommodate a complex Turkish, Iranian, and Central Asian military, created a new center at Samarra, located north on the Tigris River. Samarra replaced Baghdad as the imperial hub for some sixty years (836–892). Developments in Samarra over ensuing decades, particularly the political interference of the Turkish high command, exacted a grim toll upon the caliphate. In Baghdad, the Tahirid family wielded considerable influence, highlighted during a brief but costly siege by Samarran forces in 865–866. The return of the ʿAbbasids to Baghdad in the 890s did little to restore their early authority.

Entry into Baghdad by Ahmad ibn Buya, who reigned as Muʿizz al-Dawla (945–967), initiated roughly a century-long period of Buyid suzerainty over the city and the Iraqi hinterlands. The Buyids, a north Iranian clan, established a base of power in Fars, from which they controlled Iraq into the mid-eleventh century. The city's fortunes in the tenth century were mixed. The flow of tax revenue slowed



Mosque, Baghdad, Baghdad was the seat of the 'Abbasid caliphate and the center of the Islamic world of its time. Credit: Werner Forman/Art Resource, NY. Kadiomin mosque, Baghdad, Iraq.

markedly due to the degradation of the Iraqi agrarian infrastructure; the autonomy of most provinces, notably Egypt and Khurasan; and the shift of much political and economic energy to Fars. Ordinary crime increased, as did religious and military factional violence. In addition, by the end of the century, the new Fatimid capital of Cairo began to overshadow Baghdad on the political and economic fronts. The Buyids, however, devoted themselves to urban renovation and large-scale construction (palaces, congregational mosques, and markets). Baghdad retained its highly "decentered" character in this period: It remained a city of disparate quarters and neighborhoods with little municipal integration or centralized authority. Patterns of sectarian and social tension from the ninth century on are understood largely in these terms (see below).

The city's internal sociopolitical and physical divisions sharpened with the arrival of the Seljuks in the mid-eleventh century. A Turkish clan of the Oghuz (or Ghuzz) people, the Seljuks had overrun the Ghaznavids and thus established authority over Khurasan and Iran before seizing Baghdad from the Buyids. The Seljuk leader Toghril Beg (d. 1063) formed diplomatic ties with the ʻAbbasid caliph al-Qa'im (r. 1031–1075) in 1050. He led forces into Baghdad, initially in 1055, then again in 1058, at which point the caliph granted permission for his use of the title "Sultan." The Seljuks spent relatively little time in Baghdad, preferring to govern from afar through local officials. Relations with the Abbasid caliphate remained uneasy throughout. However, their deep impact on the history of Baghdad had much to do with their promotion of Sunni Islam, a position the Seljuks largely defined in terms of anti-Shiʻism. In this sense they found a willing ally in the ʻAbbasids, already engaged against their various Shiʻi detractors. For both the Seljuks and the ʻAbbasids, it was especially important to resist the authority and military ambitions of the Fatimid/Ismaʻili caliphate in Egypt.

Baghdad's significance in Islamic history as a nexus of intellectual and religious activity is difficult to exaggerate. Scholarship (literary, religious, and scientific) was tied, though by no means exclusively, to shifting political currents. Due in part to ʻAbbasid patronage, particularly that of a dynamic administrative elite (the *kuttab*), ninth-century Baghdadi literary culture flourished. ʻAmr ibn Bahr al-Jahiz (d. 869), a

towering figure, contributed key works of *adab* (belles-lettres) and Mu'tazili theology. Ninth-century religious scholarship, including Qur'anic exegesis, *hadith*, law, and theology, was no less dynamic, as shown by the work of Abu Ja'far al-Tabari (d. 923) (see al-Tabari). The work of Arab/Muslim scientists benefited considerably from the translation movement of works from Persian, Greek, Syriac, and Sanskrit into Arabic, which began under al-Mansur and then flourished under al-Ma'mun.

Subsequent developments in the city's religiopolitical history proved critical to the formation of the two foremost branches of Islam. The maturation of "Twelver" (Imami) (see Shi'ism) scholarship and devotional life is dated to the Buyid period. Due in part to the foundational work of such scholars as al-Kulayni (d. 941) and al-Shaykh al-Mufid (d. 1022), and in part the patronage of the Buyid court, Twelver doctrines on the occultation of the Imam and related ideas emerged. So too did Twelver ritual, notably that associated with Ghadir Khumm and mourning rites for al-Husayn ibn 'Ali. It is also to the Buyid period that one must date the crystallization of Sunnism, this in good measure a response to the assertion of Shi'-ism. A hardening of Sunni-Shi'i loyalties, often played out violently over subsequent centuries, divided the city physically as well. The Seljuk period, as previously noted, was critical to Sunni history. Of particular note were the careers of Nizam al-Mulk (d. 1092), chief vizier and Seljuk regent, and Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d. 1111), theologian, jurist, and Sufi (see Sufis and Sufism); both men associated with the Nizamiyya *madrasa* in Baghdad. This was among the first such institutions founded in Iraq and a significant facet in the spread of Sunni thought and practice.

Baghdad's history as a commercial hub was no less significant. As a critical link in a complex trade network connecting the Indian Ocean, eastern Europe, the Asian steppe, and the Mediterranean, the city housed a large multiethnic and religious merchant community. Evidence for the tenth century indicates important strides in the development of banking and related areas within the city. In good part, the activity of Baghdadi merchants was driven by the needs of the court and elite society. The caliphs and, in time, Buwayhid and Seljuk interlocutors, after all, required all appropriate displays of luxury. Written sources indicate the availability of fabrics (silks, brocades, linens); jewelry of gold, silver, and gems; carpets; intricate metalwork; weaponry; fine musical instruments; and an array of exotic foodstuffs. Baghdad was also home to a busy commerce in slave trade.

The wealth of the Iraqi merchant class was tied as well to trade in manufactured goods, such as textiles and paper. Papermaking had spread into the Islamic world, from China through Central Asia, in the eighth century and rapidly became an important industry. The Suq al-Warraqin ("the Stationer's Market") is said to have included, at its height, more than one hundred shops. Trade in more ordinary goods flourished as well. To feed a large population, Baghdad drew on the agricultural production of the Sawad, the highly fertile lands located between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, as well as regions farther afield that produced rice and sugar, among other widely consumed products. New types of fruits and vegetables, produced in the Near East from at least the early Islamic period on, also came available in the markets of Baghdad. It follows, of course, that the relationship between the large urban centers and the countryside was crucial to the 'Abbasid economy. The 'Abbasids, like the Umayyads before them, were fortunate in having inherited from the Sasanians a long-established and well-functioning irrigation system. High levels of agricultural production were maintained in the early 'Abbasid period. As 'Abbasid authority waned (by the late ninth century), however, maintenance of the agricultural infrastructure suffered as well.

MATTHEW S. GORDON

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BAHRAIN

The term *Bahrain* was used during medieval times to describe the coastal area extending from Kuwait down to Abu Dhabi on the southern shore of the Gulf. Its population centers included Hajar (in Islamic times, Hasa), Qatif, and Awal (Bahrain Island). Before Islam, Bahrain was inhabited by Arab tribes, mainly the 'Abd al-Qays and groups from the Banu Tamim and Bakr ibn Wa'il. These tribes shared common interests with the Sasanians, although tensions

were common. Small Persian and Indian communities also lived along the coast.

Due to its geographical position and its links with Persia and Iraq, Bahrain was prosperous. Nestorian Christianity was strong in the area, while Bahraini poets such as al-Mutalammis and al-Muthaqqab used to attend the court of the Mundhir dynasty in Iraq.

After the emergence of Islam in the seventh century CE, Bahraini tribes played an important role in the Arab conquests and also in political events in Iraq during the Umayyad era (660–749). The spread of war damaged commerce, and many Bahraini tribes migrated to the newly founded Iraqi cities of Basra and Kufa. As a result, Bahrain declined in importance and was ruled by the governor of Basra, creating an important vacuum that led the area to become one of the centers of opposition to the Umayyad caliphate, in which the Kharijis played a prominent part.

During the ʻAbbasid period (749–1258), the rise of Basra as a commercial center, along with Siraf, Qays, and Hormuz, led to the further decline of Bahrain. Groups opposed to the ʻAbbasids, such as the Zanj (c. 868–883) and the Qarmathians (c. 900–1076), gained strength. These movements eventually subsided, while Shiʻism spread in Hasa and Awal.

New migrants from Central Arabia arrived, and an independent state was founded by Abd Allah bin Ali. The dynasty that followed, the ʻUyunids, lasted from c. 1076 to 1228. Supported by the Seljuk rulers of Iraq, this dynasty relied on the power of the Banu ʻAmir tribes who had migrated from Najd.

The Banu ʻAmir were initially allies of the Qarmathians and then of the ʻUyunids, but they eventually overthrew the latter and established a dynasty of their own. Founded by ʻUsfur ibn Rashid and known as the ʻUsfurids, the dynasty dominated Bahrain from c. 1228 to 1383, but finally came to an end with the rise of the Kingdom of Hormuz in fourteenth century.

Another branch of the Banu ʻAmir, led by Zamil ibn Jabir, then managed to gain control of Bahrain, founding the dynasty of the Jubur (c. 1446–1519). This dynasty adopted the Maliki school of Islamic jurisprudence, but little is known of the cultural and social life of its people. Although their influence spread throughout the Gulf, the Jubur were swiftly overwhelmed by the technologically superior Portuguese, who arrived in the Gulf at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Throughout the medieval period, the coastal economy of the extensive area known as Bahrain was based on commerce, pearling, and date cultivation.

HASAN M. AL-NABOODAH

See also Arabia; Trade, African; Trade, Indian Ocean; Tribes and Tribal Customs

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BAKRI, AL-, GEOGRAPHER

Abu ʻUbayd ʻAbd Allah, b. ʻAbd al-ʻAziz al-Bakri (d. 487/1094), was the greatest geographer of Muslim Spain. Little is known about his life. He was a native of Cordova, where he died. His father was the only one, or else the second, ruler of the small principality of Huelva and Saltes, founded in 402/1012, at the time of the fall of the Umayyad caliphate in Cordova. In 443/1051, when his father, ʻIzz al-Dawla, was obliged to give up his power, Abu ʻUbayd, who was at that time approximately thirty years old, accompanied him to Cordova. He was the the pupil of the historian Abu Marwan Ibn Hayyan (d. 469/1076) and of other masters, and moved in various court circles, especially Almeria. He quickly became a distinguished writer. Several books are attributed to him, in the religious sphere, in philology, on the correct names of the Arabic tribes, and one in botany, none of which has come to us.

In geography, the work on which Abu ʻUbayd's renown is mainly based is his *Book of the Itineraries and Kingdoms (al-Masalik wa l-mamalik)*. He appears never to have traveled in the east, or even in North Africa. He composed this book in 461/1068 assisted by literary and oral information. For North Africa and some parts of Northern Black Africa (such as Sudan), his main source is *Book of the Itineraries and Kingdoms* of Muhammad b. Yusuf al-Warraq (d. 363/973 in Cordova), which has not come to us. Not all of the book has been published or translated. The following sections are edited and/or translated separately: Northern Africa, fragments on the Russians

and Slavs, parts related to Muslim Spain, the Arabian Peninsula, Egypt, and Europe.

Following the usual practice of the geographers of his time and before him, Abu ʻUbayd gave to this work the form of a roadbook, including distances between towns and staging posts. Most of his descriptions of towns are remarkably precise. His toponymic material for Muslim Spain, the Maghrib, Northern Africa, and so on is no less worthy of interest. Many of his historical notices and remarks are also invaluable. He was also interested in social and religious matters, for instance, about the Berber Moroccan tribe of the Banu Lamas, who were Shiʻi; or his statement on Yunus of the Barghawati Berber tribe of Morocco, who made a journey in the first half of the third/ninth century to the East of the Islamic empire, together with other North Africans and Andalusis, of whom three claimed to be prophets upon their return, including Yunus himself. Abu ʻUbayd also gives social and economic information, such as on the presence of Andalusi traders in al-Mahdiyya (Tunisia), providing detailed and varied itineraries for their maritime crossings of the channel between North Africa and al-Andalus.

Abu ʻUbayd's *Dictionary* on the toponyms, mostly referring to the Arabic Peninsula, which occur in pre-Islamic poetry and in the literature of the Islamic traditional reports, the spelling of which has given rise to discussions among the philologists and traditionists, has been edited. It includes a long and interesting introduction on the geographical setting of ancient Arabia and the habitats of the most important tribes.

CLAUDE GILLIOT

See also Geography

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BALKANS

Although interactions between the Balkan Slavs and Greeks with Arab Muslims can be traced back to the medieval Arab-Byzantine relations, Islam spread through the Balkans with the Ottoman invasion that commenced in the mid-fourteenth century. No medieval Balkan state was strong enough to halt the advancing Ottoman army, especially given that the Ottomans had acted several times as mercenary allies in the internecine wars, which had led to political divisions, deteriorating living conditions, and general economic instability. After capturing Adrianople (Edirne) in 1365, the Ottomans pushed farther into the Balkans in several waves: Serbia fell by 1389 (the Battle of Kosovo); Bulgaria and Wallachia by 1402; Bosnia by 1463; Greece, including a number of Aegean islands, and Albania by 1481. The apex of Ottoman expansion was reached by the mid-sixteenth century with the acquisition of Transylvania, large parts of Hungary, and Slavonia.

Organized into the millet system of religious grouping, the Balkan people remained predominantly Orthodox Christian. However, the presence of Islam intensified through two main processes: (1) the controlled movement of Muslim populations from other parts of the Empire, and (2) conversions to Islam that took place among local populations in uneven waves and over several centuries. In such diverse religious space, some pockets of the Balkans continued being

predominantly Christian, whereas others became mainly Muslim. The largest Muslim communities were found in Bosnia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Western Thrace. Furthermore, after the Spanish Reconquista, many Sephardic Jews settled in the Balkans on the invitation of the Ottoman sultan.

Because Islam was spread by the Ottomans, Muslims of the Balkans became predominantly Sunni, of Hanafi legal orientation, though Shi'i teachings were introduced by, and confined to, the Bektashi and the associated Kizilbashi Sufi orders. The denominational and legal uniformity among Balkan Muslims did not lead to their integration or unification otherwise. On the contrary, because of the lack of assimilationist policies by the Ottoman government, most Muslims retained their cultural and linguistic distinctiveness and separate ethnic identities.

Excluding the elite population, the majority of the Balkan people were peasants and shepherds whose religious beliefs revealed many syncretic practices adapted from pagan, Christian, and now Islamic beliefs. Whether Muslim, Christian, or Jewish, they placed the main emphasis on local praxis rather than official teachings. This was reflected in their customs and rituals, funerary architecture, festivals, and folk literature.

The situation was somewhat different in the cities that were erected or invigorated through Ottoman state policies and pious endowments (waqfs), generating lively economic, intellectual, architectural, and social activities. Here, Ottoman Islamic values flourished in a way that reflected a clearer connection with the larger imperial system, though local sensibilities remained palpable and important. The urban elite, made up of literary figures, historiographers, theologians, philosophers, jurists, merchants, and others, reveals a polyglot culture in which the Ottoman languages (Turkish, Arabic, and Persian) were used along with local languages in intellectual production and exchange. Among the most prominent scholars worthy of mention are Ali Dede Bosnevi (d. 1598), who wrote comprehensive commentaries on Sa'di, Rumi, and Hafiz; Hasan Kafi of Prusac (d. 1616), a judge whose treatise on the qualities of good governance became widely known and cited throughout the Empire; the prolific scholar Mustafa b. Yusuf of Mostar, known as Sheyh Yuyo (d. 1707), who wrote multidisciplinary commentaries on medieval Islamic thought; and Yahya Bey of Taslidja (d. 1575), a prolific poet of lyrical and mystical odes and couplets that drew inspiration from popular legends as well as great Sufi masters.

The Balkans also provided a receptive ground for the dissemination of Sufi ideas and practices, as evidenced by the diversity and number of Sufi orders. Among the most important orders were the Khalwati, Naqshbandi, and Bektashi, while less prevalent ones included the Qadiri, Rifa'i, Mawlawi, Bayrami, Malami, and Badawi orders. Overall, Sufi orders invigorated Balkan Islam in both belief and practice. In fact, many conversions to Islam happened through Sufi activities. Their presence in cities and villages across the Balkans, as testified to by the number of tekkes (convents) and türbes (mausoleums), shows their ubiquitous presence in different spheres of life. While some were more attractive to intellectual and literary circles (such as the Khalwati), others were highly syncretic and enjoyed popular appeal. Most syncretic was the Bektashi order. Long associated with the Ottoman military establishment, Bektashis spread throughout the Balkans, as evidenced by the remains of their tekkes and turbes in Greece, Macedonia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Albania. Shi'i in orientation and organized around a sheikh referred to as *baba*, the Bektashis intertwined Islamic teachings with local customs and folklore, making the order popular, especially in rural areas, and involving equal participation by both men and women.

AMILA BUTUROVIC

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BARAKA

Baraka, which means "blessing," is a divinely inspired quality or force of presence that is often associated with prophets, saints, and other holy persons, and more generally with pious and learned individuals, as well as with sacred places and objects. The Jews and Christians of the Islamic world held similar beliefs concerning baraka. Muslims regard God as the ultimate source of baraka and the Qur'an as embodying it. The Prophet Muhammad, his family, and the Shi'i imams possessed baraka in life and posthumously, as did certain rulers such as Saladin and Nur al-Din. Baraka was also associated with individuals who possessed exemplary learning, including theologians such as al-Ghazali and Sufis such as Ibn 'Arabi and 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani. Rulers sought the baraka of saints, especially before waging war and at times of illness. Baraka could be transmitted simply by touching a person and their clothing or by embracing them. Baraka was also manifest in articles of clothing and other personal effects of pious persons, such as the mantle of the Prophet Muhammad and Dhu 'l-Fiqar, the famed sword of the Prophet's cousin and fourth caliph 'Ali b. Abi Talib. Certain mosques, tombs, and shrines, wells, and natural formations, such as springs and trees, were particularly renowned for their baraka to the extent that they became pilgrimage places. The earliest codices of the Qur'an attributed to the third Rightly Guided Caliph 'Uthman b. 'Affan and to his successor, 'Ali b. Abi Talib, were objects of pious visitation. Visitors sought to obtain baraka by touching and kissing them.

Josef W. Meri

See also Saints

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BARANI, ZIA' AL-DIN, HISTORIAN OF PRE-MUGHAL INDIA

A prominent theorist on Islamic political thought in fourteenth-century India, Barani was born (circa 1285) in an aristocratic family with excellent connections to the ruling elite of the Delhi sultanate. His grandfather, father, and uncle held important governmental positions. Barani himself had the opportunity to serve at the court of Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq (r. 1325–1350) as companion to the ruler. At the beginning of the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq, Muhammad ibn Tughluq's successor, Barani fell out of royal favor, apparently because he had been involved in a conspiracy to overthrow the new ruler. After a brief imprisonment, he spent several years in banishment from the court. Until his death in 1357, he continued writing in the futile hope that he would one day regain his position at the court.

In his major works, *Fatawa-yi jahandari* and *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, Barani expounds his conceptions about the norms that Muslim rulers should observe while exercising their authority, specifically in the Indian context. In *Fatawa-yi Jahandari*, written as a guidebook for princes, he conceives of God having delegated authority over human societies to prophets and kings. Because authority to rule is God-given, the ideal ruler should manifest divine virtues of mercy and wrath, which are essential ingredients for a successful reign. He declares that it is the basic duty of a pious Muslim ruler to repudiate all that is non-Islamic and promote the propagation of proper "Islamic" values. To preserve these values, it is incumbent on the ruler to severely limit the role of non-Muslims in the administration of the state. Using a Sunni yardstick to determine what was correctly Islamic, and upholding the *Shari'ah* as interpreted by Sunni theologians to be normative, he considered the Shi'is and the *falsafa* (philosophers) to be heretics who should be exterminated. In this regard, he extols Mahmud of Ghazna as the ideal Sunni Muslim ruler for his determination to exterminate idolatry and all forms of infidelity. Barani's writings show intolerance toward not only non-Muslims but also Muslims of indigenous Indian origin whom he thought of as low-born and not worthy of anything but a basic education about Islamic rites and practices. His class- and race-based notions, which run contrary to Islamic ideals of equality, extolled only those of pure Perso-Turkish origin to be "true" Muslims. In this he reflected the views of many of the *ashraf,* or the aristocracy, of his time.

As is evident in *Fatawa-yi Jahandari* and *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi,* Barani's conception of historiography was primarily didactic and not meant to chronicle events. As a result, he only includes information that validates his religiopolitical theories. His works should, therefore, be read from this perspective. He often conceives his heroes as being motivated by solely religious concerns, without paying attention to historical and political realities of the time. Of particular interest is *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi,* in which he writes an account of the rulers of the Delhi Sultanate from Sultan Balban (r. 1266–1287) to Muhammad ibn

Tughluq with the goal of demonstrating how rulers prospered when they adhered to his ideals and suffered failure and disgrace when they deviated from them. When a ruler such as Ala A.D.-Din Khalji (r. 1296–1316), who clearly did not live up to Barani's standards for a good Muslim ruler, seems to have enjoyed a prosperous reign, Barani attributes this success to the presence in his realm of Nizam ad-Din Awliya, the preeminent Shaykh of the Chishti Sufi order. However, since Ala ad-Din Khalji was blind to the power and virtues of Nizam ad-Din Awliya, he and his family suffered terrible personal fates.

ALI ASANI

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BARTER

See Trade, African; Trade, Indian Ocean; Trade, Mediterranean

BASRA

The medieval city of Basra was located just west of the Shatt al-Arab, the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers in what is now Iraq. Basra was first settled between AH 14/635 CE and 17/638 by Arab tribesmen who participated in the Muslim conquest of the Sasanian Empire. Most likely it was little more than a military camp during the first years of its existence. Basra's strategic location allowed it to dominate both the Tigris and Euphrates rivers and important overland trade routes. Consequently, it grew into a thriving military city. By the time of the Battle of the Camel in 36/657, Basra is estimated to have had some fifty thousand residents.

Topographically, the city was divided into five tribal zones, each under the leadership of the tribal ashraf (notables). Tribal relations in the garrison towns were complex, but Basra was generally dominated by the Tamim tribe. The city originally served as a garrison town from which to control newly conquered territory in Iraq and to launch further expeditions into Fars. Thanks to extensive irrigation works, Basra eventually became an agricultural center as well. It was particularly famous for the quality of its date orchards. Its strategic location also made it a trading center of some importance. During the Umayyad period, Basra did not join the neighboring garrison town of Kufa in supporting various ʻAlid movements. It was not, however, immune to rebellion, becoming the center for Ibn al-Ashʻath's rebellion in 81/701 and Ibn al-Muhallab's revolt in 101/719. The ʻAbbasid revolution of 132/750, which came in the wake of a plague in Basra, brought a slow decline in the city's status, as the newly established capital city of Baghdad overshadowed the older garrison towns. Basra was not initially a focus for opposition to the ʻAbbasids, but as the town shrank in size (from a peak of at least two hundred thousand residents) and influence, it became susceptible to revolts, the most notable of which was the Zanj rebellion of 257/871. The fact that this was a rebellion of agricultural slaves and not of disgruntled soldiers (who fomented earlier rebellions) underlines Basra's transition from a garrison town to an agricultural center. As the ʻAbbasids lost their grip on power, Basra suffered a variety of invasions and pillages, particularly during the sixth/twelfth century.

In addition to its strategic importance, Basra was also a significant center for scholarly activity, a status that the rise of Baghdad did not diminish. During the Umayyad period, a variety of important theological thinkers called Basra home, including al-Hasan al-Basri (d. 110/728) and the early Muʻtazilite leaders Wasil ibn ʻAta' (d. 131/748) and ʻAmr ibn ʻUbayd (d. 144/761). Basra was the focus of the theological debate over human free will and the birthplace of the Muʻtazilite movement. In addition, Basra was the earliest center for the study of Arabic grammar. Unlike Kufa, Basra did not, however, become an important venue in the debates that shaped early Islamic jurisprudence.

STEVEN C. JUDD

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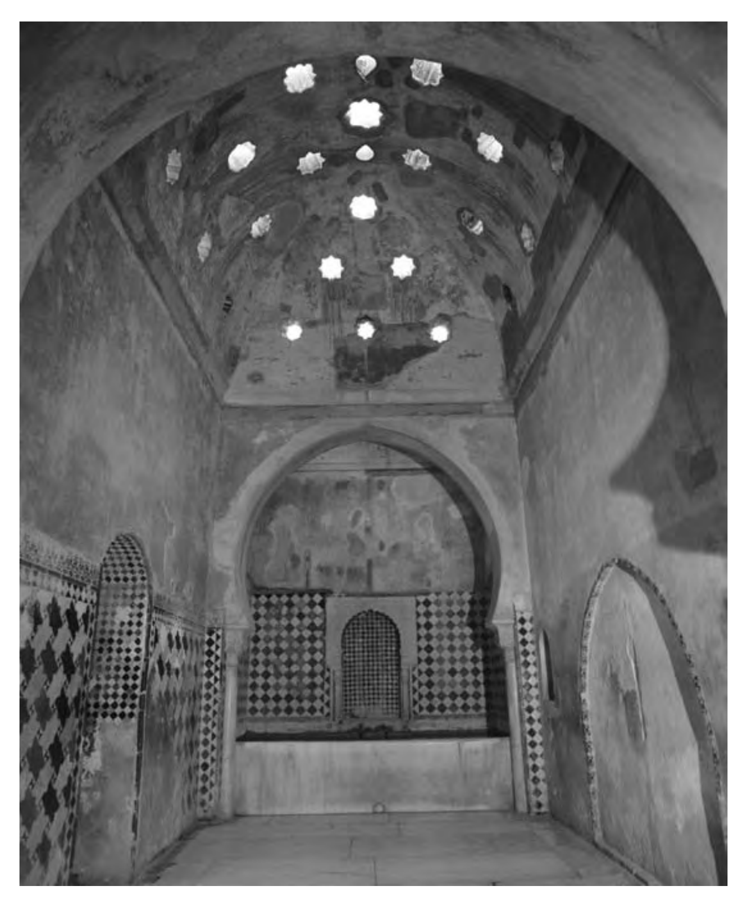
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BATHS AND BATHING

Baths in the Islamic world have almost always focused on the institution of the bathhouse, known as the *hamam*. Having its roots in the Roman and Byzantium bathhouse tradition, the hamam was



The Royal Baths in the harem. The Star-shaped roof lights were once covered in red glass. Tiles line the walls. Credit: Werner Forman/Art Resource, NY. Alhambra, Granada, Spain.

built and functioned in a similar manner over its thirteen-and-a-half centuries of existence. The hamam as a building was often distinguished by several large brick domes that were interspersed with a great number of bulbous pieces of glass that would let light shine into the building without letting the furnace heat escape. The bathhouse typically had three main chambers. The customers, segregated by gender, and often by religious community, would first enter an unheeded resting area where they would take off their clothes, dresses, towels, and/or loincloths. They would then enter a warmer antechamber where they would be exposed to a moderate amount of the furnace's moist heat. They would then enter the main sweating room, a large chamber where the steam of the hamam's furnaces would bring about an intense sweat. Once the customer had properly sweated, he or she would have their body rubbed and lathered, which would clean the pores and remove any dirt. After this, a customer would rinse himself or herself with warm water and/or take a bath in the water basins of the room. After the customer had done this, he or she would return to the initial rest area to relax and prepare for leaving the bathhouse.

Hamams were typically staffed by at least eight to ten attendants. These included one who would maintain the resting area and the linens and two to three people who would help the clients with washing, scrubbing, or even massages in the main sweating chamber. Two to three others would work to heat the large cauldrons of water in the furnace area. They would either bring in fuel (in the form of coal or dried dung) from a nearby depot area or be building the fire with the fuel.

Hamams played a role in a great number of social functions in the urban neighborhoods where they were established. Indeed, they were considered to be vital for the establishment of each new Muslim city quarter, as they helped maintain God's will for all to be cleanly. The sweating and cleansing processes in various degrees of heat and humidity also were vital to maintaining the body's humoral balance, a key Galenic concept that predominated in medieval medicine throughout the Mediterranean and Middle East. Muslim travelers from the ninth century onward have remarked on the great number of hamams in the cities of the Muslim world, including Cordoba, Tunis, Cairo, Baghdad, and Istanbul. The loss of a hamam, like

that of a mosque, was considered tantamount to the destruction of the city itself. Local authorities would often go to great lengths to reestablish the hamam and enhance normal social life.

People also used the hamam as a place where one could relax and interact with one's neighbors. It is no coincidence that baths were taken in groups, since this would allow numbers of people to enjoy the baths as they escaped from the trials and tribulations of everyday life. People would typically gossip with each other as they sipped a hot drink in the rest chamber. As noted earlier, hamams would be segregated by gender and religious community to maintain social mores. For example, hamams would allow Muslims and non-Muslims on specific days of the week, and might allow women in during the day and men during the night. There was a particular concern about protecting female patrons from moral and physical danger, leading the hamams to establish separate staffs for male and female clients. The penalties for theft and nude activity were extremely high if the victim was a recognized female client.

However, if a woman entered a bath at the wrong time, she lost all legal rights for her own protection. She was often regarded as a mere prostitute who could be abused by men with impunity. Beyond potentially being raped or sexually harassed was the loss of social station among her neighbors.

Despite these social restrictions, hamams on occasions would be used for illicit relations. We know, for instance, from sixteenth-century Ottoman court records, that some hamams were shut down after the local authorities found out that men and women were using the same facilities with the collusion of the hamam's staff. In later centuries, the abuse of questionable substances such as heroin, tobacco, and coffee were also duly noted.

BIRSEN BULMUŞ

See also Personal Hygiene

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BAYBARS I, MAMLUK SULTAN

Baybars I, fifth ruler (r. 1260–1277) of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria, was in many ways the most important leader in its history.

Baybars was born around 1220 CE among the Qipchaq Turks, who lived in the steppe region north of the Black Sea. Fleeing from the Mongol invasions in the area in 1241–1242, Baybars and his family moved to Anatolia. There, Baybars was captured and ended up in the slave market of Damascus. Eventually he ended up in the service of the great Ayyubid sultan, al-Salih Ayyub (1238–1249), founder of the famous Bahriyya regiment, of which Baybars was a member. Baybars first came to prominence in the fighting in Mansura (1250) in the eastern Nile Delta during the Fifth Crusade; his bravery and leadership helped turn the tables against the Franks. Baybars was one of the conspirators who killed the new sultan, Turanshah, son of al-Salih, an event that led to the establishment of the Mamluk rule in Egypt. The Bahriyya, led by Aqtai and seconded by Baybars, was one of the main factions in the fledging Mamluk state, but it was soon bested in the internal power struggles by Sultan Aybak. Aqtai was killed in 1254, and Baybars fled with seven hundred Bahris to Syria, where they remained as mercenaries serving various Ayyubid princes until the approach of the Mongols at the beginning of 1260. Baybars realized that there was no chance of resistance to the Mongols in Ayyubid Syria, so he was reconciled with the new Mamluk sultan, Qutuz (a Mamluk of Aybak and therefore an enemy). The Bahriyya under Baybars returned to Egypt in March 1260. Baybars became a trusted subordinate in the campaign against the Mongols in the summer of 1260. He led the advance guard that came across the first Mongols at Gaza, and then again in the skirmishing in the Jezreel Valley before the battle of 'Ayn Jalut, where his courage is also noted by various sources; he also led the subsequent mopping-up operations. Relations with Qutuz soon soured, however, particularly when Baybars was not awarded the governorship of Aleppo as he had hoped. On their way back to Cairo, both men were on their guard. Baybars, however, struck first. With a group of conspirators, he fell upon the sultan while hunting and killed him. This was the second time that Baybars was deeply involved in a regicide. He was recognized as ruler in late October 1260.

The reign of Baybars was in many ways the formative years of the Mamluk Sultanate. Emerging from a decade of political disorder on the one hand, and having just gained control over most of Syria up to the Euphrates River on the other hand, the Sultanate was put on a firm footing militarily, politically, and

economically. Baybars was surely aware that it was only a matter of time until the Mongols attempted another large-scale invasion of Syria. Any doubts that he might have harbored on this matter were removed by the many Mongol raids, as well as truculent letters that he received from the Ilkhans, as the Mongol rulers of Iran and the surrounding countries were known. He set about enlarging and strengthening his army. An efficient foreign espionage service was established, as was a communication network connecting the capital, Cairo, with the main cities of Syria and the far-flung frontier along the Euphrates, through the use of horse relays, pigeon post, and bonfires. Fortifications were set in order along the frontier and inside the country, although those captured from the Franks along the coast were destroyed. Diplomatic relations were established and maintained with various non-Muslim rulers, including the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus. The most significant diplomatic *démarche* was the relations established with Berke Khan, the Muslim Mongol ruler of the Golden Horde in the southern Russian steppe. Baybars encouraged him to continue fighting his cousin the Ilkhan, which meant that the Mongols of Iran were often fighting on a second front and could not devote themselves to the war against the Mamluks. Although there were no major Mongol campaigns into Syria during Baybars's reign, the frontier was a scene of frequent warfare, with raiders going both ways. In this border war, the Mamluks were usually more successful, perhaps due to the greater importance they attached to this front compared with their Ilkhanid enemies. In 1277, Baybars launched his one major campaign into Mongol-controlled territory, Anatolia. This resulted in a Mamluk victory at Abulustayn (which later became Elbistan), but Baybars—after sweeping through the country—withdrew because of supply difficulties and the prospect of a major Mongol counterattack. Throughout his reign, Baybars also launched several large-scale raids on the Kingdom of Lesser Armenia in Cilicia, a loyal ally of the Mongols.

In the years after gaining power, Baybars consolidated Mamluk rule in Syria. A number of minor rulers, including Ayyubid princes, were either eliminated or brought under control. His legitimacy was strengthened by the welcome of a scion of the ‘Abbasid family. After ascertaining his genealogy, Baybars had him declared caliph with the title al-Mustansir. In a well-directed spectacle, the new caliph promptly handed over all functions to Baybars, who was officially declared sultan. Baybars also significantly reduced the Frankish presence in Syria and Palestine. There is no indication that Baybars had planned an aggressive anti-Frankish policy from the beginning of his reign, and he may well have thought to continue the modus vivendi that characterized Muslim–Crusader relations during the Ayyubid period. Perhaps his growing awareness of the Ilkhans' attempts to achieve an alliance with the Pope and rulers of Latin Europe in order to launch a joint campaign against the Mamluks led the sultan to adopt a more truculent strategy *vis-à-vis* the Franks in Syria. In a series of campaigns, Baybars captured a large number of Crusader cities and forts (some notable examples include Caesarea and Arsuf in 1265; Safad in 1266; Jaffa, Beaufort, and Antioch in 1268; and Crac des Chevaliers in 1271). Baybars left his successors a much-reduced Crusader entity that was finally eliminated in 1291 by the sultan al-Ashraf Khalil ibn Qalawun.

Baybars was responsible for the greater institutionalization of the army, the *iqta‘* (land allocation) system, and provincial and central administration, as well as a reform of the judiciary system, which led to the placing of all four Sunni schools of law on an equal footing (albeit with a slight preference for the Shafi‘i school). He was also a great builder of fortifications and religious buildings. Although not the first ruler of the Sultanate, he was in many ways its real founder. He was succeeded by his son al-Sa‘id Berke Khan, who was, however, removed after two years. After a short interlude in which another son, Sulamish, served as a puppet ruler, Baybars's colleague and associate Qalawun (r. 1279–1290) ascended to the throne.

REUVEN AMITAI

See also ‘Ayn Jalut; Land-Tenure; Mamluks; Mongols

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BEAUTY AND AESTHETICS

Muslim medieval culture, like contemporary European culture, did not articulate a philosophical concept of art. It dealt, however, with various concepts of beauty and aesthetics.

Islam can be considered to take an aesthetic approach to faith: The unique beauty of the Qur'anic text, whether read or recited, and hence its inimitability, are believed to be the evidence for its divine nature. Tradition tells about people being converted through the fascination with the beauty of the recited Qur'an.

The Qur'an neither refers explicitly to issues of artistic relevance nor prescribes the shape of the mosque or the use of liturgical objects, Islam being rather a religion without complex liturgy, which allows the worshipper direct communication with God. However, it uses a dozen terms that refer to moral rather than aesthetic beauty. Muslim theologians and, in particular, the Sufis, have often dealt with the beauty of God; however, this approach is spiritual, with no artistic or aesthetic associations. Al-Ghazali, in his book *Ihya' 'ulum al-din (Revivification of the Religious Sciences)*, discusses the subject of divine beauty, as well as the issues of ethics and behavior, such as the permissibility of music. Al-Ghazali's book includes some interesting statements with relevance to material culture and art.

Muslim theologians were not involved in shaping the architecture of the mosque; rather, this was shaped by the patrons (that is, the rulers), whose duty it was to establish and oversee religious institutions. Alongside its religious meaning, it acquired a political significance. The decorative arts, including objects related to religious monuments, were shaped by the secular patronage of the court and a sophisticated urban society. Although calligraphy has the status of a sacral art, because of its association with the Qur'an, designers from the chancellery created it as a discipline. It was the only visual art in medieval Islam to have a written canon based on precisely established rules of proportions and to be considered a truly scholarly discipline. No other discipline in the visual arts is known to have had such a scholarly status. Whereas medieval Islamic culture did not conceptualize the visual arts and include them in the discourse on beauty, Arabic literary criticism has elaborated highly sophisticated aesthetic concepts for the belles-lettres. Although the origins of Arabic literary criticism are rooted in the religious tradition of Qur'anic exegesis, it expanded to play a significant role in poetry. Because poetry had a rather controversial status from the orthodox viewpoint, it remained, like the visual arts, in the secular domain. The mainstream of Arab literary criticism, following the Aristotelian principle, which distinguishes between content and form, considered good poetry as uncongenial with moral or religious intentions. The view that the form was the decisive factor in the artistic assessment reveals an aesthetic rather than moral approach. Implicitly, a corresponding principle ruled the visual arts, which used the same artistic and decorative vocabulary for the secular and religious domains.

Arabic classical literature deals with human beauty and love, the prevailing view being that beauty is a matter of subjective appreciation.

Doris Behrens-Abouseif

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BERBER, OR TAMAZIGHT

Tamazight (Berber) is a language of the Afro-Asiatic family and comprises a number of related dialects spoken by the indigenous populations of North Africa. The geographical expanse covered by these dialects once included virtually all of Africa north of

the great Sahara Desert. Variations of it are still used from the Canary Islands off the Moroccan Atlantic coast in the West to the oasis of Siwa, in the western desert of Egypt to the east, and from the Mediterranean shores of Africa in the north to the Saharan villages of Niger and Mali in the south. Although the different spoken varieties of Tamazight are related closely enough to be viewed as dialects of the same language, the degree of intelligibility among speakers of different varieties is subject to a great deal of variation depending on distance, the amount of interaction among different communities, and the level of awareness interlocutors have, whether or not they belong to the same language family.

The name *tamazight* is used in the Middle Atlas region of Morocco and is the same term used to refer to a singular feminine member of the community (*amazigh* for the singular masculine and *imazighen* for the plural). Northern speakers in the Rif Mountains use the terms *tarifit (arifi, irifiyn)* or *trifsht*; in the High Atlas and Lower Atlas and southern Morocco the name used is *tashelhit (ashelhi, ishelhiyen)*. In Algeria the names frequently used are *taqbaylit* n the mountainous areas of Kabylia, *tashawit* in the Aures Mountains, and *tamzabit* in the south. Among the populations of Siwa in Egypt the appellation used is *tasiwit*. In the vast expanses of the great Sahara Desert some of the names used are *tamasheq*, *tamajeq*, and *tamahar*.

There are no reliable sources as to the numbers of Tamazight speakers in North Africa today, as official population counts generally do not address the language issue. The available information usually presents the number of Tamazight speakers in Tunisia as being around 1 percent of the population, 20 percent in Algeria, and as high as 40 percent in Morocco, but the accuracy of these numbers will only be verified when reliable scientific surveys are carried out.

According to the *al-moheet* dictionary, the Arabic name *barbari* used to refer to speakers of this language is derived from the verb *barbara,* meaning to speak loudly in an agitated manner and unintelligibly. The same verb is used to refer to sounds made by agitated or overexcited animals. The French historian and ethnographer Gabriel Camps traces the histories of the different names used throughout history to name the 'Berbers.' With regard to the *amazigh* appellation, he notes the existence of a name based on a three-letter root, composed of [M, Z, G] or [M, Z, K], that has been used by North Africa, as well as by early historians, notably Greek and Roman. Possible ancient renditions of the word *amazigh* include Roman *mazices*, Greek *maxyces* or *mazyes,* and *meshwesh*, which appears in ancient Egyptian inscriptions. Camps cites the existence of differences in pronunciation and spelling of modern names, for example *imusagh* or *imajighen* of the great Sahara Desert and the *imazighens* of the Aurès and Middle and High Atlas, as being comparable (p. 66). Many researchers in the field, including Muslim scholars, concede that the Arabic name 'barbar' and its 'berber' descendant in Western languages have never been used by the populations in question to refer to themselves.

Based largely on information provided by writers including Al-Qayrawani, Al-Bekri, Ibn Hayyan, Al-Qurtubi, Al-Warraq, Ibn Khaldun, and many other Muslim historians who wrote between the ninth and fifteenth centuries, it is understood that varieties of Tamazight were spoken all over North Africa and that Arabic was limited to the larger urban centers. Tamazight-speaking populations gave rise to some of the most powerful empires that North Africa has ever known: the Al-Moravids (eleventh and twelfth centuries), followed by the Al-Mohades (twelfth and thirteenth centuries). The Barghwata tribes who controlled the Atlantic plains of Morocco for almost four centuries (ending in the twelfth century) became notorious in Muslim and Arab sources because they composed what was said to be a heretical Qur'an in their own language and attempted to replace mainstream Islam.

The status of Tamazight in the postcolonial states of North Africa has never been fully recognized. Indeed, writing or publishing in Tamazight was discouraged and often repressed. Thanks to recent political and cultural changes in the area, Tamazight is making a spectacular comeback into the world of media and even the school systems. Indeed, both Algeria and Morocco have started introducing Tamazight into their elementary-school curricula.

RACHID AADNANI

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BERBERS

"Berbers" is the generic name given to various people native to North Africa, also called "Berberia" for the pre-Islamic and early medieval period, or "Maghrib," an Arabic term meaning "the land of the sunset." The Berbers, who settled in African lands in the first millennium BCE, primarily belonged to the same linguistic community based on the nonwritten language called Tamazight. Although they shared common cultural features, Berbers distinguished one another through different modes of living—sedentary, seminomadic, and nomadic (for those from the Sahara Desert, which were called "Targis" or "Touaregs"). The Berbers had embraced Christianity and Judaism before they became Muslim, following the Arab conquest in the seventh-century CE. Divided into families, groups of descendants, and tribes, they settled in territories stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to Cyrenaica and some locations of Western Egypt. These territories cover three main areas: Occidental, Central, and Oriental Berberia, also called "Ifriqiyya." The Tunisian historian Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406) was the first to study the history, culture, and sociology of Berbers in his seven-volume treatise *Al-Kitab al-Ibar (The Book of Historical Examples)*. His distinction between Arabs and Berbers, their lifestyle, economies, and power relationships, illustrates the sociopolitical situation of medieval Maghrib. In particular, the rivalries between the two ethnic groups have marked the history of Muslim North Africa and Al-Andalus (Islamic Spain) as well, because Spain was invaded by an Islamic Berber–Arab army in 711 and constituted a part of the Muslim Empire for about eight centuries.

The advent of Islam in North Africa led to a phenomenon of Arabization of the Berbers, although they have never lost entirely their cultural identity. However, the Arab occupation in the seventh and eighth centuries, following the Byzantine domination, was not accomplished without a fierce resistance. Accordingly, the Islamization of Berberia was relatively slow and completed only in the twelfth century. Always rebellious, Berbers were in favor of heterodox religious trends and sectarian movements, such as Kharijism and Shi'ism, opposing the Sunni Caliphate and local governing class before the generalized adoption of the Malikism School in Maghrib in the dawn of modern times. The complex relationships of Berber clans with these various Islamic trends superimposed on the sociological phenomena of family alliances or dissensions and tribal confederations underlies the troubled dynastic history of medieval Maghrib. Following the period of dependence on the Umayyads of Damascus (660–749), the first dissident states from the Caliphate in the East appeared in Maghrib, supported by local Berbers: the Shi'i kingdom of the Idrisids (789–974) in Occidental Berberia and the Kharijid kingdom of the Rostamids (777–909) in Central Berberia. The Zanata on the one hand and the Masmouda, Kotama, and Sanhaja on the other hand are to be associated with the division of Berberia, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, into two zones of political and religious influence of the rival Caliphates in the West of the Sunni Umeyyads in Cordoba and the Shi'i Fatimids in Cairo. Besides, before it was transferred to Egypt, the schismatic Fatimid State initially took place in Ifriqiyya, thanks again to the Berber support. The second half of the eleventh century saw the rise of the first great Sunni Berber Empire of the Almoravids (1056–1147), Al-Murabitun, "people of the *ribat*" (Islamic fortress). Founded by the nomadic tribe of the Lamtuna, the Almoravids developed a bright civilization called "Hispano-Berber" or "Hispano-Maghrebi" in Occidental and Central Berberia and Al-Andalus. In Spain, they had progressively reunified the Islamic land that, after the fall of the Umeyyad Caliphate in 1031, was partitioned into multiple kingdoms governed by either Arab or Berber dynasties called "Reyes de Taifas" (Party Kings). The Almoravids also had temporarily stopped the "*Reconquista*" (eleventh century to 1492), the ongoing Christian conquest of Al-Andalus. The direct contact with the Andalusi urban culture greatly contributed to the development of the Almoravid civilization in North Africa. However, soon the refined courtly life of the Almoravids came up against the rigorous religious feelings of the society. In the twelfth century a reformative movement founded by the *mahdi* ("the well-guided") Ibn Tumart, based on an absolute respect of divine uniqueness, allowed a new Berber dynasty to take over all Maghribi regions. The Almoravids (1130–1269) or Al-Muwahhidun ("the partisans of divine uniqueness") established a second Hispano-Berber Empire more powerful than the previous one. An economical prosperity relying on exchanges between Black Africa, Berberia, and Mediterranean Europe, and an active cultural life enlightened by great philosophers such as Ibn Rushd and Ibn Tufayl, built the grandeur of the Almohad Empire, the most glorious episode of Berber history. The subsequent dynasty of the Marinids (1258–1465), from the Zanata tribe, was the last Berber reign in Maghrib in the Middle Ages.

Valerie Gonzalez

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BEVERAGES

After water, the most essential beverage is milk, whether human or animal. Mothers' milk is not merely nutritional but produces, in the case of suckling by a foster mother, a bond considered in Islam nearly as strong as a blood relationship and similarly causes a series of marriage impediments. Animal milk may be from cow, camel, sheep, or goat. The Qur'an (47:15) promises to the god-fearing "rivers of water unstaling, rivers of milk unchanging in flavour, and rivers of wine–a delight to the drinkers, rivers, too, of honey purified" (tr. Arberry). These four drinks were popular on earth, too, even the one forbidden to Muslims, which is celebrated far more often and more fervently in poetry than any other drink. Milk and milk products are typical in Bedouin life; urban society has added a large number of other drinks. Many of these were mildly alcoholic, being fermented infusions of cereals or fruits; the word *fuqqa'* stands for a range of sparkling drinks, many of which could be considered kinds of beer, ale, or shandy. Others were soft drinks, being fruit juices made of lemon, apple, pomegranate, tamarind, jujube, and so on, often flavored with honey, sugar, sumac, musk, mint, and other ingredients, and cooled with snow or ice, if one could afford it. The great variety in methods of preparation and in the appellations used (which differ through time and according to local traditions and languages) gave much work to the religious scholars who attempted to distinguish the forbidden from the permissible. Recipes for drinks are found in culinary, as well as medical, works: There is no clear boundary between, on the one hand, drinks for nutrition and pleasure and, on the other hand, tonics or medicinal beverages. The Arabic word *sharab* is ambiguous: It means "beverage" in general, but in many contexts it is obviously used as a euphemism for wine or other alcoholic drinks. It is also used for any kind of syrup or cordial. That the word syrup, together with its English and European cognates (including sherbet and sorbet), derives from *sharab* illustrates the importance and appeal of medieval Middle Eastern beverages.

Coffee and tea, so popular in the modern Middle East, are relatively recent innovations: The latter is postmedieval and only the former can be called a (late) medieval drink. The Arabic word *qahwa* (from which "cafe" and "coffee" are derived) is found in much older periods as a rather rare word for "wine." It was used for coffee when this drink spread in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries from Ethiopia via Yemen and Arabia to the rest of the Middle East, reaching Cairo in the early sixteenth century. Initially, many puritan scholars regarded it as suspect or even forbidden, not merely because of its name and its being an innovation, but because it was thought to be associated with sin (listening to music, drinking wine, eating hashish) and mysticism and was seen to affect the mind. In the end it was acknowledged that its effects could not be compared to those of alcohol or drugs.

GEERT JAN VAN GELDER

See also Alcohol; Rosewater; Water; Wine

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BIBLE

The question of whether or not the Bible was translated into Arabic before the rise of Islam was debated in the early twentieth century by two German scholars: Anton Baumstark and Georg Graf. Their debate centered on biblical references in Arabic poetry traditionally held to be pre-Islamic and in later Arabic works, references that according to Baumstark proved the existence of such a translation. The debate was never settled. Today, scholars such as Irfan Shahid uphold the position of Baumstark, while others, among them Sidney Griffith, support the position of Graf, by reminding us that although there is still no convincing material evidence of a pre-Islamic Arabic Bible, there is evidence that Arabic-speaking Christians of the time used a Syriac Bible.

Nevertheless, the Qur'an is replete with references to, and even quotations of, biblical material. Indeed, the Qur'an might be considered under the category of biblical literature, which is broadly understood. As the scholars A. Geiger, M. Grünbaum, H. Speyer, and A. Jeffery have shown, the Qur'anic worldview, from the seven days of creation through the apocalyptic Day of Judgment, is articulated through biblical terminology, narratives, characters, and symbolism. Although apologetic arguments maintaining the absolute independence of the Qur'an have gained popularity, readers familiar with biblical (including Mishnaic/Talmudic and apocryphal texts) writings will find the Qur'anic narratives of biblical figures—from Adam to Jesus—familiar. Meanwhile, many other narratives in the Qur'an, including the three separate stories of *sūra* 18 (companions of the cave, Moses and the servant of God, and the two-horned one), prove to be connected to biblical or parabiblical works (Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, Legend of Joshua ben Levi, Syriac Romance of Alexander, respectively).

However, the Qur'an itself refers neither to the Bible nor to an Old or New Testament but rather to the Torah (*tawrāt*; 3:3, 3:48, 61:6, passim), the Gospel (*injīl*, cf. Gk. εὐαγγέλιον; 3:3, 3:48, 5:47, passim), and the Psalter (*zabūr*, cf. Syriac *mazmūrā;* 4:163, 17:55, 21:105), in addition to the sheets *(suḥuf)* of Moses and Abraham (20:133, 53:50, 87:18, passim). These references have fueled the development of an Islamic scriptural theology, by which Muslim scholars argue that God brought down scriptures to various messengers, scriptures akin to the Qur'an in both form and substance, but in the language of the people for whom they were intended (cf. 14:4). In a more abstract fashion, Muslim scholars, influenced by Qur'anic references to the "mother of the Book" (13:39, 43:4) and a "preserved tablet" (85:22), depict the Qur'an as only part of a greater scripture preserved from eternity in heaven, from which the Torah, the Gospel, and the Psalter were also sent down. At one point (10:94), in fact, the Qur'an counsels the reader to consult those who read "the Book" before.

This scriptural theology raised a dilemma, however, as Muslim scholars were confronted with the fact that the Bible agrees with the Qur'an neither in form nor substance and could not therefore be understood as part of the heavenly book sent down to earth. The dilemma was generally settled, with help from a reference in the Qur'an to Jews "altering *(yuḥarrifūna)* the meaning of speech" (2:75, 4:46, 5:13, 41), by accusing Jews and Christians, the "People of the Book," of scriptural alteration *(taḥrīf)*. In a tradition attributed by later authors to Muhammad himself, the Prophet argues that "the People of the Book altered that which God wrote, altering the book with their hands" (Bukhārī *Ṣaḥīḥ* [Beirut 1999] 2:182). Yet while the early commentators generally agree that the Jews and Christians altered scripture, few are willing or able to speculate on how they did so.

In the late tenth century, however, ʻAbd al-Jabbār (d. 1025) developed a detailed explanation of part of this matter in *Confirmation of the Proofs of Prophecy,* arguing that a group of hypocritical disciples of Christ agreed to adopt pagan practices in order to win the support of the Romans against the Jews. Those disciples who refused this pernicious maneuver then fled with the true Gospel. The hypocrites, with the help of Paul, decided to write their own gospels on the model of Old Testament narratives. This polemical vision of biblical origins—particularly the depiction of Paul therein—would later shape the development of modern Muslim apology.

Meanwhile, this rejection of the Bible's validity did not prevent Muslim scholars from drawing on the biblical text to find proof *(dalā'il)* of Islamic doctrine and accusing the "People of the Book" of misunderstanding their own scriptures. Employing this accusation, sometimes referred to as "semantic alteration" *(taḥrīf al-ma'nā)*, scholars including ʻAlī al-Ṭabarī (d. 855), al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhim (d. 860), Ibn azm (d. 1064), and Aḥmad al-Qarāfī (d. 1285) cite biblical passages, such as John 14:16 (arguing that the paraclete is not the Holy Spirit but Muhammad) and John 20:17 (concluding from his reference to "my God" that Christ is not divine). This apologetical strategy has likewise been embraced by modern Muslim apologists. At the same time, Christian scholars, both medieval (Paul of Antioch [d. 1180]) and modern (G. Basetti-Sani), have used a similar strategy by developing a Christian reading of the Qur'an, which, they argue, was missed by Muslims' "semantic alteration."

Finally, it should be noted that certain Muslim scholars of the medieval period pursued alternative, constructive readings of the Bible. On the one hand, certain scientifically minded historians, most notably Yaʿqūbī (d. 897) but also Masʿūdī (d. 956), relied on Jewish and Christian sources for their writings of biblical figures. Thus Yaʿqūbī's biography of Paul, quite unlike the standard hostile Islamic depiction of him, closely resembles the Acts of the Apostles narrative. On the other hand, a number of philosophically minded Shiʿite Muslim scholars, mostly from the Ismāʿīlī or Sevener movement (among whom are Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī [d. 934] and Aḥmad al-Kirmānī [d. 1020]), cited and even defended the biblical text, as they sought to describe a harmony of prophetic religions, according to which Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are three rays from the one divine light of wisdom.

Gabriel Said Reynolds

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BIJAPUR

A province of the Persianate Bahmanid Kingdom of the Deccan, Bijapur became the center of the domain of one of the key successor states to the Bahmanids, namely the ʿAdil Shahi dynasty (1489–1686). Located in the Deccan on the edge of the Western Ghats, south of the Bahmanid capital of Bidar, Bijapur was founded as Vijayapura by the Calukyas in the eleventh century. It was incorporated into the Bahmanid realm in 1347 and made one of the five provinces of that empire by Khwaja Mahmud Gawan (d. 1481), the powerful Persian vizier of Muhammad Shah II (d. 1482).

In 1481, Yusuf ʿAdil Khan, a Persian slave who claimed to descend from the Ottoman sultan Murad III, became the governor of Bijapur. Taking advantage of his position and consolidating it, he declared independence in 1489, establishing the ʿAdil Shahi dynasty that was to rule Bijapur for another two centuries. In 1502, he declared Twelver Shiʿism to be the religion of the realm and established close ties with the Safavids, further encouraging the influx of talented Persians into the Deccan, a policy initiated by Mahmud Gawan. In imitation of the Safavids, he promoted the wearing of the red twelve-pointed cap of the Qizilbash at court. The height of Persian and Shiʿi influence was during the reign of ʿAli ʿAdil Shah (r. 1558–1580), who had the Shiʿi *khutba* read in mosques. A brief Sunni restoration, coupled with a move away from Persian influence, took place under his grandson Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah II (d. 1618). But the Persianate culture of the kingdom was never in doubt and its Shiʿism was one of the *casi belli* cited by Awrangzeb when he conquered it in 1686.

Bijapur was perhaps more culturally influential than politically. Most of the monarchs were keen Persian poets and encouraged courtiers to take up poetry. The two most famous poets of Bijapur, Nur al-Din Muhammad Zuhuri (d. 1618) and his father-in-law Mulla Malik Qummi (d. 1618) were both Persian immigrants. Persians also penned the the two main histories of the dynasty, which provide important accounts of the Deccan as a whole and are invaluable sources for north India: *Tadhkira-yi Ibrahimi,* or the *Ta'rikh-i Firishta*, by Muhammad Qasim Firishta, written in 1611 for Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah II, and *Tadhkirat al-muluk* by Rafiʿ al-Din Ibrahim Shirazi for the same patron in 1609. Bijapur was the center of Perso-Deccan cultural synthesis. The new chancellery language of Perso-Marathi was created in its administration, and the exquisite tombs of the kings were exemplars of a Persianate-Deccan style. The tomb of Ibrahim ʿAdil Shah, the *Ibrahim Rawza*, was built in 1627 and is said to have influenced the construction of the Taj Mahal, and the tomb of Muhammad ʿAdil Shah (d. 1656) has the second-largest dome in the world and is celebrated as the *Golgumbaz* because of it. The Sufis of the city became significant power brokers in their own right, defending Sunni orthodoxy and extending the influence of the orders into the Deccan.

Sajjad H. Rizvi

See also Mughals; Sufism

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BILĀL AL-ḤABĀSHĪ

Bilāl al-Ḥabāshī (d. AH 17–21/638–642 CE) a major Companion *(ṣaḥābī)*, was best known as Prophet Muḥammad's special appointee for delivering the call to prayer *(adhān)* and was often regarded as a representative of disenfranchised groups *(al-mustad'afūn)* who were drawn to Islam, and as the icon of racial and social equality advocated by this religion. He is sometimes referred to as Bilāl ibn Rabāḥ (son of Rabāḥ), after his father, or alternatively as Bilāl ibn Ḥamāma, after his mother. The patronymic title *(kunya)* of Abū 'Abd-Allāh has been recorded for him, but he had no known children.

Bilāl was born to a black slave-girl named Hamāma in the Arab clan of Banū Jumaḥ in Hijāz. His full name indicates that he had roots in Abyssinia (Ar. Ḥabasha, roughly identifiable with present-day Ethiopia). Sources describe him as dark-skinned, thick-haired, tall, and thin. He was one of the earliest converts *(al-sābiqūn)* to Islam, and when the clansmen of Banū Jumaḥ found out the news about their slave, they subjected him to heavy corporal punishment and brutal torture. Bilāl's main tormentor was Umayya ibn Khalaf ibn Wahb ibn Ḥudhāfa al-Jumaḥī, chief of the clan of Banū Jumaḥ, who showed the utmost animosity toward Prophet Muḥammad and his followers. Bilāl persevered steadfastly in the face of pressure until, finally, Abū Bakr ibn Abī Quḥāfa (d. 13/634), an affluent close Companion of the Prophet, bought his freedom from the clan of Banū Jumaḥ.

Bilāl exhibited exemplary loyalty to the Prophet throughout his life after conversion. He was among the pioneering group of Meccans who emigrated to Medīna in the year 622. In Medina, he briefly stayed with a number of other poverty-stricken Muslims known as "men of the vestibule" *(ahl al-ṣuffa)*, who, having no other place of their own, shared part of the entrance to the mosque of Medina as a dwelling. Shortly after initial settlement in Medina, in the process of establishing ties of brotherhood *(ukhuwwa)* between Meccan emigrants *(al-muhājirūn)* and their hosts in Medina *(al-anṣār)*, the Prophet declared the Meccan Bilāl and the Medinan Abū Ruwayḥa al-Khath'amī as brothers. Years later, under caliph 'Umar ibn Khaṭṭāb (r. 13–23/634–644), this tie of brotherhood between Bilāl and an Arab man of the clan of Khath'am provided the precedent for considering other black and African warriors as belonging to that tribe as well.

In his first year in Medina, the Prophet Muḥammad initiated the practice of vocally calling his followers to prayer *(adhān)*, and from the beginning he charged Bilāl with performing the task as muezzin *(mu'adhdhin)*. The most momentous occasion when he delivered the *adhān* was when Muḥammad and his followers victoriously entered Mecca (8/629) and cleansed the House of Ka'ba and its environs of all idols. Bilāl also performed personal tasks for the Prophet, such as acquiring incense for the wedding of his daughter Fāṭima (1/623), and he was trusted as the Prophet's treasurer *(khāzin)*. He always accompanied the Prophet on military expeditions *(ghazwas)*, and in the Battle of Badr his former tormenter was killed by Muslim troops.

After the Prophet's death, Bilāl was reluctant to deliver the call to prayer, as he may have felt dissatisfied with succession arrangements. Reportedly, he declined to pledge allegiance *(bay'a)* to Abū Bakr (r. 11–13/632–634) as caliph, and he eventually emigrated and settled in Shām. On at least one moving occasion, Bilāl is known to have delivered the *adhan* after the Prophet, and that was upon the request of Muḥammad's beloved daughter Fāṭima (d. 11/632) and her two sons, al-Ḥasan (d. 50/669) and al-Ḥusayn (d. 61/680).

As a close Companion of the Prophet, Bilāl enjoyed high esteem during his lifetime. He died in Shām, and his tomb is most commonly believed to be in Damascus.

Hossein Kamaly

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BIOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS

No direct Arabic equivalents exist for the English "biography" and "biographical works." Arabic words associated with biography include *tarjama* and *sira*; with biographical works, *tabaqat* or *rijal*. This may in part be due to the fact that the literary genre of Arabic biographical works is an original contribution of medieval Islamic civilization, having no real precursor. While information contained in medieval Arabic biographical dictionaries resembles contemporary *Who's Who* works or a modern-day *curriculum vitae* rather than the introspection of the self found in (auto)biographies, they do contain more social data than any other preindustrial society for a large segment of the population. This entry includes the origin of this literary genre within Islamic civilization, the four categories of medieval Arabic biographical dictionaries that exist, the overall arrangement of a biographical notice and, finally, the five rubrics of information encountered in these works.

Origin of the Genre

The first biographical dictionaries date back to the ninth century CE, some two hundred years after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. They came into being as Islam was embarking on the last phase of self-definition as a fully crystallized and coherent system of faith. The contemporaneity is no coincidence. Indeed, the two features of biographical data collection and integral doctrinal crystallization went hand in hand. The oldest extant biographical dictionary, written by Ibn Sa'd (d. 845) and titled *al-Tabaqat al-kubra*, concretely illustrates this union. Ibn Sa'd, together with six other prominent religious scholars, had been ordered to appear before the 'Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun (r. 813–833), a summons that marked the beginning of this caliph's inquisition *(mihna)*. The aim of this inquisition was to impose caliphal will in religious matters above that of the group to which Ibn Sa'd belonged, the religious scholars. Ultimately, some fifteen years later, the caliphs had to give in, and from that day onward, religious scholars and not caliphs exacted religious authority in Islam. It is this "religious authority" that motivated the first compilers of the first biographical dictionaries.

The connection between religious authority on the one hand and biographical data on the other hand goes back to the inception of Islam. From the very beginning, Islam had a very strong oral tradition in the transmission of knowledge because the Qur'an, being God's literal word, had itself been orally transmitted through the angel Gabriel to the Prophet Muhammad. Soon the Prophet's Companions *(sahaba)* and their successors, in time *(tabi'un),* started to pass on stories about the words and/or deeds of the Prophet to help understand the meaning of God's Message to humankind (the *hadith*). The chain of transmission continued from one generation to the next; a continuous line of oral transmission came into being, ultimately going back to the Prophet, who was closest to the Sacred. Contemporaries of Ibn Sa'd had introduced as criterion of validity for the truth of the stories about the Prophet that the chain of transmission *(isnad)* only contain individuals who were morally sound and hence beyond any reproach. The first biographical dictionaries, including the aforementioned one by Ibn Sa'd, contained necessary information to evaluate the moral qualifications of individuals, alongside detailed information about the Prophet's life, his Companions, and their Successors up to the author's own time. Ibn Sa'd's work was not only chronologically arranged (that is, per generation) but also geographically distributed across the most important settlements of the early Islamic empire. This tradition of data collection about individuals continued and was elaborated upon throughout the Middle Ages, again and again, which led to the emergence of an entire genre in Arabic literature, that of the biographical dictionaries. The literary genre of biographical dictionaries is large in scope and quantity, a subject to which we now turn.

Categories and Organizational Forms of Biographical Dictionaries

Hundreds of separate titles of medieval Arabic biographical dictionaries exist. Both format and contents vary among these works. Some works limit themselves to a single volume, whereas others can run into more than eighty (printed) volumes. The quality of information also vacillates among the various works. Nonetheless, four different categories of biographical dictionaries can be identified and among these, combinations of the following four categories are encountered: (1) General biographical dictionaries. A good example of this category is al-Dhahabi's (d. 1374) *Siyar a'lam al-nubala'*, the published edition

of which totals twenty-five volumes (two are index volumes), and there is a supplement of one volume written by another author. Such a supplement or appendix is called a *dhayl* and is a continuation of an existing work written by another person to complement what that author thought was missing from the original. The *dhayl* constitutes a subcategory of biographical dictionaries because it was often written after the volume. (2) Chronological biographical dictionaries, such as Ibn al-Jawzi's (d. 1200) *al-Muntazam fi ta'rikh al-umam wa al-nuluk.* These eighteen printed volumes are an example of how combinations were made, because this author first lists per year the most important events, then gives obituaries of those who died in that same year. These obituaries were written as more or less curricula vitae of the generation involved, one presented after the other. (3) Geographical biographical dictionaries. Some were limited to a particular city (such as al-Khatib al-Baghdadi's [d. 1071] *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, which includes 15 volumes proper with five extra *dhayl* volumes) or a specific region (such as Abu Hayyan al-Qurtubi's [d. 1076] *al-Muqtabas min abna' ahl al-Andalus,* with one volume). (4) Thematic biographical dictionaries. These biographical dictionaries could include any group ranging from Sufis to philosophers, both groups considered in the Middle Ages as slightly outcast, to mainstream branches of one of the Islamic sciences, such as law, or a particular law school (for example, all Hanbalite law scholars or earlier scholars whom the compiler wanted included among them), and even to collections of individuals who were explicitly considered to be unreliable and thus untrustworthy transmitters of *hadith (rijal).* The great scholar Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani (d. 1449), for instance, wrote a nine-volume work on unreliable *hadith* narrators (his *Lisan al-mizan*) and another, a twelve volumes, on reliable transmitters of (Sunnite canonical) *hadith (Tahdhib al-tahdhib)*. As an aside, the latter work provides us with another characteristic of biographical dictionaries. The *Tahdhib al-tahdhib* constitutes a reworking of an earlier and larger dictionary on the same subject by al-Mizzi (d. 1341), *Tahdhib al-kamal fi asma' al-rijal*, itself drawing from an earlier *rijal* work. Despite being a summary of a summary, and to the delight often felt by researchers working with biographical dictionaries, Ibn Hajar either adds information culled from other sources than his main one (some now lost) or explains obscure passages found in the earlier work or works. In other words, one may not simply rely on one single work to uncover details about a scholar's life, since even a revision of an earlier work can include new information. Practically any intellectual field broadly relevant to Islamic civilization received, at one time or another, the attention of a compiler, even if the group was considered negative or marginal.

The arrangements of biographical dictionaries differ. If the compiler of a biographical dictionary opted for an alphabetical arrangement, it could also be his or her choice to put all men whose name starts with "Muhammad" at the very beginning of the dictionary out of respect for the Prophet. Then, the order of the Arabic alphabet dealt with men whose names were known. Women were then listed, followed by men who were only known by their agnomen ("Abu"), then those whose identity was not fully known *(majhulun)*—though the ordering of the last categories can alternate.

Structure and Information

Biographical entries generally tend to have a uniform character, with the focus of attention, as previously mentioned, being more of a summing up of dry facts or anecdotes in the fashion of today's *curriculum vitae* rather than offering psychological insights about the person dealt with, let alone dealing with inner motive. The first part of an entry starts with an enumeration of the name of the person. Included, here, is the genealogy (on average, five generations are listed). Other elements included in the onomastic section are adjectives of relation *(nisba)* referring either to one's tribal or geographical affiliation. If someone had a nickname *(shuhra)* or honorific title *(laqab),* these are included, too. After the onomastic part of the entry, sometimes the names of teachers and pupils the person at hand narrated from or studied under, and to whom this information was in turn passed on to, are provided (more so in collections about *hadith* transmitters, and some collections, such al-Mizzi's *Tahdhib al-kamal fi asma' al-rijal*, additionally included—in abbreviated form indicating the line of transmission of the person involved is found—the letter "*mim*" standing for Muslim's collection or the letter *kha'* for al-Bukhari's compilation, to mention the two most important Sunnite *hadith* works). Anecdotes about the person's life are then given, the gist of which can vary greatly. The year of death, if known, usually closes the entry.

Unsurprisingly, information contained in biographical dictionaries enjoys much variety. Taken as a whole, however, the literary genre of medieval Arabic biographical dictionaries contains five main rubrics of information. As already noted, onomastic data are given, which by nature include the person's genealogy and tribal or geographical circumstances (though care must be taken that the *nisba* encountered

in the listing of names sometimes refers to an ancestor who had that *nisba* rather than the person at hand). Secondly, demographic information includes ethnicity, tribal affiliation, occupation, years of birth and death, and occasionally the cause of death. Intellectual direction and standing constitute a third rubric of information, telling the reader which fields of learning a person was involved in, who his (or very rarely her) teachers and/or pupils were, if knowledge was committed to writing, or if the savant had a particular ideological position that differed from the main aim of the biographical dictionary being composed. Third, it was often noted if the person narrated *hadith*, together with (moral) qualifications about that person (incidentally, we do not know what, if any, nuance existed between qualifications like "trustworthy" *[thiqa]* or "pious" *[salih]*). Fourth, one comes across various distinctive features like someone's tendency to pray or to fast beyond the call of duty, or dyeing one's beard, sometimes noting the color; if someone became sick toward the end of his or her life (blindness and senility being the leading two diseases noted for this preindustrial society), or if the person belonged to a special group (for example, participated in a famous battle or was one of those who became exceptionally old and so forth). At times one reads that the person was *awwalu man* ("the first to have done ..."), in itself another original literary genre of Islamic civilization that led to separate compilations listing as many "first to's" as possible. Finally, biographical dictionaries are rich in geographical information, ranging from place of birth to that of death and all in between, such as place of first residence, any places they moved, and place of occupation or of study and/or teaching. It should immediately be reiterated that this is a total picture of what kind of information is found in the biographical dictionaries and that not all the people listed have by extension all of this information about them individually; some dictionaries give information for some of these characteristics while other dictionaries give the researcher other data about the same person.

In summary, Arabic biographies and biographical dictionaries offer a relatively large range of data for a preindustrial society, because no other preindustrial society can claim such an abundance of information about various segments of the population. Unfortunately, medieval Arabic biographical dictionaries have hardly been utilized by researchers outside Islamic Studies proper, like historical demographers who tend to be thrilled if they uncover data that date back to the sixteenth century CE; finding medieval social data about Islamic civilization still requires much mining.

John A. Nawas

See also 'Abbasid Caliph; Al-Bukhari; Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi; Al-Ma'mun; Companions of the Prophet; Hadith; Ibn Al-Jawzi; Ibn Sa'd; Sira; Sufis

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BIRUNI

Al-Biruni, Abu Rayhan Muhammad Ibn Ahmad, was one of the greatest scholars of Medieval Islam, not merely of encyclopedic range, but perhaps the most original among them. Unlike his famous contemporaries Ibn Sina and Ibn al-Haytham, who influenced Latin scholasticism, Biruni became known in Europe only in the later nineteenth century, mainly by way of the editions by Eduard Sachau. Biruni was born September 4, 973, in Kath, the capital of Khwarezm, on the river Amu Darya (classical Oxus). Although his native Khwarezmian was also an Iranian language, he rejected the emerging neo-Persian literature of his time (Firdawsi), preferring Arabic instead as the only adequate medium of the sciences. Although probably of humble origin, he was, for unknown reasons, educated at the court of the Khwarezm-Shahs, where he received a solid training in mathematics, astronomy, and mathematical geography. In his early years he constructed a model, with a diameter of five meters, of the northern hemisphere of the earth. In collaboration with a colleague in Baghdad he determined the difference in longitude between this

city and Kath by determining the difference in time between the observations of a lunar eclipse in the two places. He discussed the theory of the earth's rotation and found that from a purely mathematical standpoint it was unobjectionable but not sustainable on physical grounds. In a contentious correspondence with Ibn Sina, he even doubted some basic tenets of Aristotelian cosmology, the eternity and unicity of this world. In this respect he was closer to Muslim orthodoxy than his philosophical counterpart. In later works he stressed that there are no contradictions between science and the Koran. Although he condemned the heretical opinions of al-Razi, he nevertheless compiled a bibliography of his writings. During a sojourn in Gurgan on the southern coast of the Caspian Sea, he wrote his *Chronology of Ancient Nations,* a description of the calendar systems of various peoples and religious communities including critical examinations of popular traditions, for example, about Alexander the Great, as well as some historical data on the Bible. When Khwarezm was invaded by Mahmud of Ghazna, Biruni, together with other scholars, was taken to Ghazna (known today as Afghanistan). There, at Mahmud's court, he obtained acceptable working conditions. From a mountain overlooking the Indus Plain, near the fortress of Nandana, he measured the earth's circumference by a method previously used by the caliph Al-Ma'mun's astronomers. Mahmud's repeated incursions into northwest India gave him the opportunity to study the customs, folklore, literature, and sciences of the Hindus. He even learned some Sanskrit and translated, probably with indigenous help, from Arabic into this language and from Sanskrit into Arabic. Observing similarities between pagan Greek and Hindu mythologies, he censured the Hindus' idolatry, as well as their scholars' deferral to popular superstitions. He compared their mathematical and astronomical doctrines with those of the Greeks, which he always found superior, and he observed that India did not have such heroes as Socrates who were willing to die for the sake of truth. His wish that by their conversion to Islam the Hindus might be saved from their totally alien mindset tallied with Mahmud's imperial ambitions. To Mahmud's successor, Mas'ud, Biruni dedicated the "Mas'udic Canon," a huge reference work of astronomy, and for Mawdud, the next ruler of the dynasty, he wrote the "Mineralogy," a sometimes amusing description of various metals and gemstones. With the help of a vessel constructed for the purpose, meticulous research was carried out on the specific weight of some eighteen substances. He even resorted to experiments, not, as customary with ancient and contemporaneous scholars, in order to prove a previously formulated idea, but instead to check a commonly accepted opinion, largely with negative results. He was skeptical about alchemy and astrology, although he dedicated a concise introduction to the latter, in the form of questions and answers, to a fellow Khwarezmian, a woman named Rayhana. Almost until his death on December 11, 1048, Biruni worked on his "Pharmacology"; it contained the names of 1116 items of materia medica in Greek, as well as in Iranian, Indian, and Semitic languages, arranged alphabetically by their Arabic names.

GOTTHARD STROHMAIER

See also 'Abbasid Caliph; Al-Ma'mun, Al-Razi; Alexander the Great; Aristotle and Aristotelianism; Firdawzi; Ibn al-Haytham, or Alhazen; Ibn Sina, or Avicenna; Idolatry; Mahmud of Ghazna; Materia Medica

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BLACK DEATH

The Black Death was a pandemic that swept through almost every part of the Old World, beginning in the 1330s with repeated waves of infection continuing into the fifteenth century. The bacteria that spreads the plague is *Yersinia pestis,* a small, rod-shaped bacillus that lives in the gut of certain fleas, particularly the rat flea, *Xenopsylla cheopis*. The spreading bacteria block the infected flea's esophagus, and the flea is no longer able to feed itself; it simply regurgitates the bacteria into its host as it attempts to feed. It is at this point that the flea will typically move from its usual host, the black rat *(Rattus rattus)*, and bite and infect humans.

In the case of the bubonic form of the plague, the lymph glands filter the bacilli out of the bloodstream. The glands, typically those in the neck or groin area, subsequently become engorged with bacilli. This causes agonizing pain at the site of the lymph nodes as they first appear as dark accretions and then swell to form a "bubo" (hence "bubonic" plague) ranging in size from an almond to an orange. The victim then

develops flu-like symptoms, including a high fever. The bacilli subsequently cause widespread damage throughout the victim's body, attacking the lungs, heart, and kidneys. The bacilli also attack the nervous system, sometimes leading to a wild hysteria that gave rise to the phrase "the dance of death." In most cases the victim then hemorrhages massive amounts of blood, which causes dark blotches to appear before the victim slips into a coma and dies. The total time from infection to death is typically about two weeks.

Pneumonic plague, a more deadly and infectious form of the disease, appears in cases where the bacteria multiply in the lungs of the victim. This form of the plague is highly contagious because it is transmitted when an infected person coughs up droplets of the bacilli. The pneumonic plague is 100 percent fatal. A third form of the plague (septicemia) bypasses the lymph glands altogether and concentrates bacilli in the body at such a rate that the victim usually dies in just a few hours.

The Black Death struck the Middle East with as much ferocity as it did Europe. The disease originated in Central Asia, where it had been endemic to an isolated species of rodent for hundreds of years. Evidence seems to indicate that this isolated strain of *Yersinia pestis* mutated over the course of centuries of isolation. Its isolation and mutation account for its particularly rapid spread and exceptional lethality. It spread both east and west along Mongol trade routes, attacking China, India, Europe, and the Middle East. From Central Asia it spread to Kaffa on the Black Sea and then to Constantinople, where it spread throughout the Mediterranean. It first arrived at the port of Alexandria in the fall of 1347. From there it spread throughout Egypt and wiped out nearly 50 percent of the population.

It was equally devastating in North Africa, Palestine, and Greater Syria. Medieval medicine was unable to cope with or understand this virulent disease. It was known as either "*ta'un*" or "*al-waba' al-iswid*" in Arabic. Many people believed that it was caused by earthquakes that had released a deadly air (miasma) into the environment. Some attempted to flee to isolated places, although this did not occur as much in the Middle East as in Europe.

The socioeconomic consequences were such that it left Egypt's irrigation system in ruins. It seems to have had an equally devastating economic and social impact on North Africa. Less is known about its socioeconomic impact in Iran, Iraq, Palestine, and Greater Syria, although reports from contemporary observers attest to its equal lethality in these areas.

STUART J. BORSCH

See also Death and Dying; Folk Medicine; Physicians

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BOOKS

Books (sing. *kitab*; pl. *kutub*) count among the chief objects of artistic expression throughout the Islamic lands, beginning with Islam's most formative historical phases. The early prestige accorded to the book by Islamic society is generally considered to derive from the Qur'an *(mushaf)*. Notwithstanding the status of the divine revelation itself, copying the Qur'an provided a strong impetus for formal and aesthetic exploration. The materials of the Qur'an—writing supports and inks—were produced with care; numerous scripts were developed over time to write out the text; illuminations were created to mark internal divisions of the text, count verses, frame the text, and introduce the book through elaborate frontispieces; and the finished, stitched textblock of folios was placed inside a protective binding. From the earliest period, the codex emerged as the chief structural form of the book, though this single form was subject to a host of permutations and adaptations over time. It was perhaps the Qur'an more than any other text that lent cultural importance to the book as a physical object and that motivated its artistic elaboration.

By the tenth and eleventh centuries, a corpus of traditions had developed around the book that stressed its eminence and importance. These sayings record cultural notions that additionally explain the high status of the book in Islam. The book was heralded as the means by which human thought could be preserved over time—a permanent and reproducible trace of thought—the most effective vehicle for recording achievements of various sorts, whether broadly intellectual, literary, or political. One of the most complete corpuses of aphorisms appears in a treatise on the technique and art of calligraphy composed by Abu'l-Hayyan al-Tawhidi (d. after 1009 CE). The sayings cited by al-Tawhidi are mainly concerned with the merits of calligraphy, a skill sought out and acquired by people of high culture. Calligraphy not only recorded the thoughts of mankind but could also embody the person's morality as ideas—the proper content of the text—as well as in the physical form of writing. Fine writing—and the labor that preceded accomplishment in writing—offered a trace, like a footprint, of the person for posterity. Calligraphy

was an impressed presence. Sayings in al-Tawhidi's treatise include one attributed to Ja'far b. Yahya al-Barmaki (d. 803), "Handwriting is the necklace of wisdom. It serves to sort the pearls of wisdom, to bring its dispersed pieces into good order, to put its stray bits together, and to fix its setting." Another saying attributed to a certain 'Abbas reads: "Handwriting is the tongue of the hand. Style is the tongue of the intellect. The intellect is the tongue of good actions and qualities. And good actions and qualities are the perfection of man" (Rosenthal 1947, 1–20). Given that books are primarily vehicles of texts, it is not difficult to comprehend the logic of other sayings cited by another writer, Ibn al-Nadim (fl. 987), in his *Fihrist*, a virtual encyclopedia of the culture of books in the tenth century. The sayings given by Ibn al-Nadim include al-'Attabi's remark, "Books smile as pens shed tears," and Buzurgmihr's saying, "Books are the shells of wisdom, which are split open for the pearls of character" (Ibn al-Nadim 1970). Such sayings continued to have currency over time and were amplified by notions that the first thing created by God was the pen and that He had written out creation on the preserved tablet *(lawh al-mahfuz)*. The synergy of these cultural notions and values secured the preeminence of the written word and the book across a wide spectrum of texts and resulted in the formation of personal, institutional, and royal libraries of often-massive scope. Although books were always adjuncts to processes of learning based on oral transmission and audition, the physical text permitted the transport of knowledge through space and time and "independently of their human transmitters," as Bloom notes (Bloom 2001, 123).

The principal materials used in the early production of books were parchment, vellum, and papyrus. These materials were quickly supplanted by paper, an inherently cheaper medium that had a profound impact on book culture. This new medium made books more readily available and permitted the widespread dissemination of knowledge on an unprecedented scale (see Bloom). It also provided an inherently more coherent surface for writing, illumination, and painting while matching the pliancy of other supports. By the year 1000, paper had even supplanted papyrus in Egypt. It had also been accepted as a suitable medium for the production of the Qur'an, though the use of materials such as parchment continued in some regions of the Islamic world, especially in North Africa, perhaps as a way of marking the separate status of the Qur'an. Various primary sources record the different formats of paper sheets.

A rich technical literature similarly records recipes for black and colored inks and pigments prepared from vegetable and mineral sources, methods of preparing and decorating papers through dyes, tints, and gold flecking, and the manufacture of book bindings. The earliest known text to devote itself wholly to the techniques and materials of the art of the book is Ibn Badis's *'Umdat al-kuttab* (ca. 1025). The transmission of technical lore became a subject for many later writers, and there is a rich literature on this topic (see 'Abd al-Hayy Habibi and Porter). Over time, many additional techniques were used to augment the visual dimensions of the book. Papers could be decorated with marbling or stenciling, text blocks framed inside multiple rulings that formed a border to divide the text field *(matn)* from margin *(hashiya)*, and calligraphy could be executed in black or colored inks—sometimes spotted with flecks of crushed mother-of-pearl—or assembled from cut paper (decoupage) of differing colors. Leather bindings were equally inventive: Beginning with the relatively simple use of tanned leather over pasteboard covers, bindings came to be decorated with blind-tooled designs (punched or stamped into the leather and often augmented by the selective application of gold) organized into lines, clusters of motifs, or geometric compositions. More complex stamped ornament was developed through the use of engraved metal plates in various shapes arranged on book covers as medallions and corner pieces. The binding's inner surfaces, the doublures, could either be fashioned from sheets of leather or cut leather (filigree) laid over colored paper grounds. The binding's interior and exterior were also embellished in some contexts through patterned textiles or lacquer. By the middle years of the 1400s, the artistry of the bookbinder had reached a staggering level.

Despite the development of many different techniques and decorative effects, however, the structure of the binding remained constant. It was assembled from upper and lower covers connected to the book's spine, with a board attached along the outer edge of the lower cover—as wide as the depth of the textblock—that in turn supported an envelope flap. When the book was closed, the envelope flap was placed underneath the upper cover, thereby protecting the outer edge of the textblock. Although elegant and alluring, the binding offered a robust protection for the text that it contained.

Because the Islamic book lacked pagination and an index, other means were required to enhance the clarity of the book's organization and thus facilitate its use. These challenges were solved by several means. Illumination was developed to mark the beginnings and endings of chapters or book sections, as full-page designs, double pages, or rectangular panels *('unwan, sarlawh)*. Books may also have opened with a table of contents *(fihrist)* or an illuminated

panel carrying the name of the text. An additional form of illumination was composed as a roundel *(shamsa)* that might contain the owner's ex libris. The calligraphy proper was also manipulated to enhance the clarity of the work. Prose was usually arranged as running text, whereas poetry was divided into columnar formats of either four or six; colophons marking the end of chapters or books were generally arranged as an inverted triangle of text and conformed to established textual protocols. Variations in the color of ink or in the type and size of script were also used to announce subdivisions of the text, which are transitions from one subject to another on a single page. In the case of illustrated manuscripts, an encapsulation of the image's content could appear in the form of a brief explanatory text enclosed in a small panel. These organizational challenges were even more severe in the anthology, books assembled from different texts that might treat various topics and that might unite works of prose and poetry in a single volume.

The many processes associated with the production of the textblock could be undertaken in several sequences, though the copying of the text was usually completed first. After the folios had been cut to the appropriate size, the page was marked with a grid as a guide for the calligrapher. This was done either through the use of a sharp instrument that scored lines into the folio, or by pressing a cardboard with threads arranged across it *(mastar)* into the folio. Catchwords written in the lower-left margin of each folio guaranteed the correct collation of the manuscript at the time of its stitching to form a fixed textblock. In the course of writing the text, the copyist left spaces for illumination or for illustrations, which would generally be completed after the text was copied. Other processes, such as ruling, were generally accomplished last.

Throughout the period between the seventh and sixteenth centuries, books were made under various circumstances and in different contexts. Some were made by copyists *(warraq, nassakh),* who were also booksellers in the market, under direct commission or speculatively. Some were made in the context of mosques or madrasas and provided for by the endowment of the *waqf*. Other book production occurred under caliphal or princely support, the best-known early medieval example being al-Ma'mun's *Bayt al-hikma* in Baghdad. Degrees of specialization in the production of books always varied in each context and were not subject to a linear development over time. For example, in a volume of the Qur'an signed by Ibn al-Bawwab (d. 1022), the colophon notes that Ibn al-Bawwab copied the text and executed the illuminations. In an illustrated copy of al-Hariri's *Maqamat*, dated 1237, the copyist (al-Wasiti) was also responsible for executing the many paintings. In the later 1500s, such dual expertise was also applied to the production of books.

Book production under royal patronage, whenever or wherever it occurred, was generally more specialized. Two documents from the early 1400s, for example, describe the highly specialized bookmaking procedures in the Timurid workshops *(kitabkhana)* of Herat and Shiraz. One document is a progress report about projects in the Herat workshop presumably addressed to the Timurid prince, Baysunghur (d. 1433); the other is a letter inviting an illuminator to become the chief of the Shiraz workshop and lists the workers under his direction by their specialization. These workshops were institutions, devoted in large part to the creation of books, that assembled skilled calligraphers, painters, draftsmen, illuminators, outliners, rulers and binders, and artists who were not only in command of the requisite skills of their particular medium but who also knew how to prepare materials. Additional evidence also suggests that some practitioners worked across different media. Some of the more stunning developments in the art of the Islamic book occurred under royal patronage because it alone was capable of sustaining specialized production—gathering the requisite human talent and procuring the necessary materials—and coordinating numerous practices into coherent, unified books. By the late 1400s, artists associated with the production of books were being recorded in histories; in the 1500s, authors such as the Ottoman man of letters, Mustafa Ali, composed texts devoted entirely to the history of artistic practice. These texts, prefaces to album collections and treatises, are yet another testament to the high status of books in Islam, but they express an appreciation for skill and artistic accomplishment in the terms of a history of art.

David J. Roxburgh

See also Abu'l-Hayyan al-Tawhidi; Adab; Alphabets; Al-Ma'mun; Arabic; Archives and Chanceries; Cultural Exchange; Humanism; Knowledge ('Ilm); Libraries; Madrasa; Manuscripts; Painting, Miniature; Paper Manufacture; Persian; Qur'an, Manuscripts; Scribes; Turkish and Turkic Languages; Waqf

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BOTANY

Arabic botanical knowledge was mainly practical and descriptive. It was contained principally in pharmacological literature and secondarily in agricultural literature. Theoretical botany was a matter of philosophical speculation.

Early Arabic plant knowledge relied on agricultural literature of Greece and Byzantium, with the *Geôrgika* by Demokritos (in fact, Bolos of Mendes, ca. 200 BCE), Anatolios of Berytos (possibly Vindonius Anatolius, d. AD 360), and Kassianos Bassos (sixth century. CE), as well as on literature from the Syriac world, with the so-called *Nabatean agriculture* encyclopedia. Ninth-century CE translation activity in Baghdâd introduced Greek material: (1) theoretical botany (genesis, reproduction, and growing of plants, their parts and physiology, plant classification, the nature and origin of their qualities and peculiarities) with *De plantis* by Aristotle (384–322 BCE), not known in the original but in the commented version by Nikolaos of Damas (first century BCE/CE), and *De historia plantarum* or *De causis plantarum* by Theophrastus (372/70–288/86 BCE) (the text is lost; hence the uncertainty of the translated work); (2) pharmacobotany (plants used as medicines), with *De materia medica* by Dioscorides (first century CE), an encyclopedia on the natural products used for therapeutic purposes.

As in the Greek world, Dioscorides's treatise dominated the field. It was repeatedly translated, first into Syriac by Hunayn ibn Ishaq, and then into Arabic by the same working in collaboration with Istifan ibn Basil. The Arabic text was further revised during the tenth century CE in the East and the West (Cordova), and the Syriac treatise was translated twice into Arabic in the East during the twelfth century CE. Each translation seems to have been widely circulated, and Dioscorides's treatise was abundantly commented on—particularly by such North African and Western scientists as ibn al-Gazzâr, abû al-Qâsim al-Zahrâwî, al Ghâfiqî, and ibn al-Baytâr—in order to equate Dioscorides's Mediterranean species with local ones.

In Dioscorides's model of botany, each plant is dealt with in a monographic chapter, which proceeds both synthetically (plant type) and analytically (plant

description, neither systematic nor complete, but limited to the major characteristics from the top to the roots). Classification is based on the therapeutic properties of plants. The text is completed in several manuscripts with color representations of the plants, the authenticity and origin of which is still debated. Such a model was reproduced in the Arabic world but with two major modifications: (1) plants were no longer classified according to their properties, but according to the alphabetical sequence of their names, a fact that provoked the loss of plant classification; and (2) plant representations, which originally resembled those in Greek manuscripts, increasingly tended toward symmetrical and stylized pictures and also introduced elements that suggested the natural environment of the plants.

Greek pharmacobotany in the Arabic world agglutinated data of different provenances (Mesopotamian, Persian, Indian), and new works were produced, best represented in the East by al-Bîrûnî's *Kitâb al-Saydalah* and ibn Sînâ's *Qanûn*, and in the West by ibn al-Gazzâr, abû al-Qâsim al-Zahrâwî, al Ghâfiqî, and ibn al-Baytâr, the last two of whom are credited with the most achieved works of descriptive botany in the Arabic world. Special aspects were dealt with in other works, as, for example, plant nomenclature in lexica, phytogeography, and plant distribution in geographical descriptions and travel books, plant physiology in philosophical and metaphysical treatises such as ibn Sînâ's *Kitâb al-shifâ*, and plant production in agricultural manuals, as ibn Bâjja's *Kitâb al-nabât*.

Alain Touwaide

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BRETHREN OF PURITY

Ikhwan al-Safa' (the Brethren of Purity) were the affiliates of an esoteric coterie that was based in Basra and Baghdad around the last quarter of the tenth century CE. The learned adepts of this fraternity authored a compendium, *Rasa'il Ikhwan al-Safa' (The Epistles of the Brethren of Purity)*, which was structured in the form of an encyclopedia. This voluminous work grouped fifty-two tracts that treated themes in mathematics, music, logic, astronomy, and the physical cum natural sciences, as well as exploring the nature of the soul and investigating associated matters in ethics, revelation, and spirituality. This series offered synoptic elucidations of the classical traditions in philosophy and science of the ancients and the moderns of the age. It was also accompanied by a dense treatise titled *al-Risala al-jami'a (The Comprehensive Epistle)* and further complemented by an appendage known as *Risalat jami'at al-jami'a (The Condensed Comprehensive Epistle)*. The precise identity of the authors of this monumental corpus, and the exact chronology of its composition, remain unsettled matters of scholarly debate in the field of Islamic studies. Although the Ikhwan's writings have been described as being affiliated to Sufi, Sunni, or Mu'tazilite teachings, it is more generally accepted that their line in literature belonged to a Shi'ite legacy that had strong connections with the Ismaili tradition. While some scholars assert that the Rasa'il Ikhwan al-Safa' are attributable to early Fatimid sources, others maintain that this textual legacy transcended sectarian divisions in Islam and, in its spirit of openness, should consequently lead us to treat its authors as freethinkers who were not bound within the doctrinal confines of a specific creed. Moreover, besides founding their views on the Qur'an and the teachings of Islam, the Ikhwan did not hesitate to appeal in

their Rasa'il to the other scriptures of Abrahamic monotheism, such as the Torah of Judaism and the Canonical Gospels of Christianity. The Ikhwan were also implicitly influenced by Ancient Indian and Persian classics, and they were enthusiastically inspired by the Greek legacies of the likes of Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, Euclid, Ptolemy, Porphyry, and Iamblichus. Finding "truth in every religion" and seeing knowledge as the pure "nourishment for the soul," the Ikhwan associated the pursuit of happiness and the hope of salvation with the scrupulous unfolding of rational and intellectual quests. They furthermore promoted a friendship of virtue among their companions and gave a venerable expression to the liberal spirit in Islam. Their syncretism, which is not reducible to a mere form of eclecticism that may have been partly influenced by Mesopotamian Sabaean practices and beliefs, did ultimately ground their eschatological aspiration to found a spiritual sanctuary that would prudently assist their co-religionists in overcoming the sectarian discords that plagued their era. Oriented by a literal interpretation of the classical microcosm and macrocosm analogy, as it was primarily noted in their conception of the human being as a microcosm and of the universe as a macroanthropon, the Ikhwan did avidly attempt to restore the sense of harmony and equipoise between the psychical order and its correlative cosmological shaping forces. Their analogical thinking was furthermore inspired by a Pythagorean arithmetic grasp of the structuring orderliness of the visible universe, and they moreover adopted a Neoplatonist explication of creation by way of emanation in a creditable attempt to reconcile philosophy with religion. Drafted in an eloquent classical Arabic style, the Ikhwan's epistles displayed a remarkable lexical adaptability that elegantly covered the language of mathematics, logic, and natural philosophy, as well as encompassing the intricacies of theological deliberation and occultist speculation, while also giving expression to a poetic taste that was ingeniously embodied in resourceful fables and edifying parables. In terms of the scholarly significance of the *Rasa'il,* and the cognitive merits of the Ikhwan's views, it must be stated that, despite being supplemented by oral teachings in seminaries, their textual heritage was not representative of the most decisive of achievements made in the domains of mathematics, and the natural and psychical sciences of their epoch. Nonetheless, the Ikhwan's intellectual acumen becomes most evident in their original and sophisticated reflections on matters related to spirituality and revelation, which did compensate the ostensible scholarly limitations that may have resulted from the diluted nature of their investigations in classical philosophy and science. However, in spite of these traceable shortcomings, their corpus remains exemplary of medieval masterpieces that represented erudite popular adaptations of protoscientific knowledge. Assimilated by many scholars across a variety of Muslim schools and doctrines, the Ikhwan's textual heritage acted as an important intellectual catalyst in the course of development of the history of ideas in Islam, rightfully deserving the station that it has been assigned amid the Arabic classics that constituted the high literature of the medieval Islamic civilization.

Nader El-Bizri

See also Aristotle and Aristotelianism; Eschatology; Fatimids; Gnosis; Ismailis; Knowledge (*'ilm*); Mysticism; Plato and Neoplatonism; Shi'i Thought; Theology

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BUDDHISM AND ISLAM

The infamous destruction of the giant Buddha images at Bamyan, Afghanistan, by the radical Islamic Taliban regime serves as a potent symbol of the culmination of the centuries-long coexistence and contact between Islam and Buddhism. The destruction of the statues not only eclipses that history but also

underscores a tone of intolerance toward Buddhism on the part of some Muslim thinkers today. A new book bearing the title *Islam and Buddhism* by Harun Yahya, perhaps the only contemporary work specifically dedicated to the question of the Islamic-Buddhist relationship, provides a characteristically hostile depiction of Buddhism as an idolatrous religion and the quintessential example of "falsehood," as it is defined by the Qur'an and Islamic thought more generally. Thus, Buddhism, with its "deification" of human beings, a cult of idols, a massive iconography, and its pessimism toward the material world and consequent extreme asceticism, seems to be worlds apart from Islam.

However, the mere fact that an important Buddhist monument might exist in what is now known as an Islamic country indicates that Buddhism, in its varieties, existed in territories to which Islam also extended its reach during its advent to East and Southeast Asia. Many of the people who converted to Islam in these territories were originally Buddhists, and for long periods there was in these regions some sort of coexistence between the two realms, one far more varied and peaceful than certain events and publications might lead us to believe.

The encounter between Islam and Buddhism can be documented from as early as the late seventh century (or first Islamic century). Buddhist converts, like many other converts to Islam, enriched Islam with troves of cultural expression of all sorts, and imported into the religion their own distinctive practices and theological interpretations. Perhaps the best concrete example of such Buddhist converts is the Barmaki lineage during the early days of the 'Abbasid caliphate. The father of the family was a Persian-Buddhist priest from Balkh, whose descendants rose to power and glory as grand viziers and are often associated with the golden age of the 'Abbasid caliphate. It was probably during that period, when the 'Abbasid caliphs sponsored huge translation projects of Eastern and Western texts, that the most fruitful connections between Islam and Buddhism occurred. However, we must be very cautious before attributing any *specific* practice or idea in Islam to Buddhism, even when we find similarities between the two religions, since in most cases one cannot really pinpoint any direct influence. It is more plausible to speak of general Central Asian or Indian practices and ideas in relation to Islam rather then specifically Buddhist ideas or practices and to conceive of this syncretism in generally cultural terms rather than specific one-to-one correlative ones.

The most well-known attempt to draw a direct connection between Buddhist practices and Islam was undertaken by the great Hungarian–Jewish Orientalist Ignaz Goldziher. In a study titled *A Buddhizmus Hatása az Iszlámra (On the Impact of Buddhism on Islam)*, published in 1903, Goldziher demonstrated similarities between Sufism and Buddhism and claimed that the former sprung forth when Islam came in contact with the latter in India (he repeated a version of this claim in his *Lectures on Islam.*)

While Goldziher was basically right in drawing the attention of the debate toward the Indian connection to Sufism, one is hard-pressed to say that it was Buddhism per se rather than Indian practices such as *Bhakti* (devotionalism, in this context) that had some generalized impact on the early Sufi practitioners. (Of all dimensions of Islam, Sufism today is most readily compared to Buddhism, but then again, Sufism is indeed most inclusive and eclectic and thus most easily compared to strains within all religions). On the ideational level we find the unique case of a Chinese Sufi scholar, Wu Zixian, who translated the *Mirsad al-'ibad*, a major Sufi compendium, into Chinese and stated freely in his preface to the book that he had consulted Buddhist texts to come up with the suitable Chinese vocabulary for Sufi terms. Wu is unique not because he was an East Asian Muslim inspired by Buddhism but rather because he was one who openly admitted this influence.

Buddhists and Muslims today coexist in significant numbers in virtually all Southeast and East Asian countries (and also Korea and Japan). There have been some serious scholarly and religious attempts to renew and open the dialogue between the two faiths. One such attempt worthy of mentioning is by the major Japanese Buddhist thinker and educator Daisaku Ikeda. For the most part, however, this remains an undeveloped field, and what has been written on the topic is largely polemical.

Zvi Aziz Ben-Dor

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BUKHARA

Bukhara is an oasis city in central Asia in the Zarafshan River Valley (in present-day Uzbekistan). According to traditions preserved in the partly legendary Islamic conquest literature, the first Arab forces reached Bukhara during the early Umayyad period. Ubayd Allah b. Ziyad concluded an agreement with the *khatun* (a Sogdanian title for the ruler's wife) who governed the great and rich oasis (in AH 54/674 CE). Yet the actual capture of the region started a generation later during the governorship of Qutayba Ibn Muslim (89/708), and it was not secured until the days of Nasr Ibn Sayyar (738–748), when the armies of the caliphate succeeded in repelling the Western Turks (Turgish /Türgiş).

According to Islamic historiography, the victorious Muslim commanders constructed a mosque and recruited local clients to the armies of the caliphate, though it is difficult to gauge the number of converts and their percentage among the indigenous population. Judging by their participation in heretical movements, however, it can be assumed that in Bukhara during the eighth and ninth centuries, a considerable number of people were giving up local beliefs and joining Islam. Already during the early ʻAbbasid period, contacts between the core land of the caliphate and the periphery became more firmly established. A governor was sent from Baghdad to collect taxes and command the army.

The rank of Bukhara in the administrative machinery of the caliphate was upgraded during the years of the Tahirids (207–278/822–891). The new importance of the city resulted from developments in Khurasan. The coming of Isma'il b. Ahmad to Bukhara (in 262/875), whose position was confirmed by the caliph al-Mu'tadid (279–89/892–902), opened a new chapter in the history of the oasis. Bukhara became the capital city of the Samanids, a local Iranian dynasty that became integrated into the ʻAbbasid system.

After the fall of the Samanids (395/1005) and the emergence in present-day Afghanistan of new centers, that of Ghazna, who for a short period the Ghaznawids (367–583/977–1187) played a role in the history of Central Asia, Bukhara lost its political and administrative importance. Yet, due to cultural and economic reasons it did not disappear from chronicles that narrate the history of power struggles in medieval Central Asia. With the help of the Saljuqid sultan Sanjar, a Qarakhanid (Ilig/Ilek Khans) prince named Arslan Khan Muhammad occupied Bukhara (495/1102). The city remained in the hands of the Qarakhanids while it was governed by the Ilig Nasr b. ʻAli the. After a few decades the Kara Khitay captured the town (536/1141). The Kara Khitay people did not rule Bukhara directly but rather installed a local family as head of tax collection and bureaucracy *(sadr)*.

Mongol invasions (616/1220) brought havoc to Bukhara. Nevertheless, the city soon recovered. A revolt led by a pseudoprophet (636/1238) began the re-emergence of a local community. Yet after a few years, Bukhara once again was destroyed, first by the Il-Kahn Abaka of Iran (671/1278) and then by a Chaghtayid rebel (716/1316). Later, Bukhara was taken over by Timur Leng (Tamerlane, d. 1405). It remained in the hands of the Timurid Turkish–Mongol dynasty until the advance of Shibani Khan the Uzbek (905/1500). It seems that during these years the city had no political importance. The topographical history of Bukhara in the seventh to ninth centuries is shrouded in obscurity. On more solid ground is the information from the ʻAbbasid period. Arab and Persian geographers provide information on the structure and topography of Bukhara. They describe a large city *(shahristan)* protected by double walls with several gates (the sources name seven to eleven), a citadel *(quhunduz; ark)*, water canals *(arik)*, and suburbs *(rabd)*. The Samanids built a royal palace that accommodated the administration *(divan)*. Arslan Khan became noted as a great builder. He rebuilt the walls and citadel of Bukhara and constructed a mosque. A dozen monuments have survived as evidence of the architectural achievements of the years described in the previous paragraph.

Being populated by Arabs, Iranians, and Turks, Bukhara served as a center to spread the new culture that developed within the boundaries of the caliphate. This deduction is supported by biographical dictionaries that use new nomenclature to name renowned Muslim scholars. In biographical entries these writers use genealogy based on geography *(nisba)* to name the personas. Money among them bore the *nisba* al-Bukhari. The lists of the numerous scholars named al-Bukhari are long. Abu al-Fadl Bal'ami and his son Abu ʻAli Muhammad (d. 363/973) are further examples. Both served as viziers of the Samanids. Translating into New Persian, the chronicles of al-Tabari, Muhammad gained fame as one of the first Persian authors.

Bukhara functioned as an axis of Islamic culture and innovation and a hub of the Hanafi School of Islamic law, which molded the Islam of recently converted Turks. Patronized by the Samanids, the Persian language, which served as the lingua franca between the Muslim governors and the population of Transoxiana, developed into a pivot of the new Islamic civilization. From Bukhara it spread to the central parts of Iran and advanced into Central Asia. The city's role as the heart of Islamic learning was not

eclipsed even under the Mongols. Moreover, Baha al-Din Naqshaband (791/1389) started his brotherhood of dervishes *(al-tariqa al-Naqshabandiyya)* during the years of the Chaghatayid dynasty.

YEHOSHUA FRENKEL

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BUKHARI

Al-Bukhari, Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. Isma'il was an expert in hadith. Muslims consider his work, *al-Jami' al-Sahih,* or more commonly, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, to be the foremost collection of the accounts of the words, deeds, and opinions of the Prophet Muhammad.

The purview of the collection is indicated by the title which al-Bukhari apparently gave his work, translated as: *The Comprehensive Collection of Supported Sound Hadith Summarized from the Actions, Practices, and Battles of the Messenger of God*. The hadith are arranged topically. The emphasis is on Islamic religious law, although there is much material that can be more narrowly defined as theology and religious history.

According to the traditional estimate, it consists of roughly 7275 hadith. Many of the hadith are mentioned more than once, and it is said that without the duplicates the total is 4000 separate hadith. Both figures include hadith lacking a chain of transmission *(isnad)*, hadith repeated with more than one chain of transmission, and those ascribed to religious authorities other than Muhammad. Unfortunately, nowhere does al-Bukhari explain the criteria he applied in selecting hadith for inclusion, although tales assert that only a small fraction of what he knew he found worthy. For the most part, later scholars held that al-Bukhari's mere mention of a transmitter in this work was sufficient proof that the transmitter was reliable. We may take the estimate of the esteemed scholar al-Safadi (AH 696/1297–764/1363 CE) of the work as representative: "[Al-Bukhari]'s collection is the most exalted book on hadith in Islam; and the best of them after [the Qur'an]." Considering al-Bukhari's later fame, the sources give us very little information about his life, and what we are told is largely hagiography mixed in with tidbits of information that, in most cases, could well have been derived from the examination of his works. He was born in Bukhara in 194/810 to non-Arab parents. He took up the study of hadith at an early age and traveled throughout Persia, Iraq, the Hejaz, Syria, and Egypt. In 256/870, he died in Khartank, a village near Samarqand, and was buried in the latter. The most serious blemish on his reputation was the allegation leveled by some of his contemporaries that he asserted that one's recitation of the Qur'an is "created," and therefore not pre-eternal. During his lifetime, issues surrounding the nature of the Qur'an were bitterly disputed, and later generations of scholars have generally held this particular doctrine to be heretical. In the traditional biographical accounts of the life of al-Bukhari, we find him unequivocally denying that he ever subscribed to such an odious view.

Al-Bukhari wrote other works on subjects concerning hadith, but they are, considering his fame, unimpressive. Of these, his *al-Ta'rikh al-kabir* (ed. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Yahya al-Mu'allimi al-Yamani, 4 vols. in 8 parts, Hyderabad, 1361–1365), a more or less alphabetically arranged biographical dictionary of hadith transmitters, is probably the most notable. Despite its immense size, it was quickly eclipsed as a practical reference by even larger and more informative books covering the same ground.

EERIK DICKINSON

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BURIAL CUSTOMS

See Funerary Practices, Muslim

BURIDS

The Burids, or Börids, were a Turkish dynasty that ruled Damascus and much of its hinterland from 1104 to 1154 CE. Its founder was Zahir al-Din Tughtigin, the *atabeg* (a kind of "guardian and tutor") of Shams al-Mulk Duqaq, the son of the Seljuk sultan in Syria, Tutush (r. 1078–1095), who was the son of Alp Arslan and the brother of Malikshah (r. 1073–1092). Tutush took Damascus from Atsiz ibn Uvaz, who had conquered southern Syria and Palestine from the Fatimids. On Tutush's death, his sons divided his territory, Duqaq taking Damascus while placing his affairs in the hands of Tughtigin. When Duqaq died in 1104, Tughtigin became the de facto ruler of Damascus.

Tughtigin (r. 1104–1128) was the most remarkable member of the dynasty that he had founded. He maintained his independence with great dexterity while contending with the Fatimids in Egypt and Palestine, the newly arrived Franks of the First Crusade, also in Palestine, the ʿAbbasid caliph and Seljuk sultan in Baghdad, and other members of the Seljuk family in Syria and Iraq. Sometimes allied with, or against, one or another of these parties, he skillfully played them against each other. In the course of this, he established his authority in the region between the Hawran south of Damascus and Hamah to the north. He played an important role in the struggle against the Franks, who threatened his grain supply in the Biqaʿa Valley, and launched several expeditions against them. He made valiant but unsuccessful attempts to save Tripoli from them in 1109 and Tyre in 1124. He lacked the forces to drive the Crusaders from Palestine yet was distrustful of his disunited Muslim neighbors. In 1115, when the Seljuk sultan Muhammad sent an army to bring him under control and then attack the Franks, Tughtigin sided with the latter. Later, however, he traveled to Baghdad to seek the sultan's pardon.

On his death, Tughtigin was succeeded by his son Taj al-Muluk Böri (r. 1128–1132). He captured Hamah in 1129 and then blunted a Frankish campaign against Damascus. He almost immediately faced a major challenge with the rise of the Zankids in Mosul. The founder of this dynasty, Zanki, took Aleppo in 1128 and Hamah in 1130 while demanding the cooperation of Damascus against the Crusaders. He reached Homs before returning to Mosul. Meanwhile, in Damascus, Böri was threatened by the growing power of the Batinis, or Ismailis, who had been supported by his father. In 1129, Böri broke their power and exterminated a large number of them. In 1132, however, they assassinated him.

Böri was succeeded by his son, Shams al-Muluk Ismaʿil (r. 1132–1135). He captured Banyas from the Franks in 1132, took Hamah back from Zanki in 1133, and forced back a Frankish invasion of the Hawran in 1134. Despite these actions, he was considered so corrupt and tyrannical that his mother ordered his assassination in 1135. His brother Shihab al-Din Mahmud (r. 1135–1139) then took the throne. Zanki attempted to take advantage of this turmoil by marching on Damascus, but the people of the city stoutly resisted him and he withdrew. Mahmud and Zanki contracted a marriage alliance in 1138 that appeared to resolve their differences. Shortly thereafter, however, Mahmud was murdered by two of his slaves.

After Mahmud's murder, the city's military leaders first placed his brother Muhammad on the throne, but he died shortly thereafter. They then replaced him with Mahmud's young son, Mujir al-Din Abaq (r. 1140–1154), while placing actual control of Damascus in the hands of his *atabeg*, Mu'in al-Din Unur. Zanki again attacked the city, and again it resisted. Unur formed an alliance with the Franks to keep him at bay. Relations with the Franks were stabilized for the next few years. Zanki's preoccupation with Edessa in 1144 and his death in 1146 relieved the pressure from the north and allowed Unur to expand his territory. However, Zanki's son and successor, Nur al-Din Mahmud, proved to be equally determined to capture Damascus. In early 1147, Nur al-Din married Unur's daughter and the two leaders carried out joint operations against the Franks. A few months later, when the Second Crusade attempted to conquer Damascus, Nur al-Din provided some relief. When Unur died in 1149, Abaq was incapable of retaining control of the city. Nur al-Din forced him to accept his guardianship and finally drove him out in 1154.

On the whole, Damascus prospered under the Burids, enjoying a long period of relative security after several centuries of anarchy. The city expanded and new institutions, notably *madrasas* (colleges of law), took root.

Gary Leiser

See also ʿAbbasids; Assassins; Jihad; Madrasa; Muslim–Crusader Relations; Seljuks

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BUYIDS

The Buyid (Buwayhid) dynasty lasted from AH 334/945 CE until 449/1057. This family originated from the hills of Dailam near the Caspian Sea. 'Ali ibn Buya, in close collaboration with his two brothers, Ahmad and al-Hasan, led them to power at the head of a predominantly infantry army recruited in Dailam. Their first major success came when they took Shiraz in 322/934. Shortly thereafter they began adding Turkish cavalry to the army. The province of Fars served as one of their three centers of power. Al-Hasan took and ruled from Rayy. Ahmad marched on Baghdad, taking it in 334/945.

The Buyid family ruled as a confederation, with the eldest member having precedence. They did not depose or eliminate the caliph but acted as his "deputies." In reality they acted as kings while maintaining the legal fiction of subservience. All signs indicate that they were Shi'i, but pragmatically they made no effort to replace the 'Abbasid caliph with a Shi'i imam or to rule in his name. However, they did remove uncooperative caliphs. Immediately following the conquest of Baghdad, the caliph al-Mustakfi granted the three brothers the titles by which they are typically known: Ahmad became Mu'izz al-Dawla, al-Hasan became Rukn al-Dawla, and 'Ali became 'Imad al-Dawla. The caliph was then promptly removed from the throne, with al-Muti' taking his place. 'Imad al-Dawla, as the dominant member of the family, ruled from Shiraz until his death in 338/949. When he died, he had no sons and his role in Shiraz was assumed by 'Adud al-Dawla, the son of Rukn al-Dawla. Rukn al-Dawla then became head of the confederation. Mu'izz al-Dawla died in 356/967 having never attained headship.

'Adud al-Dawla represents the pinnacle of Buyid power and authority. As long as his father was alive, he maintained obedience to the familial structure of precedence. However, once his father died in 366/977, he seized Baghdad from his cousin and from there dominated the family. He was able to centralize rule and enforce unity.

After 'Adud al-Dawla's death in 372/983, the unity that he had created crumbled and the Buyids reverted once more to their previous pattern of family rule from their three main capitals of Baghdad, Shiraz, and Rayy. The position of senior amir was almost continually under dispute after 'Adud al-Dawla's death, and each prince usually ruled his capital independently. Only Baha' al-Dawla (r. 398/1007–403/1012) and Abu Kalijar (r. 435/1044–440/1048) can be said to have held the position of senior amir.

In addition to familial squabbles, the composite nature of the Buyid army meant that there were constant quarrels between Dailamite and Turkish troops. The later Buyids also faced considerable outside challenges. There were small challenges from Arab and Kurdish tribes and attempts by other dynasties, such as those of Oman and Isfahan, to break free from Buyid control. In the East there were major invasions by the Ghaznavids and Seljuks. The beginning of the end was the Ghaznavid conquest of Rayy in 1029. The demise of arguably the most active of the later Buyids, Abu Kalijar 'Imad al-Din, in 440/1048 left no clear ruler for the whole of Buyid territory and no established princes in the major cities. The Seljuks under Tughril Bek took this opportunity to take control of Buyid territories, and the last independent Buyid, Khusraw Firuz al-Malik al-Rahim, was captured outside of Baghdad in 449/1057.

Although politically chaotic, the Buyid courts provided havens for intellectuals, artists, and scientists from a variety of ethnic and religious persuasions. One can point to such luminaries as the philosopher Ibn Sina as examples of the breadth of intellectual achievement of this period.

John P. Turner and Rachel T. Howes

See also 'Abbasids; 'Adud al-Dawla; Baghdad; Ghaznavids; Ibn Sina; Imam; Iran; Iraq; Isfahan; Kurds; Mahmud of Ghazna; Oman; Seljuks; Shi'ism; Turks

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BYZANTINE EMPIRE

Byzantium was that part of the Roman Empire that retained its independence after the first ultradynamic phase of Islamic expansion (634–652 CE). Its principal components were (1) the islands of the Aegean, (2) the fertile coastal plains that fringe Asia Minor, (3) the mountain ranges that back onto those plains and the rolling plateau that they encircle, (4) those parts of the southern Balkans (Thrace, a coastal strip running west to Thessalonike, eastern Greece), which had not been colonized by Slavs in the late sixth and early seventh centuries, (5) a cluster of substantial territories in the central Mediterranean (central and southern Italy, Sicily, Carthage and its large hinterland), and (6) far to the northeast, enclaves on the Black Sea (the Crimea and Lazica). The capital, the ancient Greek colony of Byzantium (renamed Constantinople), had been developed into one of the three great cities of the East Mediterranean by Constantine the Great (324–337 CE) and his immediate successors. It was endowed with impressive public buildings, grand processional ways, and a spectacular domed cathedral. This late-antique armature provided visible proof to Byzantines, as well as to outsiders, that theirs was indeed a latter-day Roman Empire. Much changed in the Middle Ages, but the importance of Byzantium's Roman heritage should not be underestimated. The people were Romans, ruled by an uninterrupted sequence of emperors from successive dynasties. The Senate continued to exist in its Late Antique guise of a court at the apex of an aristocracy of service. The modification of inherited institutions was a gradual, long, drawn-out process. Law, language, and coinage remained Roman. Most important of all was continuity in the spheres of secular culture, religion, and ideology. Byzantium retained imperial status, in its own eyes as well as those of others. Its identity was defined ultimately by Greco-Roman culture and Christian faith, deepened by the harrowing experiences through which the people at large and the governing elites lived.

Struggle for Survival (Seventh to Ninth Centuries CE)

Initially, Byzantium's history was shaped by the threat from Islam. Constantinople itself came under attack in 654, for several years in the 670s, and again in 717–718. Territory was lost—Cilicia in the southeast in the 690s, North Africa in 698, and Sicily gradually from 827. Asia Minor suffered severe damage from repeated invasions. It was only in interludes of civil war within the Caliphate that the Byzantine army could be reorganized properly for defense and the administrative system adapted to ensure efficient, effective support for the war effort. The cumulative effect of a multitude of ad hoc responses and more methodical reforms was to transform state and society by the end of the eighth century.

First, the imperial center tightened its grip over the localities. The tax system inherited from antiquity was used to suck up an unprecedentedly high percentage of surplus resources. Second, the empire was militarized. Army commands and their subdivisions replaced provinces and cities as the units of regional and local government in Asia Minor. The burden of supporting the troops was distributed over the countryside. The peasantry enlisted in large numbers. The army adopted guerrilla tactics, relying on urban fortifications (usually much reduced in size) and strategically placed castles to secure the civilian population and their moveable wealth. Third, a quiet social revolution occurred. The urban-based land-owning aristocracy did not survive the era of extensive war damage and urban decline. The peasant and the peasant village gained unprecedented recognition as the basis of society and the state.

The reforms were mainly the work of Constans II (641–668), grandson and successor of Heraclius (610–641) and the first two Isaurian emperors, Leo III (717–741) and Constantine V (741–775). What emerged was a state with a high military gearing and a resilient social and ideological base, able to project power far beyond its borders by a variety of means (naval, military, diplomatic, and propaganda). After defense in the East, the highest priority was reassertion of authority in the Balkans. When Islam turned in on itself, offensives were launched against the hybrid nomad–sedentary state established in the 670s by Bulgars south of the Danube by Constantine IV in 681, by Constantine V, who sustained the pressure from 759 to 775, and (disastrously) by Nicephorus I

in 811. Transalpine Europe and Italy tended to slip beyond the horizon of vision, unless there was an acute threat, and action was usually limited to the diplomatic sphere (as when the Franks occupied Venice in 812).

Foreign policy was reactive until the 860s, when the initiative in the Near East passed to Byzantium. The same was true in the domestic sphere. The catalyst for the drive to decontaminate Christianity of icon veneration, formally initiated by Leo III in 730, was undoubtedly the explosive eruption of Thera in the Aegean core of the empire. There could have been no plainer sign of divine displeasure at the flouting of the Second Commandment, at this accretion to the faith, which was conspicuous for its absence in Islam. Much political and intellectual effort was subsequently expended before the final restoration of icons in 843. Similarly, a renewed interest in classical Greek literature, mathematics, science, and philosophy in the reign of Theophilus (829–842) was triggered by the ʻAbbasid-sponsored program of translation and commentary.

Political Acme (Tenth to Eleventh Centuries CE) and Subsequent Decline

With the accession of Basil I (867–886), founder of the Macedonian dynasty, Byzantium entered its heyday. A cautious, carefully targeted aggressive policy was adopted against Islam, which resulted, by 976, in annexation of a broad swath of land in the southeast and western Armenia. By the time of Basil II's death in 1025, Bulgaria was conquered, the whole Balkans reintegrated into the empire, and Byzantine prestige raised to new heights in the West. In the East, Christian Armenian princes were yielding to blandishment and ceding sovereignty to the emperor. By the middle of the eleventh century, Byzantium achieved something close to hegemony in the East Mediterranean. At home, emperors from Romanos I Lekapenos (920–944) to Basil II (976–1025) asserted their authority over the aristocracy (now solidifying its wealth and status by investing in land) in a series of legal enactments, charged with emotive appeals to Christian moral standards. Their prime concern was to conserve the old social order and its peasant base. Modifications were introduced into provincial administration (notably allocation of executive authority to judges). Minor adjustments were made in the central apparatus. The army was concentrated behind the frontiers, but the main structures put in place in the age of crisis were retained.

It is open to debate whether or not the agrarian legislation of the tenth century succeeded in stemming the long-term growth of aristocratic power and the concomitant subordination of peasants to lay, clerical, and monastic landowners. It is known, however, that there was steady demographic growth to the eve of the Black Death, increasing commercial activity, and a reemergence of urban notables as a significant political force. More is learned about the church and monasticism in the last centuries, but their essential characteristics were unchanged: (1) an otherworldliness, long manifest in church decoration (which transformed the interior into a microcosm of heaven) and in the striving for seclusion of monks, nuns, and holy men and women; (2) a faith made live by regular reenactment of the salvation story; and (3) an episcopate of greater intellectual than political weight. Art and learning flourished more than hitherto. From the middle of the eleventh century Byzantium declined swiftly as a political power. The causes of a first collapse were primarily external: the swift westward advance of the Turks, which spilled over into Asia Minor from 1058, depredations by Norman adventurers in southern Italy and the Balkans, and the growing commercial ambitions and naval power of the Italian city-states, including Byzantium's longstanding client, Venice. Among them, these three forces drove Byzantium to the brink of destruction by 1081. All the resources of Byzantine statecraft, eventually harnessed to the cause of the Crusade, were required for the reconstitution of an empire, now centered on the Balkans, by Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118).

The triggers for a second collapse, culminating in the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade (1204), were defeat at the hands of the Turks in 1176, the massacre of Latins at Constantinople in 1182, and successful rebellions by Serbs and Bulgarians in the Balkans from the mid-1180s. The final phase of revival, initiated by the Lascarid rulers of a rump state in northwest Asia Minor, peaked with the recapture of Constantinople by Michael VIII Palaeologus in 1261. Thereafter, decline resumed, exacerbated by civil war and social conflict. Repeated attempts to secure western help were thwarted by popular opposition to the doctrinal concessions required by the Papacy. The establishment of a secure Ottoman bridgehead across the Dardanelles in 1354 marked the beginning of the end. It was only deferred by the crushing Mongol victory over the Ottomans at Ankara in 1402. Constantinople, by then a small island in an Ottoman sea, was finally captured, after heroic resistance by an outnumbered garrison, on May 29, 1453.

James Howard-Johnston

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C

CAIRO

Cairo is the best documented and best preserved of the medieval Islamic capitals and, for most of this period, its largest city.

Originally, Cairo (Ar. *Al-Qahira*) referred only to a small part of the Egyptian capital, although it later developed into a term for the whole medieval city. In 641 CE, soon after the conquest of Egypt, the Arabs established a new garrison city known as al-Fustat next to the old Roman city of Babylon at the southern tip of the Nile Delta. The new settlement resembled other early Islamic cities, such as Basra and Kufa, with a congregational mosque and Dar al-'Imara at its center. In 750, the 'Abbasids built a new administrative center to the north called al-'Askar ("the soldier") in reference to the troops stationed there. More than one hundred years later, in 870, the semi-independent Tulunids established another city on higher ground to the northeast, which was called al-Qata'i' ("the wards"). The last of the four cities that comprised medieval Cairo was established one hundred years later by the Fatimids to mark the completion of their conquest of North Africa. The city, which was completed in 971, was originally named al-Mansuriyya by the caliph al-Mu'izz after his father al-Mansur, though it was later changed to al-Qahira ("the victorious") both as a signal that the Fatimids had achieved their objective and because the planet Mars *(al-Qahir)* was in the ascendant when work started on the construction of the city.

The first three early Islamic cities were located on the west bank of the Nile and merged into each other to form a single city. However, al-Qahira (Cairo) was farther to the northeast and for some time remained separate from the other cities, which were known by the collective name of al-Fustat. Under the early Fatimids, al-Qahira remained a palatial city closed to the general public, housing the caliph, royal officials, and the administration. Both al-Qahira and Fustat each had their own port on the Nile and functioned as separate cities. In the twelfth century, this situation changed when Fustat entered into a period of decline caused by famines, earthquakes, and other natural and manmade disasters. One of the most significant factors was that the Nile was gradually moving westward, leaving the port facilities of Fustat high and dry. The decisive change came when the Fatimid vizier Badr al-Jamali allowed the transfer of some markets from Fustat and also permitted inhabitants of Fustat to build houses within al-Qahira. In order to accommodate the increasing population, the walls of the Fatimid were expanded, first by Badr al-Jamali between 1087 and 1091 and later (1176–1193) by Salah al-Din. From this point on, al-Qahira became the main focus of activity and the heart of the later medieval metropolis.

The transfer of power to the Ayyubids consolidated these changes, although it is notable that Salah al-Din attempted to enclose both Fustat and al-Qahira within one massive defensive wall, with the citadel occupying the area in between. Under the Mamluks, al-Qahira continued to develop outside the old walls mainly in the area to the south of the old city and to the west of the Ayyubid citadel. There was also

some expansion to the north of the city chiefly around the Mosque of Baybars (1266–1269), which was built on the site of the former royal polo ground. After the Ottoman conquest in the sixteenth century the direction of expansion was toward the west, following the westward deflection of the Nile. The nucleus of the Ottoman expansion was the mosque of Sinan Pasha built in 1571.

The early expansion of Cairo (including Fustat) was characterized by the construction of congregational mosques, which became nuclei for settlement. The principal monuments of Fatimid Cairo are the mosques of al-Azhar and al-Hakim. Soon after its construction in 970–972, the al-Azhar mosque became a teaching institution propagating the Fatimid *da'wa* (propaganda). The increasing educational importance of al-Azhar may have been the impetus for the construction of al-Hakim's mosque in 990–991 (completed under al-Hakim by 1012). Under the Ayyubids a new factor was introduced in the form of small religious foundations such as madrasas and zawiyas, which formed the focal points of smaller local communities. This process continued under the Mamluks and, with the exception of the Mosque of Baybars, all of the Mamluk mosques appear to have formed part of a religious complex, which may have included a tomb, madrasas, or khanqah. Under the Ottomans the situation was reversed and mosques once again became the principal type of religious architecture.

ANDREW PETERSEN

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CALIPHATE AND IMAMATE

The caliphate is arguably the most central issue associated with the Muslim polity and its administration. In the political realm, *khilafa* (anglicized as "caliphate") refers to the "succession" of an individual as leader of the polity after the Prophet Muhammad's death in AD 11/632 CE. The etymologically related word *khalifa* (pl. *khulafa'*; anglicized as "caliph") occurs in the Qur'an in which its context is understood mainly as referring to humans as God's "vicegerent" or "representative" on Earth (2:30; 38:26). *Khalifa* in Qur'anic usage does not evidence explicit political meaning. Early Qur'an exegetes through the second/eighth century, in fact, understood the term to refer broadly to the basic function of humans as custodians and cultivators of the earth. Later exegetes increasingly came to understand this term in highly political terms, reflecting the historical and theological developments of the formative period.

The Rightly Guided Caliphate

Sunni sources almost unanimously inform us that when Abu Bakr was selected as the leader of the polity after the Prophet's death in Medina, after what appears to have been a contentious debate, the title applied to him was *Khalifat Rasul Allah*, meaning "the Successor of the Messenger of God." Abu Bakr is said to have recoiled from adopting another suggested title, *Khalifat Allah*, meaning "God's deputy" or "vicegerent," because he regarded himself as someone merely following in the footsteps of Muhammad, not as someone entrusted with political and religious authority by God himself, as this title would imply. The latter title, however, was adopted by both the Umayyad and 'Abbasid caliphs to signal an enhanced status for themselves.

Abu Bakr ruled for a mere two years (632–634), but within this period he subdued those tribes in Arabia that rose in revolt against the Medinan government and refused to pay *zakat*, the obligatory alms tax. The wars that were waged against these fractious tribes are known as the *ridda* wars, the so-called wars of apostasy, which decisively aborted this uprising and restored unity to the polity, at least for a while. Before he died in 13/634, Abu Bakr took the precaution of naming Umar as his successor, so as to prevent the kind of confusion and heated debate that had arisen during the process of his selection as the first caliph. The choice of 'Umar as the second caliph seems to have won general ratification, except in the case of the faction who consistently advocated 'Ali's candidacy. This faction was consequently dubbed *Shi'at 'Ali* ("the partisans of 'Ali"), *Shi'is* for short. Shi'i conceptions of the caliphate–imamate are presented separately in the following paragraphs.

'Umar's ten-year rule was decisive and critical for the still-nascent Muslim community. Among the titles applied to 'Umar were *Khalifat Abi Bakr* ("the Successor of Abu Bakr") and *Khalifat khalifat Rasul Allah* ("the successor of the Successor of the Messenger of God"). The clumsiness of the second title would partially explain why 'Umar preferred the title *Amir al-Mu'minin* ("Commander of the Faithful"). According to the sources, 'Umar was an energetic, even abrasive ruler, gifted interpreter, stern enforcer of the law, and shrewd political administrator. He instituted the

famous *diwan*, the register of pensions, which awarded stipends to Muslims on the basis of their priority in conversion and extent of service to Islam, and established garrison towns in the newly conquered realms. Under his reign, the Islamic realm expanded to include Syria–Palestine, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Persia, a project already underway under his predecessor. ‘Umar’s shaping of certain Islamic practices at this early stage is regarded as critical by later historians, for which he is praised by Sunnis but denounced by the Shi‘is.

‘Umar’s reign was followed by ‘Uthman ibn ‘Affan, elected by the six-man electoral council called the *shura*, which was appointed by the former as he lay on his deathbed, mortally wounded by a Persian assailant. ‘Uthman’s reign, which was the longest (644–656), was marred by continuous strife and factionalism. His perceived nepotism—many of his relatives and fellow clan members from the Banu Umayya had been appointed to high offices—caused widespread disgruntlement, particularly in the garrisons of Kufa, Basra, and Egypt. In 656, as ‘Uthman sat in the mosque at Medina reading the Qur’an, a cabal of some of these garrison dwellers attacked and killed him.

‘Ali ibn Abi Talib, the Prophet’s cousin and son-in-law, next assumed the caliphate to lead a highly fractious polity. ‘A’isha, the Prophet’s widow, instigated what became known as the Battle of the Camel when ‘Ali refused to accede to her demands to avenge the death of ‘Uthman and punish his assailants. ‘A’isha and her cohorts were roundly defeated, but civil war *(fitna)* soon broke out between ‘Ali and Mu‘awiya, a kinsman of ‘Uthman’s who similarly wanted the third caliph’s assassins punished. The two sides met at the Battle of Siffin in 657, which came to a halt when Mu‘awiya sued for arbitration, to which ‘Ali agreed. This angered a number of ‘Ali’s troops, who seceded from his army and became known as the Khawarij (“the seceders”). Negotiations with Mu‘awiya dragged on indecisively until ‘Ali was murdered by a Khariji assassin, bringing what became known as “the Age of the Rightly Guided Caliphs” to a close. Mu‘awiya, who was the governor of Syria, declared himself caliph and initiated dynastic rule in the Islamic world.

The Umayyads, the ‘Abbasids, and the Later Caliphate

The Umayyads ruled between 661 and 750 with their capital in Damascus, Syria. Although later ‘Abbasid sources regularly vilify them as godless usurpers of power, some Umayyad rulers took an interest in matters of religious law and ritual. ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Aziz (r. 717–720) is distinguished from practically all other Umayyad rulers by later historians for his exceptional piety and religious scholarship, a standing indicated by the fact that he is frequently referred to as the fifth Rightly Guided Caliph. In the late first/seventh century, ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan made Arabic the official language of the empire, instituted a sophisticated postal system, and commissioned the building of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. Increasing unrest and dissension marked the latter part of Umayyad rule. The Shi‘is and the Khawarij had sporadically kept up their rebellion against the government. Unfair taxation practices against the *mawali*, Muslim converts from non-Arab backgrounds, and other instances of preferential treatment for Arabs over non-Arabs were among the significant factors that fomented widespread resentment and hostility toward the Umayyads. This culminated in the outbreak of the ‘Abbasid revolution of 749 and the Umayyad assumption of the caliphate in 750. An Umayyad scion escaped to Spain and established the Andalusian Umayyad dynasty in Cordoba.

The ‘Abbasids

In 762, the second ‘Abbasid caliph, al-Mansur, founded Baghdad, which soon became the capital of the new dynasty, inaugurating a new era (Ar. *dawla*). The ‘Abbasid period (750–1258) has been described as the golden age of Islamic civilization, and with good justification. The efflorescence of learning, culture, the arts, architecture, and the natural sciences is associated with this period, triggered to a great extent by the great translation activity of the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries, which made a considerable part of the scholarship of antiquity available to Muslims. Major schools of Sunni and Shi‘i law were established during the first two centuries of ‘Abbasid rule, and the authoritative Sunni *hadith* compilations were made. Persian notions of political administration gained much influence, reflected in a more hierarchical division of society, in the creation of the chancelleries and their largely Persian coterie of secretaries, and in the conception of the ‘Abbasid caliph as “God’s shadow on Earth.” The Mongol sacking of Baghdad in 1258 effectively put an end to the active ‘Abbasid caliphate, with the murder of the caliph, al-Musta‘sim. The Mamluks, who defeated the Mongols at ‘Ayn Jalut in 1260 and also put an end to the Fatimid dynasty (r. 969–1171), installed a series of nominal ‘Abbasid caliphs in whose name the actual holder of power, called the *sultan*, ruled. This state of affairs would

last until the advent of the Ottomans in 1517, who eventually assumed the caliphate themselves.

The Caliphate in Classical Sunni Political Thought

The classical conception of the Sunni caliphate is formulated by the Shafiʻi jurist al-Mawardi (d. 1058) in his famous work *al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyya ("The Governmental Ordinances")*. According to him, the caliph discharges ten functions, which include enforcement of the Shariʻa, defense and expansion of the boundaries of Islam, proper administration of the government, and disbursement of revenues. Al-Mawardi maintained that the title *Khalifat Allah* was illegal and impious. He also upheld the general Ashʻari position that the caliphate–imamate was obligatory by revelation and not by reason, as the Muʻtazila had maintained. There cannot be two Imams at one and the same time, he affirmed, and a duly elected Imam could not be displaced by a worthier candidate, as maintained by the Muʻtazila. Election was mandatory, however, even if there was only a single qualified candidate.

The Imamate in Classical Shiʻi Political Thought

Both Sunni and Shiʻi sources report that a small group of people, later termed the *Shiʻat ʻAli*, were vocal in their opposition to the election of Abu Bakr as the first caliph–imam. Although it is generally assumed that they based their opposition on the belief that a blood member of the Prophet's family should assume the caliphate, the early sources also suggest that their position was based on their conviction that ʻAli was more morally excellent *(afdal)* than Abu Bakr and therefore more qualified for the office. Classic Shiʻi views, however, emphasize the legitimist position and restrict the office to the direct descendants of ʻAli and Fatima. In Imami Shiʻism, the largest Shiʻi denomination, there are twelve such infallible Imams, the twelfth Imam having gone into Occultation (Ar. *al-ghayba*) in 874 and being expected to return at the end of time. In the absence of the rightful Imam, the duty of holding Friday congregational prayers and the waging of *jihad*, for example, remain in abeyance. The Imamiyya reject the first three caliphs and hold a poor opinion of most of the Companions, since they are assumed to have wrongfully usurped ʻAli's exclusive right to the caliphate–imamate after the Prophet's death.

The next major Shiʻi faction, the Ismaʻiliyya, believe in seven Imams; hence, they are called the Seveners. The Ismaʻiliyya developed further subfactions over time, such as the Nizaris and the Mustaʻlis; the former has living Imams. The Zaydis believe in five Imams and are regarded as the closest in their political thought to the Sunnis, since they, unlike the Imamiyya and the Ismaʻiliyya, accept the first three caliphs as legitimate, even though they were less excellent than ʻAli.

Asma Afsaruddin

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CALLIGRAPHY

The art of writing Arabic in an aesthetically pleasing manner appears to have been cultivated from the earliest years of Islam. As the Arabic script came to be adopted for such other (and unrelated) languages as Persian, Turkish, and Urdu, it remained a constant feature of Islamic civilization. Beautiful writing is considered to be the pre-eminent form of visual art throughout the Islamic lands.

The earliest Arabic inscriptions were written in a South Arabian script, but by the fourth century CE, Arabic speakers had adopted a variant of the Aramaic alphabet used by the Nabateans. Within two centuries the essential features of the modern Arabic script had been developed, so that Arabic script has remained remarkably consistent over the fourteen centuries since the revelation of Islam. Like Hebrew and Syriac, Arabic is a Semitic language. Like them, but unlike Greek and Latin, it is always written from right to left. The Arabic script, like that used for most Semitic languages, is based on an *abjad,* or consonantary, rather than a true alphabet, for it uses one symbol per consonantal phoneme, or distinctive sound. Nabatean Aramaic had only eighteen letterforms, but because Arabic had twenty-eight phonemes, most of the Aramaic letters were pressed to represent more than one Arabic consonant. By the seventh century, diacritical marks had been added



Making lead. Manuscript from Baghdad, Iraq. ‘Abbasid caliphate, 1222. Gouache on paper. Credit: Bridgeman-Giraudon/Art Resource, NY. Louvre, Paris, France.

over or under some letters to distinguish them from those with a similar shape, such as *ba’, ta’, tha’* or *ha’, jim,* and *kha’*. Like other abjads, Arabic lacks symbols for vowels: The morphemic structure of the language usually allows the reader to supply them from the context. Eventually, however, Arabic, like other

Semitic abjads, came to use 'helping' consonants to represent the long vowels, and ultimately other signs were developed to represent short vowels, doubled consonants, and pauses in fully vocalized texts.

Many of the world's writing systems have developed two or more forms of writing, including a "monumental" form in which the letters are written separately for legibility and a "cursive" form in which they are connected together for speed in writing. Although Arabic eventually developed many different *styles* of script, it has only one form of writing: in all styles some of the letters may sometimes connect to neighboring ones. Consequently, individual letters may change shape depending on their position in a word: The same letter can have one form when it stands alone, another at the beginning of a word, another in the middle of a word, and yet another at the end of a word. All of these features made Arabic relatively difficult to read and indicate that only readers who already had a good idea of what a given text would say were expected to be able to read it; therefore, writing was not normally intended to convey new information to the uninitiated.

The preferred tool for writing Arabic has always been a reed pen, and ink was prepared from carbon black or gallnuts, depending on the intended support. Parchment (and to a lesser degree papyrus) eventually gave way to paper, which was introduced after the conquest of Central Asia in the eighth century and quickly became popular throughout the Muslim world. Although connoisseurs always appreciated the subtle beauty of the script alone, fine writing was often embellished with decorative designs worked in color and gold, particularly in the later periods.

The earliest surviving examples of Arabic calligraphy are written in an angular script commonly but incorrectly known as "kufic" after the city of Kufa in Iraq. Although manuscripts of the Qur'an were surely produced by the latter part of the seventh century, no examples have been dated convincingly before the ninth. Most early manuscripts of the Qur'an are written on horizontal-format ("landscape") parchment sheets with an odd number of lines per page. Letterforms are based on relatively simple but harmoniously proportioned geometrical shapes that can often be elongated. Some texts have diacritical marks to distinguish one letter from another having a similar shape, and colored dots or marks are sometimes used to indicate vowels. The individual letters, as well as groups of connected letters forming word fragments or entire words, are always separated by spaces of equal width. This uniform spacing makes it difficult for a reader to tell where one word ends and another begins and reveals how these texts must have been "read" by people who already knew what they had to say.

New, more "cursive" scripts began to appear in secular manuscripts copied on paper in the ninth century. Commonly, but quite confusingly, known by such names as "Qarmatian [or Karmathian] Kufic," "broken Kufic," "eastern Kufic," "Kufic-naskhi," "New Style," "*warraq* [stationer's] script," or "broken cursive," these scripts were usually written in carbon black ink on paper. They have an accentuated angular character and a deliberate contrast between thick and thin strokes; in some examples the script is quite vertical and elongated. Spaces between words are always wider than the spaces between the nonconnecting letters of a word, and diacritical marks distinguish the different letters sharing the same shape. Most scholars have seen these new scripts as logical outgrowths of earlier "Kufic" scripts used for copying the Qur'an. However, as these scripts first appear in secular contexts, it seems much more likely that they were developed by professional secretaries and copyists who regularized the cursive handwriting they had previously used for transcribing paper documents into a new and more legible script appropriate for copying books.

In the tenth century, calligraphers, particularly in Iran, began to use these new scripts to copy the Qur'an, and at the same time they began to replace parchment with paper as a support for copying the holy text. Although these secretarial hands continued to be used for several centuries in special situations, their success paved the way for the development of rounded styles of Arabic handwriting in the tenth century. Normally known as *naskh*, this group of related scripts remains common to the present day, being the type of script most familiar and legible to ordinary readers. In the Maghrib, or western Islamic lands, however, the secretarial hands were transformed into a distinctive script often known as *maghribi*; it is characterized by an evenness and flatness of line and looped descenders.

As with the broken cursive script, the origins of the rounded hands popular in the eastern and central Islamic lands are obscure, but tradition reports that the 'Abbasid secretary (and later vizier) Ibn Muqla (885–940) introduced a new method of writing known as "proportioned script" *(al-khatt al-mansub)*. Although no genuine examples of his writing are known to survive, Ibn Muqla is known to have developed a system for calculating the size of letters based on the rhombic dot formed when the nib of a reed pen is applied to the surface of the paper. Ibn Muqla calculated the height of an *alif*, the first letter of the Arabic alphabet, in terms of these dots and then calculated the size of all other letters in relation to the *alif*. Ibn Muqla's skill in writing passed on to the next generation in the person of 'Ali ibn Hilal, known

as Ibn al-Bawwab (d. 1030), who began his career as a house painter but soon turned to calligraphy, where he added elegance to the system developed by his predecessor.

Calligraphers in thirteenth-century Iraq and Iran eventually codified the various hands used during the lifetime of Ibn Muqla into six round hands, comprising three pairs of large and small scripts *(thuluth–naskh, muhaqqaq–rayhan, and tawqi'–riqa')*, which were known collectively as the "Six Pens." The most famous master was the calligrapher Yaqut al-Musta'simi (1242–1298), who served the last 'Abbasid caliph al-Musta'sim (r. 1242–1258) as secretary. These six scripts, disseminated through his many pupils and disciples, have remained the core of the calligrapher's art until the present day, although Iranian calligraphers beginning in the fourteenth century developed an even more fluid script known as *nastaliq*, or "hanging naskh," which became the principal hand for copying secular manuscripts in Persian.

JONATHAN M. BLOOM

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CAMELS

Belonging to the *Camelidae* family of even-toed mammals, camels are generally classified into two species: *Camelus bactrianus*, the Bactrian or two-humped camel; and *Camelus dromedarius*, the Dromedary or one-humped (also known as the Arabian camel). The Dromedary occupies the warmer regions of the Middle East and Northern and West Africa. The habitat of the Bactrian camel is in the colder regions of East-Central Asia and China. The hybrid camel, a crossbreed between these two species, has been known to exist in Anatolia, Turkey, northern Iran, and Afghanistan.

The humps of the camel are repositories of fat, which the animal uses as a source of food at times of scarcity, thus allowing it to survive for long periods without sustenance. Contrary to common belief, camels do not store water but, rather, efficiently conserve water by distributing it throughout their bodies within forty-eight hours of consuming it. Camels are also able to take in heat, allowing their blood temperature to rise without causing them to perspire and dehydrate.

Besides its two humps, the main physical feature of the Bactrian camel is its shaggy coat, which enables the animal to withstand the cold temperature of southern Russia, east-central Asia, and western China. The Dromedary single-humped camel, however is short-haired, allowing it to conserve body moisture in a variety of ways, and hence to easily adapt to regions with high temperatures.

Most likely, original camel domestication occurred in southern Arabia, with its remote valleys and dry climate, between 3000 and 2500 BCE. In the first stage of domestication, Dromedary camels served as a source of meat, milk, and hair; later they were used as mounts and a means of transport—though not for hauling. The first domestication process appears to not only have been connected with trade, but also with sacrificial religious purposes in regard to the animal's association with both benevolent and demonic spirits that were believed to inhabit the desert.

The supernatural quality of the camel in the pre-Islamic era has continued into the present day, as the animal continues to be used as a sacrificial beast during major religious processions, such as the Feast of Sacrifice *('id-i qurban)* on the tenth of *Zu'l-Hajja*, across the Islamic world. The sacrifice ritual of the camel is an occasion for Muslims to celebrate the day when Abraham was ordered by God to offer his son, Isma'il, for slaughter instead of an animal, recalling the dramatic trial that the prophet experienced as a sign of faith in God.

In the course of their spread throughout Asia, single-humped camels began to gradually supplant the Bactrian species, with the former becoming widely used in Persia, southern Afghanistan, and the Indus valley. Although bred throughout northern Iran to East-Central Asia in the first centuries of the Islamic period, Bactrian camels were primarily kept to produce hybrids. The hybrid camels then began to emerge as an ideal breed because of their body size, strength, and longevity. The hybrid camel, a stronger pack animal than either of the other two species, played a central role in the transportation of goods in the caravan trade that developed after the opening of the Silk Road, which linked Central Asia and Mesopotamia under Parthian rule (247–228 BCE).

The evolution of the camel in its two species and hybrid types is inextricably tied to the history of transportation. As Richard W. Bulliet has described it, since pack camels were cheap and efficient transporters over long distances, they progressively replaced wagons and wheeled transports. Accordingly, the proliferation of the caravan trade across Asia led to the spread in the breeding of camels and, in turn, reinforced the decline of wheeled vehicles and the disappearance of wagon roads.

The advent of Islam in the seventh century led to the greatest distribution of the camel, as the expansion of the new faith allowed the Arabs to reinforce the status of the animal as a source of labor and a means of caravan transportation across Asia, in particular, eastward in northeastern Iran and westward along the Mediterranean shores of North Africa. The camel's impact on transportation reached its height in the medieval Islamic world, during which time no evidence of the use of wheeled vehicles from Morocco to Afghanistan can be found. However, with the rise of the European-dominated maritime trade after 1600 CE, the camel caravan began its initial stages of decline, a process that eventually led to the disappearance of the camel as a central means of transportation.

BABAK RAHIMI

See also Animal Husbandry; Festivals and Celebrations; Nomadism and Pastoralism; Processions, Religious; Road Networks; Silk Road; Trade, African; Trade, Mediterranean

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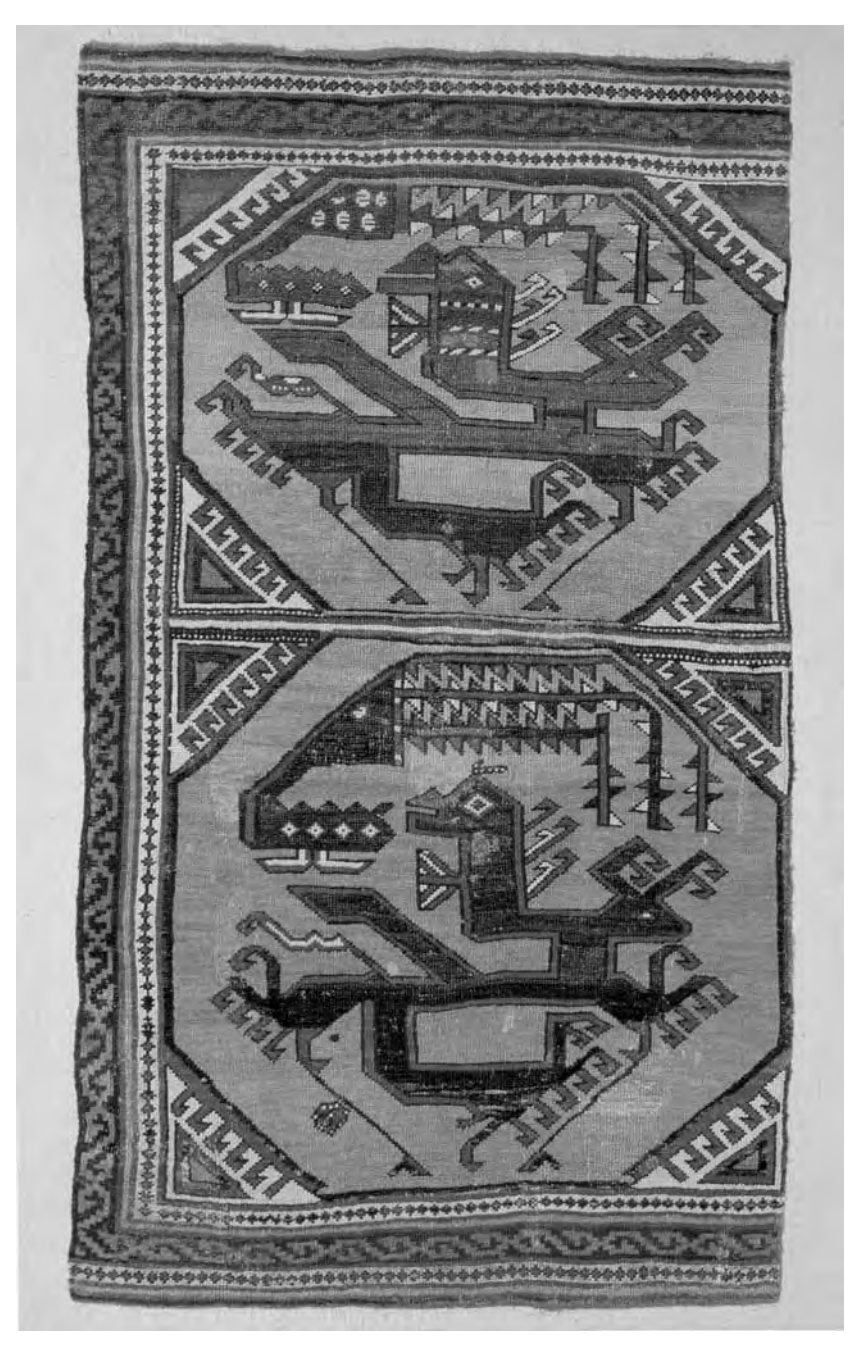
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CARPETS

The manufacture of heavy textiles of felted or woven wool to serve as floor coverings, cushion facings, room dividers, and other furnishings is a very old and important technique throughout the region stretching from the Atlantic coasts of Spain and Morocco across North Africa to West and Central Asia. The relative warmth and aridity of the climate throughout most of the region encouraged people to live and work on or close to the ground, without the wooden furniture used in colder and damper regions, and the tribal or nomadic way of life followed by many inhabitants of the region was further encouragement of the production and use of heavy woolen textiles for furnishing. Indeed, the region is sometimes referred to as the "Rug Belt." The introduction of Islam encouraged the use of carpets, for Muslims are required to prostrate themselves in worship five times a day, an act customarily accomplished privately on a small carpet or mat or collectively in a mosque on large carpets often bearing geometric designs that allow worshippers to arrange themselves in lines facing Mecca.

Apart from felted rugs, in which the fibers are simply matted together through pressure and moisture, carpets are either flat-woven (a technique usually known as *kilim* or *gelim*) or given a pile surface by knotting short lengths of yarn around one or more warp threads. Sheep's wool is the most common fiber, but extremely fine carpets are knotted from such fibers as goat hair and silk on wool, silk, or cotton warps. From the earliest times, different colors of fiber were used to create beautiful and intricate patterns that have made these carpets universally admired.

As most carpets were literally worn into the ground, it is difficult to reconstruct the history of the medium. The oldest known knotted example, discovered in a frozen burial mound at Pazyryk in southern Siberia, is conventionally dated to the fifth century BCE. The carpet, which measures 1.8 × 2.0 m (6 × 7 ft), is knotted of wool; it has a central field of stylized flowers surrounded by several borders with animal friezes, a type of design that would continue to be popular over the millennia. The high technical quality of this carpet, which has more than 1.2 million knots, indicates that it must have been the product of a long tradition of carpet weaving, although the actual place of production is unknown. Apart from scattered references to carpets in medieval Arabic texts and a few fragmentary finds, the oldest significant group of knotted carpets to survive comes from thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Anatolia and Iran. Nearly twenty large carpets with geometric designs were discovered in the early twentieth century on the floor



Carpet showing the fight between the dragon and a phoenix. Ca. 1400. Turkey. Wook, 172 × 90 cm. Inv. I. 4. Photo: Georg Niedermeiser. Credit: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY. Museum fuer Islamische Kunnst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, Germany.

in the mosques of Konya and Beysehir; a much smaller number of small carpets bearing designs of stylized animals, mostly discovered in Europe, have been attributed to Iran. The generous size of the Anatolian carpets suggests they were made commercially but not exported; the European provenance of the animal carpets, as well as their appearance in European paintings, indicates they were precious goods exported to Europe by merchants such as Marco Polo.

Increased numbers of carpets survive from the period after 1450, not only because more were produced but also because many of them were exported to Europe, where they were either preserved intact in churches and royal treasuries or portrayed in contemporary representations by such painters as Bellini, Crivelli, and Holbein, who have given several types of Anatolian carpets their conventional modern names. Court carpet workshops were established under the patronage of the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal

dynasties to supply the needs of the courts and to produce carpets for export. At the same time, particularly in factory production, the traditional process of designing carpets by combining units retrieved from the weavers' memories began to be replaced by a new process in which a designer, often the employee of the court or of a merchant, prepared designs on paper for the artisans to execute in wool. By the mid-nineteenth century, a huge demand for "Oriental" carpets had developed in Europe, popularized by international exhibitions and the arts and crafts movement. While Anatolian production remained largely village based, in Iran, local entrepreneurs were increasingly supplanted by Europeans, who organized production in factories and cottages, supplying not only the designs but also the European yarns to produce carpets in standard sizes for the export market.

Jonathan M. Bloom

See also Textiles

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CARTOGRAPHY

Contrary to the impression that one receives from scholarship on the history of cartography, the richest, largest, and among the earliest extant collections of maps hails from the medieval Muslim world, *neither* from ancient Greece nor medieval Europe. It is generally held that Ptolemy and the Greeks were the earliest constructors of cartographic images. However, the earliest surviving "Ptolemaic" manuscript incorporating maps dates back *only* to the thirteenth century. This glaring discrepancy in the extant record has been the subject of heated debates in the history of cartography circles, yet the master narrative remains unaltered.

At a time when Europe was producing rudimentary T-O maps of the world, the geographical scholars of the Muslim world, drawing upon knowledge acquired during conquests and extensive travel and trade, naturally influenced by the ancient Greek, Babylonian, Egyptian, Sasanian, Indian, Chinese, and Turkish learning traditions, among others, were producing detailed images of the world and various regions in the Islamic world. There exist thousands of traditional Islamic cartographic images scattered throughout the medieval and early modern Arabic, Persian, and Turkish manuscript collections worldwide. Yet, until recently, most of these maps have lain virtually untouched and have often been deliberately ignored on the grounds that they are not "mimetically" accurate representations of the world. What many failed to see is that these schematic, geometric, and often perfectly symmetrical images of the world are iconographic representations of the way in which the medieval Muslims perceived their world. Granted, these are stylized *amimetic* visions restricted to the literati—the readers, collectors, commissioners, writers, and copyists of the geographical texts within which these maps are found. Yet the plethora of extant copies produced all over the Islamic world, including India, testifies to the enduring and widespread popularity of these medieval Islamic cartographic visions for not less than eight centuries.

Fons Et Origo

What is the source of this rich and widespread medieval Islamic propensity to map? Some scholars believe that the answers lie in the earliest Arabic textual references to maps. For instance, consider the incredible silver globe *(al-Sura[h] al-Ma'muniyya[h])* that the ʿAbbasid caliph al-Ma'mun (r. 813–833) is said to have commissioned from the scientists working in his *Bayt al-hikma (House of Knowledge)*, or the maps of the eastern part of the Muslim empire, specifically of the region of Daylam, as well as the city of Bukhara, that the Umayyad governor, al-Hallaj ibn Yusuf, commissioned toward the end of the first century *hijra* (ca. 702 CE). In *Kitab al-Buldan (Book of Countries)*, Ahmad ibn Abi Yaʿqub al-Yaʿqubi (d. ca. late ninth century) reports that a plan of the round city of Baghdad was drawn up in 758 for the ʿAbbasid caliph al-Mansur (r. 754–775). The Egyptian chronicler al-Maqrizi mentions that a "magnificent" map on "fine blue" silk with "gold lettering" upon which were pictured "parts of the earth with all the cities and mountains, seas and rivers" was prepared for the Fatimid caliph al-Muʿizz (r. 953–975) and entombed with him in his mausoleum in Cairo.

A few scholars assert that versions of the mid-ninth-century al-Ma'munid world map can be found in later works, such as Ibn Fadl Allah al-ʿUmari's (d. 1349) *Masalik al-absar fi mamalik al-amsar (Ways of Perception Concerning the Most Populous/Civilized Provinces)*, or the recently discovered thirteenth-century Fatimid geographical manuscript, *Kitab ghara'ib al-funun wa mulah al-ʿuyun (Book of Curiosities)*.

The problem with the al-Maʿmunid silver globe is that it is probably mythical. Other than an extremely vague passage cited in Abu al-Hasan ʿAli ibn al-Husayn al-Masʿudi's (d. 956) *Kitab al-tanbih wa-l-ishraf (Book of Instruction and Revision),* we have no other descriptions of it. Al-Masʿudi's description

is very confused. It suggests an impossibly complicated celestial map superimposed on a globe—that is, an extremely sophisticated armillary sphere of which we have no extant example until the fourteenth century. David King provides the most likely explanation when he reads al-Mas'udi's description as an astrolabe with world map markings superimposed on it.

In fact, to date, the earliest extant medieval Islamic source containing maps is a ninth-century copy of Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khwarazmi's (d. 847 CE) *Kitab Surat al-Ard (Picture of the Earth)*. Composed primarily of a series of *zij* tables (that is, tables containing longitudinal and latitudinal coordinates), it also includes four maps. Of these, two have been identified: one as a map of the Sea of Azov and the other as a map of the Nile.

Islamic Atlas Series

The four maps of al-Khwarazmi's manuscript copy appear to be related to the earliest cartogeographical atlas tradition, best known by the title of its most prolifically copied version: al-Istakhri's *Kitab al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik (Book of Roads and Kingdoms)*. Most of the maps in this earliest-known atlas-like mapping tradition occur in the context of geographical treatises devoted to an explication of the world, in general, and the lands of the Muslim world, in particular. These map-manuscripts are sometimes called *Surat al-Ard (Picture of the Earth)* or *Suwar al-Aqalim (Pictures of the Climes/Climates)*. They emanate from an early tradition of creating lists of pilgrim and post stages that were compiled for administrative purposes. They read like armchair travelogues of the Muslim world, with one author copying from another.

Beginning with a brief description of the world and theories about it—such as the inhabited versus the uninhabited parts, the reasons why people are darker in the south than in the north, and so on—these geographies methodically discuss details about the Muslim world, its cities, its people, its roads, its topography, and more. Sometimes the descriptions are interspersed with tales of personal adventures, discussions with local inhabitants, debates with sailors as to the exact shape of the earth and the number of seas, and so forth. They have a rigid format that rarely varies: first, the whole world, then the Arabian peninsula, then the Persian Gulf, then the Maghrib (North Africa and Andalusia), Egypt, Syria, the Mediterranean, upper and lower Iraq, and twelve maps devoted to the Iranian provinces, beginning with Khuzistan and ending in Khurasan, including maps of Sind and Transoxiana. The maps, which usually number precisely twenty-one—one world map and twenty regional maps—follow exactly the same format as the text and are thus an integral part of the work.

The earliest extant Islamic cartogeographical map atlas comes from an Ibn Hawqal manuscript housed at the Topkapi Saray Museum Library (Ahmet 3346) firmly dated to AH 479/1086 CE by an accurate colophon. Counterintuitively, this earliest extant manuscript also contains *the most mimetic* maps of all the existing copies. The striking mimesis of the maps in the earliest extant copy stands in stark contrast to the maps of the later copies, which abandon any pretense of mimesis. As the maps of the later copies become more and more stylized, they move further into the realm of *objects d'art* and away from direct empirical inquiry. By the nineteenth century some of these maps became so stylized that, were it not for the earlier examples, they would be unrecognizable as maps.

Popularization of the *Book of Roads and Kingdoms* Mapping Tradition

This form of geographical text became extremely popular in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the original tenth-century geographical texts, along with enhanced and more colorful versions of the maps, were copied prolifically right up until the late seventeenth century. The Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals were all interested in commissioning copies, and many famous scholars, such as the Ilkhanid scholar Nasiruddin Tusi, used versions of these earlier map forms in their work.

The popularization of illustrated geographical manuscripts also influenced the works of late medieval Islamic scholars, such as al-Qazwini (d. 1283) and Ibn al-Wardi (d. 861), authors of '*Aja'ib al-Makhluqat wa ghara'ib al-mawjudat (The Wonders of Creatures and the Marvels of Creation)* and *Kharidat al-'aja'ib wa faridat al-ghara'ib (The Unbored Pearl of Wonders and the Precious Gem of Marvels),* respectively. Judging by the plethora of pocketbook-size copies that still abound in every Oriental manuscript collection, the *Kharidat al-'Aja'ib* must have been a bestseller in the late medieval and early-modern Islamic world. It is therefore significant that copies always incorporated, within the first four or five folios, a classical Islamic world map.

Eventually the classical Islamic world maps also crept into general geographical encyclopedias, such as Shihab al-Din Abu 'Abdallah Yaqut's (d. 1229) thirteenth-century *Kitab Mu 'jam al-Bldan (Dictionary*

of Countries). The earliest prototype of the Yaqut world map is found in a copy of Abu al-Rayhan Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Biruni's (ca. d. after 1250 CE) *Kitab al-tafhim (Book of Instruction)*. World maps were also used to open some of the classic histories. Copies of such well-known works as Ibn Khaldun's (d. 1406) *al-Muqaddimah (The Prologue)* often begin with an al-Idrisi type of world map, whereas copies of the historian Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari's (d. 923) *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa-l-muluk (History of Prophets and Kings)* sometimes include a Ptolemaic "clime-type" map of the world as a frontispiece. Similarly, classical Islamic maps of the world find their way into sixteenth-century Ottoman histories, such as the scroll containing Seyyid Lokman's *Zübdetü't-tevarih (Cream of Histories)* produced in the reign of Suleyman I (1520–1566).

Other Mapping Traditions

There are other more mimetic and better-known Islamic mapping traditions, such as the work of the well-known twelfth-century North African geographical scholar al-Sharif al-Idrisi (d. 1165). The Norman King, Roger II (1097–1154 CE) commissioned al-Idrisi to produce an illustrated geography of the world: *Nuzhat al-Mushtaq fi Ikhtiraq al-Afaq (The Book of Pleasant Journeys into Faraway Lands)*, also known as the *Book of Roger*. Al-Idrisi divided the world according to the Ptolemaic system of seven climes, with each clime broken down into ten sections. The most complete manuscript (Istanbul, Köprülü Kütüphanesi, Ms. 955, 1469 CE) contains one world map and seventy detailed sectional maps.

The sixteenth-century Ottoman naval captain, Muhyiddin Piri Re'is (d. 1554) is another Muslim cartographer who is world famous. Renowned for the earliest extant map of the New World, Piri Re'is and his incredibly accurate early-sixteenth-century map of South America and Antarctica has been the subject of many a controversial study. Piri Re'is also produced detailed sectional maps but—like the Italian *isolarii*—he restricted himself to the coastal areas of the Mediterranean. The second version of his *Kitab-i bahriye (Book of Maritime Matters)* contains 210 unique topocartographic maps of important Mediterranean cities and islands.

This is but a brief summary of the incredible depth and variety of the rich medieval Islamic mapping traditions. Those interested in learning more should consult the "Further Reading" section.

What all these extant maps say is that—at least from the thirteenth century onward, when copies of Islamic map-manuscripts began to proliferate—the world was a very depicted place. It loomed large in the medieval Muslim imagination. It was pondered, discussed, and copied with minor and major variations again and again.

KAREN PINTO

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CENTRAL ASIA, HISTORY (750–1500 CE)

Modern Central Asia comprises the territories that are occupied by Asiatic Russia and the republics of the former Soviet Union: Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uighuristan (Xingjian in China), countries that are predominantly populated by Iranian and Turkic Muslims. In premodern times, Arab and Persian authors used various terms to refer to this continent.

Some 'Abbasid period sources combine it with the province of Khurasan (East, or Land of the Rising Sun) and refer to "the eastern region" *(iqlim al-mashriq)*. However, the great majority of Muslim authors distinguish between Cisoxiana and Transoxiana. They regarded the Oxus River (*Jayhun* in Arabic; *Amuya* or *Amu Darya* in modern Persian) as the border between the Iranian plateau and the vast land that they called (in Arabic) *ma-wara-al-nahr* (the land beyond the Oxus river), namely Sogdiana (*Sughd* in Arabic) in the Hellenistic sources. They divided it into five major zones: Khwarazm (modern Khiva) around the Oxus delta and the shores of the Aral Sea; the upper Oxus region; Sughd along the Zarafshan valley, where the major cities Bukhara and Samarqand are located; Fraghana; and Shash (Tashqent).

The relationships between Eurasia (including Central Asia) and the Fertile Crescent were established

immediately after the emergence of the Islamic caliphate. An important source of goods and manpower, Central Asia attracted the attention of Muslim authors. The bonds that connected the urban hubs in the Central Islamic lands with Eurasia are clearly reflected in the ʻAbbasid-age literature. Several writers report the chronicles of Muslim conquests and chapters on the history of ma wara al-nahar down to the sixteenth century. ʻAbbasid administrative and geographical volumes contain information on locations, population, commerce, and goods. Various accounts, including mythological narratives, linked the landscape and people of Central Asia with those of the Central Islamic lands. Some commentators related the mysterious Gog and Magog with the Turks and other Steppe peoples.

Following the flight of the last Sasanid king (in 651), the Arab forces reached Turkmenistan. A settlement was probably reached early on with Mahoye, the ruler of Marv (Merv), who bore the title *marzaban* (*marzuban*; the warden of the march). However, the actual conquest of the lands beyond the Oxus River started during the governorship of al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf (d. 95/714). This energetic vice-royal dispatched Qutayba b. Muslim to capture the Zarafshan basin (87–90/706–709). Yet the Umayyads' grip was not firm. Turkic forces inflicted a heavy defeat on the Islamic armies (106/724). Under the command of Nasr b. Sayyar (d. 131/748), the tide was reversed. Heading the Muslim fighters, he was able to infiltrate the ethnic mosaic of Central Asia and succeeded in embedding Islam deeply in *ma-wara-al-nahr*'s soil. The Arabs were the backbone of a bureaucratic empire and adherents of a new universal religion, while the success of their competitors, the Steppes peoples, was limited to a short-lived nomadic empire.

Several religious uprisings led by radical rebels *(ghulat)* are recorded in the Arabic and Persian sources during the late Umayyad and early ʻAbbasid periods. Although these revolts were directed against the caliphate and as such voiced social discontent with the government and taxation, nevertheless, the rebels did not attack the very idea of an Islamic world order but rather adopted heterodox views. Syncretism enabled the forging of alliances between Zoroastrians, Mazdakites, and Shiʻis.

Iranians had played an important role in the army and administration of the new ʻAbbasid order. With time, some of the local Iranian forces accumulated strength. The first significant force was the Tahirid dynasty. They boasted a double-noble lineage, claiming to be the descendants of Rustam b. Dustan (*al-shadid,* "the Strong Man"), the ancient Iranian hero, as well as of the Arab tribe Khuzaʽa. Tahir changed the residence of Khurasan's governors from Merv to Nishapur (in 821), and this seems to have been a turning point in the administrative history of the oasis of Bukhara. Following this alteration, the city acquired a new importance and became a governmental center at the edge of the caliphate, which affected developments all over Transoxiana.

This facilitated the rise to prominence of a local force in Transoxania that came under the rule of the Samanids (203–395/819–1005). Although the Samanids claimed to be the offspring *(farzand)* of Bahram Jubin (Chubin, Chobin), the great mythological Iranian hero, the Samanid family probably had a more humble background. In 204/819, four sons of Asad b. Saman were appointed governors of various districts in Central Asia: Nuh (d. 227/842) governor of Samarqand, Ahmad (d. 846) of Fraghana, Yahya of Shash (Tashqent), and Ilyas (d. in 856) of Herat. The country under their rule was known as the Turk Barrier *(sadd al-ghuzz),* a name that referred to their role in fighting against the polytheistic nomads of Eurasia.

The Saman family reached the zenith of its power during the governorship of Ismaʻil b. Ahmad, who had conquered Bukhara (in 262/875). The caliphs al-Muʻtadid (279–289/892–902) and al-Muktafi (289–295/902–908) further rewarded him with the governorship of Khurasan. This development opened a new chapter in the history of Transoxiana and the neighboring Eurasian steppes. The Samanids conducted an offensive policy toward the steppes people, as a result of which Islam spread among the population of Central Asia.

At the zenith of their power the Samanids had command of a large professional army. They recruited Turkic slaves outside the Abode of Islam, and these recent converts made up the fighting battalions of the Samanids. This was in line with steps taken by the caliphs from the days of al-Maʾmun (d. 833), if not earlier. The historical contribution of the Saman house was the establishment of an Islamic and Iranian presence in Transoxiana and Inner Asia. Their achievements did not save the Samanids from breakdown. The deep demographic and cultural changes that swept across the Eurasian steppes cast a shadow over the history of *ma-wara-al-nahr*. This Iranian-speaking land underwent a process of Turkification.

With the collapse of the Samanids a cultural chapter in the history of Central Asia came to an end. The Qarakhanid state (the Ilek or Ilig-khan Khanate) was active in Central Asia from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries. The nucleus of the state was the Qara-luq Turk tribal confederation. Following clashes with the Samanids of Bukhara, Sabuq (or Satuq) Bugha (Boğra) Khan converted to Islam and even assumed the Arab–Islamic name ʻAbd al-Karim (d. 344/955).

Led by Shihab al-Dawla Harun b. Sulayman b. Bughra Khan Ilek, the Qarakhanids attacked (in 382/992) Nuh b. Mansur, the Samanid ruler of the Syr Darya valley (366–387/976–997). If the fragmented information is accurate, it was during these years (probably in 382/992) that the Qarakhanids gained control over Fraghana and Bukhara. Like other steppes empires, the Qarakhanid armies consist of two kinds of soldiers: a small troop of retinues and a large body of nomadic Turk tribesmen *(turkmen)*. The Qarakhanids accepted the authority of Baghdad inasmuch as the ʻAbbasid caliph was the only source of legitimacy. The historical importance of this Turk dynasty stems from their role in leading the way for the conversion of Turkic people in the Eurasian steppes. In addition to this, they were patrons of Islamic institutions.

Corresponding to the disintegration of the Samanid regime and the emergence of the free Qarakhanid power in Central Asia, another Turkic dynasty played an important role in shaping the history of this vast territory. An ex-slave of the Samanids, the Turkish commander Alp-Takin *(tegin),* who was their commander in chief, left Khurasan and established himself in Ghazna near Kabul (in present-day Afghanistan, in 350/961). He was succeeded by Nasir al-Dawla Sebuk-Takin, another slave-soldier of Turkic origin, whose son, Yamin al-Dawla Mahmud (388–421/999–1031), was the founder of the Ghaznawid dynasty and bore the title Sayf al-Dawla (Sword of the State; r 388(421/998–1030). For a short period the Ghaznawids played a role in the history of Central Asia.

The lofty position of the Ghaznawids suffered a deadly blow from a new power that arose in Central Asia during the last quarter of the tenth century. Various Turk *(Turkmaniyyah)* tribes, among them the Ghuzz (Oghuz) nomads, crossed into the districts of Transoxiana and Khwarazm. At this stage in their history the Ghuzz were led by the house of Saljuq (Seljuk), at least according to late Saljuq sources. The Saljuqs, almost from the very beginning of their presence in the land south of the Oxus River, clashed with the Ghaznawids (about 416/1025). When Yamin al-Dawla Mahmud died (in 421/1031), the Turks constituted a threat that his heirs found difficult to ignore. The crucial clash took place in Dandanqan (near Merv in 431/1040), where the Ghaznawid forces were routed.

The Saljuqs reduced the Qarakhanid rulers of Transoxiana and Sinkiang to vassalage. Sanjar, the great Saljuq, took Merv as his capital city, and it flourished as a center of art and commerce. However, the Qarakhitay, a force that emerged in northern China, advanced westward and near Samarqand were able to defeat the great Saljuqs in 1141. The success of these steppe nomads did not last long, however. ʻAla al-Dim Muhammad (1200–1220), the Khwarazm-Shah, advanced from Urgench, his capital city (Chorasmia, in the delta oasis of Khiva, where the Amu Darya and the Shavat canal flow into the Aral Sea in contemporary Uzbekistan), eastward and defeated the Qarakhanids. He then turned his attention southward to the Iranian plateau.

After conquering northern China (Beijing, 1215), Genghis (Temujin) Khan turned his attention westward to the territories controlled by the Khwarazms. The Mongols did not stop at the Aral Sea (1219–1225) but swept on to Anatolia, Iran, Baghdad, and Syria (1234–1258). Following the death of Genghis Khan (in 1227), Central Asia became the territory of his son Chaghatay. With the conversion to Islam of the Mongol Chaghatay people *(ulus)*, a new Mongol–Islamic culture developed in the land between the Oxus and Sinkiang.

After their disintegration, a new force emerged in Central Asia. Timur Lenk (Tamerlane, 1335–1405) succeeded in establishing a new nomad empire. He became the *de facto* ruler of *ma-wara-al-nahr*, leaving the Chaghatay dynasty as the nominal rulers and the source of his legitimacy. Tamerlane proceeded to conquer all of western Central Asia, Iran, and Asia Minor. In his capital of Samarqand, Timur gathered numerous artisans and scholars from the lands he had conquered and imbued his empire with a very rich culture.

After the death of Timur, the Timurid state quickly broke in two. His youngest son and successor, Shah Rukh (1407–1447), crossed the Oxus southward to the Iranian area and established his headquarters in Herat. Babur, the last representative of the Timurid dynasty, was driven out by the Uzbek Shibanid dynasty (in 1501) to seek his fortune in India.

YEHOSHUA FRENKEL

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CERAMICS

Around the year 1135 CE, a merchant from Aden wrote the following letter to his counterpart in Egypt: "Please buy me six painted platters, made in *Misr* [Old Cairo]. They should be of middle size, neither very large nor very small; and twenty regular bowls and forty small ones. All should be painted, and their figures and colors should be different." The history of ceramic production in the medieval Muslim world, from the period of the Umayyads in the seventh century to the Ottomans and Safavids in the seventeenth century, attests to the superior creativity and experimentation of Islamic potters, demonstrated through their innovations in shape and design, clay recipes, glazes, and techniques of decoration. Glazed ceramics represent a very small percentage of the total ceramic assemblage produced in the medieval Muslim world. The majority of domestic earthenwares comprised unglazed storage and transport jars—for items such as grain, oil, and water—and unglazed bowls, platters, and receptacles, which were made for the kitchen, pharmacy, or market shop. However, as the letter from the Adenese merchant indicates, glazed and painted ceramics were highly sought commodities in urban, as well as courtly, contexts. This entry highlights several types of glazed ceramics produced in the medieval Islamic period, although it is in no way comprehensive, and readers are referred to the bibliography for more detailed studies on the subject.

Medieval sources refer to pottery or ceramics as *khazaf, fakhkhar,* and *ghadar,* although we often find the generic term *sini* used particularly for fine glazed ceramics. The term *sini* is derived from the Arabic word for China—*al-Sin*—since both potters and consumers of the medieval Muslim world considered Chinese ceramics the pottery *par excellence.* Chinese wares were imported into the Islamic world by the early ninth century and have been discovered in archaeological sites across Muslim Spain to India. Their influence on Islamic ceramics was immediately felt within the ninth-century 'Abbasid pottery-making industry and their impact persisted as late as the nineteenth century. Potters of the Islamic lands, wanting to imitate the whiteness of the elegantly shaped Chinese wares, experimented with specially made tin and alkaline glazes that fired to an opaque creamy-white finish. Around the twelfth century, medieval potters also developed alternative clay recipes by adding large quantities of crushed quartz to produce a hard, white ceramic body, which when thinly potted resembled the translucency of Chinese porcelain. This new ceramic body, known as "fritware" or "stonepaste," was used for all fine ceramics of the Islamic world from the twelfth century onward until the European discovery of the secret of high-firing Chinese porcelain clays in the eighteenth century.

With the invention of white ceramic bodies and opaque glazes, Islamic potters were free to experiment with various techniques of ceramic decoration. An exciting decorative scheme introduced by the potters of Samarra and Basra in the ninth century was the use of cobalt blue pigments, which they painted as stark epigraphic and vegetal designs onto opaque-white wares, creating the very first "blue-and-white wares." The Iraqi potters appear to have held a monopoly on cobalt at this time until its appearance on fritware ceramics of the twelfth century, and it was later exported outside the Islamic lands to China in the fourteenth century. Soon after, cobalt-painted Chinese blue-and-white porcelain arrived in the Middle East and caused a fashion craze in the Islamic markets. By the middle of the fifteenth century, potters from Egypt to Central Asia were producing their own varieties of blue-and-white ceramics based on both Chinese and Islamic models.

Slip-painted pottery, another major type of Islamic glazed ware, did not require special opaque glazes or a fritware body and was produced throughout the Muslim world from the tenth century onward. Slip is essentially semifluid clay, and white slip was often used by the Islamic potter to coat the entire surface of an earthenware vessel in order to create a blank canvas for further decoration. Floral, geometric, animal, and figural designs were often incised through the slip coating before the bowl was covered in a transparent clear or colored glaze and fired. For added drama, copper-green and iron-brown splashes of colored glazes were also incorporated on slip-covered bowls, with or without incised decoration. Another variety of slip-painted pottery, using primarily black, white, and red slips, achieved great heights of sophistication in the tenth and eleventh centuries in the Samanid territories of Eastern Iran

and Central Asia. These types of dishes were normally covered in a white slip, and benedictory phrases or proverbs such as, "May everything eaten from this [bowl] be wholesome," or "Generosity is a quality of the people of paradise," were painted in sharp, angular scripts along the rims with a black slip. Another type of slip-painted pottery centered at Samanid Nishapur offered a livelier aesthetic by using a riot of colors including green, acid yellow, black, and red to depict stylized figural subjects, such as seated figures, dancers, horses, and other animals, which were surrounded by various floral and epigraphic motifs.

One of the truly great inventions of potters of the medieval Islamic world is lustre-painted ceramics. The technique of lustre decoration on glass was already practiced in Egypt and Syria as early as the fifth century; however, Iraqi potters appear to have been the first to experiment with lustre decoration on opaque-glazed ceramics in the ninth century. Lustre pigments made of silver and copper oxides were painted in a variety of figural and vegetal designs onto the surface of a glazed vessel, which was then refired under special conditions. The results of a successful refiring created a ceramic ware with painted decorations that gleamed like gold or silver. The highly sought ʻAbbasid lustre wares were exported across the Muslim world and as far away as India and Thailand. This complex technique of pottery decoration was probably transferred to Egypt in the tenth century through the migration of Iraqi potters to Fatimid-governed domains. As lustre pigments were better controlled on a paintbrush, this enabled Egyptian potters to expand their iconographic repertoire of images using more precise line-drawn figures. During the twelfth century the technique seems to have spread to Spain, Syria, and Iran, leading to greater variations in styles of painting and the transfer of the technique to Europe.

During the Seljuk period between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Iran, a new type of glazed pottery was developed, later coined as *mina'i,* or enameled ware, typified by its wide-ranging color scheme and intricate narrative compositions. The paintings on *mina'i* ceramics attest to the existence of a vibrant tradition of Persian illustrated manuscripts from this period, now lost. Indeed, both *mina'i* and Persian lustre portray visual and poetic themes derived from Persian literature, such as the *Shahnama* epic or the romance of *Varqa va Gulshah,* depicting warriors, heroes, lovers, and fantastical beasts. The *mina'i* technique of applying colored pigments over an already glazed fritware vessel allowed the potter to expand his color palette to include blue, green, red, purple, brown, black, pink, and gold, which were then fixed by a second low-temperature firing. As with Persian lustre, Kashan appears to have been the main center of production for *mina'i*, with vessel shapes ranging from bowls, pilgrims' flasks, ewers, cups, and in rare instances, tiles.

The Turkish city of Iznik in western Anatolia became the preeminent center of a court-sponsored pottery-making industry during the Ottoman period between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. "Iznik" has come to refer to the distinctive pure-white frit-bodied ceramic vessels and tiles that were covered in a brilliant white slip and then decorated, over the course of time, with various combinations of colored slips beginning with cobalt blue and turquoise, followed by the introduction of a subtle palette of sage green, manganese purple, black, and finally the use of a more vibrant color scheme in blue, green, black, and "sealing-wax red." Art historians have discerned several chronological and stylistic groups of Iznik wares based on color and design patterns, and the ceramics are best understood in the context of a larger production program of Ottoman courtly arts including architectural decoration, textiles, and manuscript illumination.

Fahmida Suleman

See also ʻAbbasids; Andalus; Architecture, Religious; Architecture, Secular: Palaces; Artisans; Baghdad; Baraka; Basra; Cairo; Cairo Geniza; Central Asia; China; Damascus; Dome of the Rock; Egypt; Epic Poetry; Epics, Persian; Fatimids; Firdawsi; Food and Diet; Fustat; Gifts and Gift Giving; Glassware; Heroes and Heroism; Iran; Iraq; Isfahan; Istanbul; Khurasan; Love Poetry; Mamluks; Manuscripts; Markets; Merchants, Christian; Merchants, Jewish; Merchants, Muslim; Minerals; Mining; Mosaics; Mosques; Mythology and Mythical Beings; Nishapur; Ottoman Empire; Painting, Miniature; Poetry, Persian; Proverbs; Precious Metals; Safavids; Samanids; Samarqand; Samarra; Seljuks; *Shahnama*; Silk Road; Sinan; Stories and Storytelling; Süleymaniye Mosque (Istanbul); Syria, Greater; Textiles; Timurids; Trade: Indian Ocean; Trade: Mediterranean; Transoxania; Transport; Travel

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CHARITY, ISLAMIC

Charity, the obligation to help those less fortunate than oneself, was a fundamental concept for medieval Muslim ethics. Muslim authors did not have a word that can be translated as "charity," and the use of the Arabic word *khayri* to mean charitable is a modern invention. Nonetheless, medieval Muslims were familiar with a number of practices that might be characterized as charitable. The most prominent of these were *zakat* (the alms tax), *sadaqa* (alms, most often voluntary), and *waqf* (the pious endowment that sometimes served a charitable purpose).

Zakat is one of the five pillars of Islam and as such can be regarded as an article of faith. Muslim jurists characterized it as one of the *huquq Allah* (duties owed to God), and failure to pay it could result in one's being regarded as an apostate. The obligation to pay *zakat* is mentioned throughout the Qur'an and collections of Hadith, but the most important proof text is Surat al-Tawba, verse sixty, "Alms *(sadaqat)* are only for the poor, the indigent, those who collect them, those who reconcile people's hearts, for slaves, debtors, for the path of God, and for the traveler, an obligation imposed by God. God is all-knowing and most wise." This verse established the proper recipients of *zakat*. In addition to the expected recipients, such as indigent people, indentured slaves, debtors, and travelers, the verse also provides for alms to be distributed to holy warriors (those on the path of God) and to persons who reconciled non-Muslims and Muslims. In addition, the verse makes it clear that the original intention was for the state to collect alms and distribute them.

In subsequent Muslim practice, however, *zakat* was usually left to the conscience of the individual. People identified worthy recipients, such as beggars, and paid them alms. Since *zakat* was due every Islamic year, many people paid their alms tax in the month of Muharram, the first of the Islamic calendar. *Zakat* was due on a number of commodities, including herd animals, grains and fruit, gold and silver, commerce, and precious metals. The rate varied by item but was most commonly paid as a 2.5 percent tax on gold, silver, and commerce. At the end of Ramadan, fasting Muslims would pay an additional *zakat al-fitr* (alms for the feast) to celebrate the upcoming feast. This obligation consisted of a sum sufficient to feed one individual for one day.

In addition to these obligatory alms, Muslims also paid voluntary alms when and where they wished. These voluntary alms were usually called *sadaqa*, although this term was sometimes also applied to *zakat*. There was a considerable debate in Muslim ethical writings over whether it was appropriate to publicize one's good deeds. Most authors agreed that it was better to give alms in private, since to do so in public would suggest that one was more interested in achieving social status than in pleasing God. Others, however, pointed out that public almsgiving would encourage others to follow one's example. Beggars congregated outside mosques, especially after Friday prayers, in markets, and at funerals. The fourteenth-century author Ibn al-Hajj noted that it was common to give alms at a funeral, in the hope that this final good deed would ease the deceased's passage into paradise. Funeral processions in medieval Cairo, for example, often included a *kaffara* (expiatory gift) that would be turned over to the poor people who followed the procession.

Begging posed a number of problems for medieval Muslims and their rulers. A considerable literature grew up describing the proper etiquette of the beggar and his benefactor when giving alms. Al-Ghazali (d. 1111 CE) argued that begging was forbidden unless necessary for one's survival and worried that the beggar was in danger of replacing his divine benefactor with a human one. Taj al-Din al-Subki (d. 1370) was outraged by some of the more theatrical techniques used by beggars to solicit alms and worried that the sight of Muslims begging would humiliate the Muslim community in the eyes of Christians and Jews. Some of the rulers of Mamluk Egypt found the presence of lepers and beggars in public places and tried to remove them from the capital. In 1264 or 1265, Sultan al-Zahir Baybars tried to remove Cairo's beggars to al-Fayyum, and similar attempts were made by other sultans in 1330, 1392, and 1438. Such efforts do not seem to have been effective, because begging continued in public places and the professional beggar was a standard character in medieval Arabic literature.

The third major charitable practice in medieval Islamic society was *waqf*. Endowments of this type

served many different purposes, including benefiting family, religious institutions, hospitals, and even family tombs. In the medieval period, especially from the early fifteenth century on, it was impossible to distinguish family *waqf*s from charitable *waqf*s, as was done in modern times. Many *waqf*s provided income to a wide range of beneficiaries. Still, it is possible for the modern researcher to isolate those functions that were charitable, in the sense of aiding the poor or infirm.

Some of the wealthiest endowments of the Islamic Middle Ages were hospitals. Although these institutions were not always founded with *waqf*s, many Muslim rulers followed the example of Nur al-Din ibn al-Zanki (d. 1174), who founded a hospital in Damascus. A similar institution established by Sultan al-Mansur Qalawun in 1284 in Cairo provided food, shelter, and medicine to patients. Since the wealthy preferred to be treated at home, the inmates of the hospital were largely poor people or travelers. There were separate sections for men and women, as well as a ward for the insane. Another popular type of *waqf* was the *maktab*, or Qur'an school for orphans. These schools provided orphaned boys with small stipends and some food, as well as teaching them the Qur'an, some basic literacy, and arithmetic. Some waqf supported *ribat*s, which were homes for widowed or divorced women. These institutions were usually founded by wealthy women and were frequently presided over by female administrators. Some endowments provided food and water to pilgrims and residents of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. There were also many smaller *waqf*s, many of them associated with family tombs, that provided food and water to the poor on a weekly basis, in exchange for the poor saying prayers for their deceased benefactors. These tomb *waqf*s became quite popular in Cairo in the second half of the fifteenth century. The practice of building kitchens to feed the employees of large endowments gave rise in the Ottoman Empire to the foundation of separate soup kitchens (sing. *'imaret*), such as the one established by Hasseki Hurrem Sultan in Jerusalem in the 1550s. Finally, some endowments provided for the washing and burial of the dead. This service was of particular importance in the late Middle Ages, when outbreaks of plague repeatedly struck the Middle East.

Adam Sabra

See also Black Death; Burial Customs; Death and Dying; Egypt; Epidemics; Ethics; Funerary Practices, Muslim; Gifts and Gift Giving; Hospitality; Hospitals; Mamluks; Mecca; Medina; Mental Illness; Mosques, Nur al-Din ibn al-Zanki; Ottoman Empire; Pilgrimage; Poverty; Public Works; Syria; Waqf

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CHARITY, JEWISH

In the absence of taxation—a significant resource for poor relief in European Jewish communities—we find a "mixed economy" of charity in Fustat. Private charity was one major source. By nature usually hidden from the historian's gaze, it is well documented in the Geniza through letters of appeal from the poor or on their behalf (see Poverty, Jewish). Family charity, the most private of private charities, existed, too, although it is usually documented only when people complain that it is not forthcoming. People often gave charity in their wills. However, confraternities, a favored vehicle for delivering poor relief in European Jewish communities as of the thirteenth century in Spain (copying Catholic confraternities in this endeavor), do not appear in the Geniza evidence (nor in the Islamic surroundings). The purposes served by European Jewish charitable confraternities, such as teaching poor children and orphans, clothing the needy, burying the indigent, and dowering orphan girls, were, as far as the evidence permits us to conclude, provided by bequests, private gifts, revenues of pious foundations, and communal poor relief.

Public charity—the charity provided through the community—is richly documented in the Geniza, though it was not as well differentiated from private philanthropy, as was the case with Christian poor relief in early modern Europe. Most of the structures of communal charity had been established long before the advent of Islam. One of them, the *heqdesh,* or

pious endowment, is abundantly present in medieval Fustat. Often established or supported by deathbed declarations but also, in the manner of its Islamic counterpart, the *waqf,* by healthy benefactors, the Jewish pious endowment consisted mainly in houses donated to the community. Like the original *heqdesh*, which supported the needs of the sacrificial temple *(beit ha-miqdash)* in Jerusalem, revenues from the rent of *heqdesh* properties in the Geniza mainly supported communal institutions, such as the upkeep of the synagogue, salaries of communal officials, and teachers' fees. Only a small percentage went for direct charity to the poor. Like the Islamic *waqf,* however, the institution was conceived of as a form of charity and so was referred to by the moniker "for the poor."

Shelter for the poor, especially foreigners lacking means of livelihood or suffering from illness, was provided, as in late antiquity, both in the synagogue and in the Jewish *funduq*, or inn (*see* Hospitality). The Fustat community maintained at least two *funduqs* as *heqdesh* properties lodging foreign travelers. Public funds were also sometimes used to subsidize rents of needy persons residing in regular apartments. Pledge drives throughout Egypt to ransom captives were coordinated out of Fustat. In the Talmud, ransom of captives was designated a "great mitzva," and in the medieval Mediterranean lands it became an even more urgent necessity.

Medical charity expressed itself when physicians provided care for the ill without charge, in bequests for the sick poor in wills, or in collections to pay the medical and other expenses of a visiting sick scholar. The community had no hospital, differing again from European Jewish communities, where in the late Middle Ages the word *heqdesh* became synonymous with hospital, and from the Ottoman communities, which also ran their own hospitals.

The most visible form of public charity consisted in direct donations of money or in kind to provide either bread, wheat, clothing, or cash for the poor. Bread was distributed twice a week (Tuesday and Friday) in rations of four one-pound (450 grams) loaves per adult per week. Since this did not provide adequate nutrition, it was supplemented on an irregular basis by wheat and cash. The money went to buy other food necessities or to help the poor pay their annual poll tax to the government. Clothing was also disseminated.

Hundreds of Geniza alms lists and donor registers illustrate the administration of public charity. People donated money, or sometimes wheat in kind. Revenues were collected by officials called *jabi* (like Hebrew *gabbai*) or by the administrators of the social services, the *parnasim*. Detailed accounts itemize income and expenditures—direct charity and salary subsidies for communal officials together. Though controversial, the latter was considered a legitimate use of monies collected for the poor. The collections themselves were done, usually in the synagogue, through pledges, called *pesiqa*, a term also used for ad hoc pledges for specific uses, including private charity solicited by individuals and money for ransom of captives. *Parnasim* collected the pledges, sometimes making the rounds of businesses in the marketplace. The *pesiqa* illustrates a characteristic of the "mixed economy" of charity in medieval Fustat and doubtless other locales in the medieval Islamic world, as well as the blurred boundaries between public and private charity.

Sometimes a whole week's distribution of bread would be paid for by one person (for example, a donation of three dinars in 1107 by the Nagid and head of Egyptian Jewry to purchase 600 loaves of bread). Bakers brought their loaves to the pickup point in the synagogue compound. Scribes kept careful records of each person and the number of loaves per head of household. These numbers were revised with changes in need, and names were crossed out when the indigents no longer were present. A large number of lists contain items of clothing, because the poor usually possessed not much more than the proverbial "shirts on their backs." Many letters seeking private charity request an item of clothing to replace what was lacking.

In the Talmud, alms for the poor were provided through the weekly *quppa* (the "basket" containing bread or money for the local poor) and the daily *tamhui* (mostly, food for wayfarers). These terms do not appear in medieval Fustat. Rather, the alms system there was unified and called *mezonot*, an old rabbinic term for maintenance for wives, children, orphans, widows, and others, here enlisted in a charitable context for food for the poor. The unified system may have been in force much earlier. It was still the custom in the Egyptian capital at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the new chief Rabbi, an exile from Spain, found it unusual and commented to that effect when glossing Maimonides' astonishing statement in his Code of Jewish Law that some communities no longer employ the *tamhui*.

MARK R. COHEN

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CHESS

The words for the game of chess in Middle Persian *(čatrang)* and in Persian and Arabic *(šatrang/ šaṭranj)* are derived from (Sanskrit) *caturanga,* meaning army consisting of four divisions (Falkner 1892, 125). This is because the Indian army consisted of four groups: *hasty-aśva-nauka-padāta,* which translates as "elephant, horse, ship, foot soldiers." Thus the game was meant to be a simulation for battle. The game entered the Near East, specifically to Persia in the sixth century CE during the rule of the Sasanian king, Khosrow I (Arabic Kisra) (530–571). The game was meant to be part of princely or courtly education in acquiring (Middle Persian) *frahang* or (Persian) *farhang,* which means culture. The playing of the game as part of princely education continued in the Medieval Islamic period, as is attested in such works as the *Qābūs-nameh* of Ibn Wašmgir (Yusefī 1375, 77), and *Chahār maqāla* by Samarqandi (Qazvini 1331, 68–69).

The games of chess and backgammon, along with a variety of literary works, were introduced to Persia from India, including the *Pañcatantra,* which, according to tradition, was translated into Middle Persian by a physician named Burzoe. The Middle Persian version is lost, but a Syriac translation of it was made in 570 under the name *Kalīlag wa Damnag*. These stories were taken from another Indian text called the *Hitopadeśa (Book of Good Counsel)*. This book was part of the Indian genre known as *nītiśāstra* ("mirror for princes"), which also existed in Persia, and in Middle Persian was known as *ēwēn-nāmag* (Persian) *āyīn-nāme (Book of Manners)*, which is mentioned in the earliest text on the games of chess and backgammon. These books were also commonly known as "Mirror for Princes" or *Siyār al-mulūk* or *Naṣīḥat 'al-mulūk* in the Medieval Islamic period (Daryaee 2002, 285–286).

The earliest text on the games of chess and backgammon is found in Persia in Middle Persian, and it is known as *Wizārišn ī Čatrang ud Nihišn ī Nēw-Ardaxšīr (The Explanation of Chess and the Invention of Backgammon)*. According to *Wizārišn ī Čatrang ud Nihišn ī Nēw-Ardaxšīr*, there are four major personages involved in making the game; Dēwišarm/Sačidarm, the Indian king and his minister, Taxtrītos, sent the game to Persia. On the Persian side, Khusrow I and his minister, Wuzurgmihr/(Arabic and Persian) Buzarjumihr/Bozorgmihr were to decipher the game. The wise Persian minister Wuzurgmihr gives an explanation of the game, making an analogy to war or battle between two armies: "He made the king like the two overlords, the rook (on) the left and right flank, the minister like the commander of the warriors, the elephant is like the commander of the bodyguards, and the horse is like the commander of the cavalry**,** the foot-soldier like the same pawn, that is at front of the battle(field)" (Daryaee 2002, 304).

The earliest surviving chess pieces are also from Persia. These include an elephant carved from black stone (2 7/8 inches). The piece is from the late sixth or seventh century, which corresponds to the time when the Middle Persian text was composed (Dennis and Wilkinson 1968, xxxvii). A fourteenth-century manuscript of the *Šāhnāme* contains two scenes, one at the court of Khusrow I and the second at the court of Dēwišarm. In the scene Wuzurgmihr is seated on the floor with three other Persians, all with white turbans. In front of the Persian sage is a board game where by taking into account the story, we can see that the board game is a backgammon board. The Indian king is seated on his throne and is surrounded by the Indian sages who are painted darker and have darker turbans. Wuzurgmihr has his right hand pointing on the backgammon board, which probably means that he is either challenging the Indian sages or explaining the rules of the game after the Indian sages have been dumbfounded. It is particularly interesting to note that one of the two older Indian sages with a white beard has his hand by his mouth, symbolizing his amazement or perplexity (Dennis and Wilkinson 1968, xii). What can be concluded from these representations and our text is that board games such as chess were likened to battle and the struggle in life. These board games were sports that were meant to train the mind in order to be a well-rounded person, namely someone who has acquired *frahang/farhang* (culture).

During the early 'Abbasid period, the game of chess was seen as a form of gambling by some Muslim scholars. This argument was put forth based on two reasons: first, there was betting placed on the game, and so it was considered to be a form of gambling,



Tournament scene. Chess pawn. Spain, twelfth century ivory carving, 6.4 × 6.8 cm. Inv: OA 3297. Photo: J.G. Berizzi. Credit: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY. Louvre, Paris, France.

which made it *harām* (illicit). Second, enthusiasts would spend so much of their time playing chess that they forgot to pray and participate in the religious life (Rosenthal 1975, 37–40). Some authors justified the game by stating that as long as it was played for mental exercise it would be beneficial. The *Qābūs-nāme* dedicates a chapter to the games of chess and backgammon, detailing the proper etiquette of playing and when one should win and to whom one should lose. It is strictly stated that one should not make bets on the games, and only then does playing the game become a proper activity (Yusefī 1375, 77). The game of chess entered Europe, specifically Andalusia, with the Muslim conquest of the region. When the Christian Spaniards were able to beat back the Muslims, the game had already become popular (in Spanish, *ajedrez*), except that one piece of the game was changed, that of the Queen for the Wazīr.

TOURAJ DARYAEE

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CHILDREN AND CHILDHOOD

In Islam, children are viewed as precious gifts from God. Islam teaches that children are born sinless and are certain to gain paradise if they pass away before reaching puberty. Children need to be loved, taken care of, and protected with compassion and tenderness by their parents and their surrounding communities to ensure their healthy physical and psychological growth (Yildirim 2005).

In medieval medical writings on infancy, feeding of children and, breast-feeding in particular constitute a central theme. Additional topics include how to treat infants immediately after birth, how to prepare their cradles, how to wash and swaddle them, how to calm weeping children, teething, how to treat children when they start walking and talking, and recommendations regarding entertainment and the company of other children.

Because childhood is considered to be a time of weakness and vulnerability, ignorance and absence of intellectual grasp, and a lack of willpower, Islam not only gives parents the responsibility for the spiritual and physical well-being of children and a correct religious upbringing but also makes them accountable. Viewing children as vulnerable and dependent, Islamic law supplies various rules for the protection of not only themselves but also their property. A special legal status was given to children; they did not owe full obedience to criminal law and therefore could not be punished as Muslims who are sane and of age. More attention is given to the child's benefit than to the interest of his or her parents. Fathers retained guardianship over the child, which involved guardianship over property and over the person, including overall responsibility for physical care, socialization, and education. Mothers were entrusted with the care and control of their children for the first few years of their lives (al-Ghazali 1967).

Following the example of the Prophet Muhammad, the Islamic scholar Said Nursi states that children need kindness and compassion. Medieval Islamic sources abound in accounts of loving, tender relationships between parents and children, including close physical contact (al-Ghazali 1967). Because children are weak and powerless, their spirits can flourish best in knowing and experiencing a compassionate and powerful Creator. Only in an environment where mercy exists can children feel secure. The best way to give them this sentiment completely is to teach them that God is The Most Merciful and The Most Compassionate and that He is the one who is protecting them from all evil and bad things. They will be able to deal with facing fears in later years through trust in God and surrender to God's guidance (Nursi 1997).

In medieval times, spiritual and moral education in childhood and adolescence was crucial for raising physically and psychologically healthy people, because a balanced moral character was seen to be essential in maintaining psychological and physical health (Giladi 1992). Education in childhood was especially important owing to the view that in its pristine state, the child's soul is pure and impressionable. The main purpose of education was to ensure the future of the believer in the next world. As stated by Said Nursi, if a child was not exposed to belief in God, spirituality, and correct morals at an early age, it would be much more difficult to settle belief and spirituality in their hearts in later years, establish good habits, or change bad ones. Good habits were generosity, honesty, diligence, and restraint of one's desires. The more a child was exposed to a community observing religion the easier it would be to understand religion and spirituality later in life (Nursi 2002). Writings also addressed the principles and methods of correcting bad conduct, conduct that might result in the immortal loss of the believer.

In medieval times, childhood was divided into two stages from a religious point of view: (1) before puberty, when a child begins to distinguish between good and evil, and (2) after puberty. Adolescence was generally considered to be around the age of fifteen. Entrusting a boy or a girl with respective adult functions was the accepted way to determine mental maturity (Bosworth et al. 1995). Age and maturity were taken into account when considering a child's education. Education at a young age, when the pupil's mind is open and free from adult cares, was emphasized.

Yetkin Yildirim

See also Education; Family; Toys

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CHINA

The history of Islam in China is, naturally, intertwined with the historical development of a Muslim presence there. It is also connected, albeit to a much lesser extent, to the history of relations between China and the Muslim world. A Muslim presence has been recorded in China as early as the seventh century, when Muslim envoys visited Chang'an, then the capital of the Tang dynasty. As early as the eighth century there is evidence of a more permanent Muslim presence, as merchants settled in China's larger cities and established communities there. Both Chinese and Muslim records speak of these communities, which maintained regular contacts with the Muslim world. Al-Sirafi, the tenth-century author of *Akhbar al-Sin wa'l-Hind*, mentions a community of more than one hundred thousand Muslims in Khanfu (Canton). While it is clear that this number is quite exaggerated, it indicates that the community must have been fairly significant in size. Over the years, Muslim quarters were established elsewhere in the major Chinese cities and in the northwestern and southwestern regions of China, which were closer to the Muslim territories of Central Asia. The highlight of these settlements was "Zaitoon" (Quanzhou), a city on China's southeastern coast where large numbers of Muslim merchants resided during the times of such travelers as Marco Polo and Ibn Battuta (both of whom wrote extensively about the city).

The main bulk of Muslims, however, came to China along with the occupying Mongols, for whom Muslims served as soldiers, administrators, tax collectors, and scientists. The brief integration of China with the rest of the world during the days of the Mongol empire intensified the trade with Muslim regions even further. When the Mongols left China and the Chinese Ming dynasty was founded in 1368, these Muslims remained in China and settled in different parts of the empire, creating an array of forms of Muslim presence in the country—from Muslim villages in the rural northwest to Muslim quarters within the large Chinese urbanities of the east. The early years of the Ming period (roughly from the fourteenth through sixteenth century) saw also the transformation of these people from "Muslims in China" to "Chinese Muslims," a new and diverse social entity that used Chinese as its language and had some form of Islam as its religion.

This wide range of forms of Muslim life in China gave rise to an equally diverse range of forms of Chinese Islam in the following centuries. The Northwest saw the appearance of *menhuan* (saintly lineage), devout Sufi orders organized around the cult of Sufi saints and the practice of Sufi rituals such as the vocal and the silent *dhikr* (remembrance). The urban communities of eastern China gave rise to a textual canon known as the *Han Kitab* (Chinese book), a sophisticated amalgamation of Islamic thought and neo-Confucian philosophy. In both of these forms we can see a distinctive form of Islam, which can be termed "Chinese Islam." The emergence of these distinctive forms of Chinese Islam is traced back to roughly the end of the sixteenth century, although they reached their peak during the eighteenth century.

Of the numerous Sufi orders of northwestern China the most influential was the *Naqshbandiyya*, whose masters moved their activities from Central Asia into China during the seventeenth century. Shortly thereafter, local Chinese forms of these grew up around northwestern Chinese leaders such Ma Laichi (1673–1753), founder of the first indigenous Chinese order, and Ma Mingxin (1719–1781), who formed a rival order with different practices. Ma Mingxin's career led him and his followers to serious clashes with the Chinese authorities that in turn resulted in a series of violent outbreaks in the Northwest that lasted, off and on, for more than a century and devastated the Muslim communities of the region.

The *Han Kitab* scholars of eastern China emerged from an education system that was in structure very much like the Confucian education system and which espoused similar values, such as textual learning and scholarly perfection. The first *Han Kitab* texts appeared in the early seventeenth century and were mainly translations into Chinese of Sufi texts such as the *Mirsad al-'Ibad*. Shortly thereafter, original works appeared. This tradition reached its peak with the career of Liu Zhi (ca. 1755–1730), whose work created a coherent philosophical system that combined key neo-Confucian and Sufi concepts. The cornerstone of Liu's thought was the identification he made between Ibn-'Arabi's concept of *Insan Kamil* (Ar., perfect man), with the Confucian concept of *Shengren* (Ch., sage). The Prophet Muhammad, according to this formulation, was the ultimate Confucian sage.

Both of these distinct forms of Chinese Islam disappeared, or were radically transformed, during the twentieth century. However, their legacies—of the Sufi orders in particular—still persist in China.

Zvi Ben-Dor Benite

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CHISHTI, MU'IN AL-DIN (C. 1141/2–1236)

One of the eponymous founders of the Chishti Sufi order in India, Khwaja Mu'in al-Din Hasan Sijzi was born in Sistan around 1141 or 1142. Following political upheavals in Sistan and his father's death, Mu'in al-Din Chishti set out on his travels, linking up in Nishapur with the wandering circle of Khwaja 'Uthman, a Sufi master from Chisht near Herat. We know little about his travels before he moved to India; certainly, hagiographies that describe his meetings with other founders of famous Sufi orders, such as 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (d. 1166), Najib al-Din Suhrawardi (d. 1168), and Najm al-Din Kubra (d. 1221), have little basis in history. Our earliest sources for the life of Mu'in al-Din are Amir Khwurd's *Siyar al-awliya'*, a collection of Chishti hagiographies, and *Surur al-sudur*, conversations *(malfuzat)* of Hamid al-Din Nagawri penned posthumously some two hundred years later. Contemporary accounts such as Minhaj's and Fakhr-i Mudabbir's do not mention him, nor do the earliest Chishti works, namely the *Fawa'id al-fu'ad*, the conversations of Nizam al-Din Awliya' penned by Amir Hasan Sijzi (d. 1336), and the *Khayr al-majalis*, the conversations of Nasir al-Din Chiragh-i Dihlavi (d. 1356) compiled by Hamid Qalandar. It is thus unclear when exactly he moved to Delhi and then Ajmer. The hagiographies often stress that he settled in Ajmer when it was still non-Muslim territory (and the center of the Rajput Chauhan realm, as well as a religious place of significance), and through his spiritual power and example brought the natives into the fold of Islam; the date given is usually before 1192. In other accounts, he moved to Ajmer after the Muslim conquest of Rajasthan in the 1190s and settled after the death of the Ghurid sultan Mu'izz al-Din in 1206. He is said to have married locally and been revered as a holy man, gathering around him disciples such that when he died in 1236, his tomb became a place of pilgrimage.

Although Mu'in al-Din Chishti left no writings, some of his key doctrines are recorded by Amir Khwurd. First, he stressed that seekers should be like lovers and when they gain insight and experience, they realize that love, lover, and beloved are all one. This monism may account for the later successful spread of the influence of Ibn 'Arabi's ideas among the Chishtis. Second, serving humanity and, in particular, the poor was actually true service to God and defined the very essence of religion. Chishti centers became known for their open-door policy and their doctrine of universal peace. Third, generosity, love, and hospitality were the key virtues to be inculcated. Religious parochialism and exclusivism were to be avoided. Chishti shrines embodied this ethos in their daily functions and provided shelter and sustenance for the poor and destitute, encouraging non-Muslims and Muslims to benefit from the spiritual power of the Sufis.

We know much about the development of the cult of Khwaja Mu'in al-Din, who became known as the stranger who is generous *(gharib navaz)*, through the patronage of the later Delhi sultans and the Mughals, especially Akbar. The spread of the Chishti order throughout India is credited to his disciples and the Sufis in the two generations after him, in particular Farid al-Din Ganj Shakar (d. 1265), whose shrine is at Ajodhan, Nizam al-Din Awliya' of Delhi (d. 1325), Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyar of Mehrauli (d. 1235), and Hamid al-Din of Nagawr (d. 1274). The cult of the shrines of the famous Chishti Sufis, encouraged by the Mughals through endowments and bequests, established the Chishti order as the most widespread, wealthy, and influential Indian Sufi order.

SAJJAD H. RIZVI

See also Delhi; Farid al-Din Ganj Shakar; Herat; Nishapur; Sufism

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CHIVALRY

Celebrated in numerous medieval romances, such as that of the legendary pre-Islamic Arab knight ʻAntar *(Sirat ʻAntar)*, the figure of the gallant horseman *(faris)* had a distinguished history in pre-Islamic Arab and early Islamic Arab tradition. Rooted in the hard realities of Bedouin tribal life, the motif of the valiant cavalier celebrated for his matchless courage and prowess on the battlefield is captured most directly in the pre-Islamic Arab concept of manliness *(muruwwa)*, an ideal that embraced the virtues of courage, forbearance, generosity, fidelity to kin, and magnanimity toward enemies. This motif was easily accommodated in Islamic military culture, and descriptions of the chivalric exploits of gallant warriors for the faith abound in accounts of the early Arab conquests. In the ʻAbbasid era, epics recounting the heroism of figures such as Hatim al-Ta'i, ʻAntar, Hamza, or the Persian hero Rustam captured the imagination of the masses, being retold, recorded, and eventually versified in a literary testament to a collective celebration of chivalric virtues.

In the increasingly cosmopolitan atmosphere of the major urban centers of medieval Islamdom, the ideal of manliness soon came to include the religiously inspired virtues of love of truth and justice, reverence for women, protection of the poor and indigent, piety, altruism, and indefatigable devotion to the faith. Beginning in the eighth century CE, this expanded chivalric ideal began to be referred to by the term *futuwwa* (valorous young manliness; Persian, *javanmardi*), and it is no accident that the figure of the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law ʻAli (d. 661 CE) came to represent the paragonal "valiant young man" *(fata)*, something well evinced in the oft-quoted saying: "There is no *fata* save ʻAli, and no sword save Dhu 'l-Faqar." At the same time, however, the term *futuwwa* began to be used in contexts oftentimes quite unconnected with mastery of the martial arts. It was within Sufism, in particular, where *futuwwa* took on explicitly religious connotations, Sufi scholars such as al-Sulami (d. 1021) devoting entire treatises to the subject. For them, the *futuwwa* was above all a moral and ethical ideal, a tradition of chivalric behavior stripped of its martial connotations and then refashioned in light of the Sufi spiritual universe. Here, the ideals of the gallant warrior were applied not to the military battlefield but rather to the spiritual struggle against the malicious armies of those lower drives and passions that estrange the soul from God.

At the same time, however, the military connotations of the pre-Islamic ideal of manliness and chivalric virtue never lost its vitality or importance, and there is ample evidence to suggest its continued persistence in medieval Islamic martial culture. Although never fully transformed into the aristocratic type of social and military organization characteristic of chivalric knighthood in medieval Europe, the presence of chivalric brotherhoods in the form of various self-styled *futuwwa* organizations was a prominent feature of urban landscapes across the central and eastern regions of the medieval Islamic world. Generally speaking, members of such groups were unmarried young men bound together by oaths of fidelity, special costume, and a shared allegiance to chivalric virtues. Although the details vary considerably, such *futuwwa* or *futuwwa*-inspired groups often appeared on the public stage during times of disorder and civil strife, playing roles as varied as neighborhood militias and police auxiliaries to trouble-making urban gangs bent on rabble-rousing, banditry, and extortion in the marketplace. Perhaps in response to the anarchic potential of such groups, in the early thirteenth century, the ʻAbbasid caliph al-Nasir (r. 1180–1225) set out to promulgate a courtly form of the *futuwwa*, sponsoring the dissemination of manuals outlining its principles and practices and sending out specially designated agents to initiate various sultans, princes, and governors into its fold.

As organizations devoted to the ideals of manliness and chivalry, membership in a medieval *futuwwa* group often brought with it an expectation to participate in various sports, normally games stressing martial skills such as pigeon breeding, archery, birding, riding, and wrestling. In Iran and Anatolia between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, the *futuwwa* tradition made its way into urban craft guilds, becoming so prevalent that in the Ottoman and Safavid domains most guilds were distinguished by their own chivalric rules, initiatory rites, hierarchies, and ceremonials. Scholars have long noted the similarity between certain aspects of Islamic chivalry and the chivalric organizations of medieval Europe, normally understood in the context of mutual influence in Islamic Spain, as well as a result of Muslim–European encounters and interchange in the eastern Mediterranean during the period of the Crusades.

Erik S. Ohlander

See also Gangs; Guilds, Professional; Heroes and Heroism; Hippology; Pigeons; Police; Sports; Sufism and Sufis; Thieves and Brigands; Urban Gangs

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CHRISTIANS AND CHRISTIANITY

Until at least 1000 CE, Christians of various denominations were the majority of the population in the Islamic world.

While Christian Arabs such as the Banu Taghlib fared poorly under Islam (Tritton 1930:89–92), the post-Qur'anic caliphate developed a profitable relationship with its non-Muslim subjects: the Arab conquests of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria had brought three ancient Christian centers under Islamic rule (Griffith 2001) and were followed by the incorporation of Persian (Le Coz 1995) and Iberian Christians. One of the Qur'anic "People of the Book" (see Q 3:65 f.; 5:18–19), Christians were among the communities to whom the Islamic state pledged its protection *(dhimma)* in exchange for their payment of a poll tax (*jizya*; cf. the sole Qur'anic attestation of this term at Q 9:29). Although the status of these "protected persons" has come under attack (Ye'or 2002), Christians did participate in, and contribute to, classical Islamic civilization (Friedman 2003).

The Qur'an itself distinguishes those who acknowledge the Prophet Muhammad from their monotheistic counterparts (for example, Q 2:142–147; 5:51)—although Christian (and Jewish) women and food are lawful for Muslims (cf. Q 5:5). Similarly, while inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock and the earliest Islamic coinage explicitly refute the Trinity, claims of a clear separation of Muslims and non-Muslims—as indicated in the terms of Christian acceptance of Muslim rule contained in the Covenant of 'Umar (Tritton 1930)—are at variance with the pre-Crusade historical record: early 'Abbasid caliphs held interreligious debates (Griffith 1999); classical Qur'an commentators extrapolated from the Christians in their own milieus when commenting on those Qur'anic passages alluding to Christians (McAuliffe 1991); and the Qur'anic charge of scriptural corruption leveled against the Children of Israel—Jews and Christians (for example, Q 5:12–14)—prompted Muslim scholars such as Ibn Hazm (d. 1064 CE) to engage in biblical exegesis. Finally, some of the most detailed sources about Christians in the classical Islamic world come from Muslim authors such as 'Abd al-Jabbar (d. 1025; cf. Reynolds, 2004).

In the East, all the denominations came to express themselves in Arabic while retaining their ancient liturgical languages and patristic heritage. The emergence of the new genre of inter-Christian theological debates in Arabic is contemporaneous with the development of Islamic "dialectical theology" (*'ilm al-kalam*; cf. Griffith 2002), with parallels between, respectively, Christian Trinitarian and Christological debates, and Muslim "divine attribute" *(al-asma' al-husna)* and "createdness of the Qur'an" discussions. Christians who spoke Syriac were particular vehicles for cultural exchange: Employed by the caliph in the translation of Greek texts into Arabic, scholars such as Yahya b. 'Adi (d. 974) were active participants in the philosophical movement at Baghdad (Gutas 1998; Yahya b. 'Adi 2002). In addition to their scholarly contributions, Christians were employed as doctors and scribes. On the Iberian Peninsula, the Mozarabs profited from and added to the works of their eastern counterparts (Burman 1994).

Already culturally and linguistically (and, for most, theologically) distanced from their Latin and Greek counterparts before the Arab conquests, a common experience and language under Islamic rule united the Christians in the eastern Islamic lands (Melkites, Maronites, Jacobites—both Syrians and Copts—and Nestorians); evidence of this unity—despite theological differences—is that the Nestorian Catholicos became the chief representative of Christian interests at the caliph's court in Baghdad.

The end of the demographic dominance of Christians in the Islamic world coincided with the Crusades and the Mongol invasion. With the accession of the Ottomans, the chief Christian was no longer the Nestorian Catholicos of Baghdad; rather, the head of the Christian *millet* (organized religious minority, from Ar. *milla* [religion]) became the (Greek Orthodox) Patriarch of Constantinople (Armenians, however, formed their own *millet*).

Despite Christian martyrdoms at the hands of Muslims (Gaudeul 1984; although some—such as those at Cordoba in 850—may have been self induced), apocalyptic denunciation of Islamic rule (Martinez

2003) and policies such as the Ottoman *devshirme* (levy of Christian youths), the Islamic state's promise of "protection" of both the persons and practices of its Christian subjects, assured Christians the ability to practice their religion (within limits: Tritton 1930; cf. Q 5:82). Particularly in the period after the Crusades, when Islamic thought increasingly made a distinction between Muslim and non-Muslim (which also included "bad" Muslims; cf. Michel 1984), conversions to Islam, from conviction, coercion, or socioeconomic aspirations (as well as the interventions of foreign "Christian" powers; Frazee 1982), undermined the position of Christians within the Islamic world.

Clare E. Wilde

See also 'Abbasids; Abyssinia; Alexandria; Aramaeans; Ascetics and Asceticism; Churches; Coptic; Copts; Interfaith Relations; Al-Jahiz; Jerusalem; Al-Ma'mun; Merchants, Christian; Mirrors for Princes; Muslim–Byzantine Relations; Muslim–Crusader Relations; Ottoman Empire; Qur'an and Christianity; Romance, Iberian; Scholars; Scribes; Syria, Greater; Syriac; Theology; Trade, Mediterranean; Umayyads; Women, Christian

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CIRCASSIANS

Circassians is the general name for the group of peoples in the northwestern Caucasus region who speak a language of the Abazgo–Circassian branch of the Caucasian languages. In Arabic, they are usually referred to as Jarkash (pl. Jarakish); in Turkish, Čerkes; and in their own language, Adygei. The Circassians were renowned for their military skills and played an important role in the history of the Mamluk Sultanate in Egypt and Syria, and to a certain degree later in the Ottoman Empire and the Safawid Empire. The territories inhabited by the Circassians are today part of the Russian Federation, and people of Circassian descent also live in Turkey, Jordan, and Israel.

Circassians and their lands were known to the early Arab geographers but were generally off the main path of early Muslim history. Their territory was ruled by the Khazars in the seventh to eleventh centuries, and the Mongol Golden Horde in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries. Throughout this

period, the Circassians followed their indigenous pagan traditions, although Christianity made some inroads among them. The Circassians began adopting Islam starting around the sixteenth century. The fact that they were pagans, along with their prowess, made them ideal candidates for military slavery (*see* Slavery, Military), not the least since at times it was difficult to procure Mamluks from the traditional Qipchaq Turkish areas farther north. Circassians first achieved prominence in the Mamluk Sultanate under Sultan Qalawun (1279–1290), who enrolled them in his Burjiyya regiment, named after the towers *(abraj)* of the Cairo citadel in which they resided. The members of this formation were only part of the large number of Mamluks whom this sultan purchased, and besides their military skills and availability, another reason for their purchase appears to have been a desire to counterbalance the influence of the Turkish Mamluks. The Circassians at that time, as well as later, showed a great degree of ethnic solidarity *(jinsiyya),* and rallied behind their compatriot Baybars al-Jashnakir (the taster), one of the strongmen of the Sultanate after Qalawun's death who was briefly sultan (r. 1309–1310), known to modern historians as Baybars II. While not disappearing, the power of the Circassians was subsequently weakened in the following generations but was to reemerge after the rise to power of Sultan Barquq (r. 1382–1406), a Circassian who made a special effort to import Mamluks from among his countrymen, at the expense of Turks and other groups. In fact, the second half of the Mamluk Sultanate is known by contemporary sources as the "Circassian State/Dynasty" (dawlat al-jarakisa), reflecting the predominant role of this group. Modern historians and students often mistakenly call this time the Burji period and its rulers Burji sultans, probably unintentionally (but still falsely) seeing a connection between the Circassian Burjiyya regiment of the late thirteenth century and the Circassian rulers, officers, and common Mamluks of a century later.

The Circassian period was generally one of economic decline and political disorder. Certainly there was a growing lack of discipline among the Mamluks. Contemporary writers, sometimes followed by modern historians, have attributed this to the character of the Circassians. It probably has more to do with a declining economy (a legacy of the middle fourteenth century), which in turn generated problems with paying the army, as well as the necessity of importing older Mamluks, meaning less education for the common soldier and future officer; he was therefore less formed than his predecessor and more prone to rioting and other forms of lack of discipline. There was a notable tendency for the Circassians to bring over family members once they were well established, breaking a long-held tradition of the Mamluk system, where the young military slave lost contact with his family, thus becoming dependent on his new patron and fellow Mamluks. Interestingly enough, during the Circassian period there was a certain flowering of Mamluk Turkish literature in the Sultanate, indicating that perhaps Turkish remained the lingua franca of the Mamluk class in spite of demographic changes. Circassians remained among the Mamluks of Egypt in the Ottoman period and were settled in Palestine and Jordan in the nineteenth century by the Ottoman authorities as part of the effort to increase control in the area, as well as to provide a solution to the thousands of Circassians who fled their homeland after the Russian conquest.

Reuven Amitai

See also Mamluks

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CIRCUMCISION (*KHITAN*)

The Arabic word for circumcision *(khitan)* is used interchangeably with both the male and the female versions, although the term *khifad* often appears in specific reference to female excision. Nowhere mentioned in the Qur'an, and only briefly discussed in legal materials, circumcision has become inextricably tied to one's identity as a Muslim in popular piety and practice. In fact, many Muslims recognize it as a necessary step in conversion to Islam. From a religious studies perspective, the manipulation of the genitalia ultimately epitomizes a believer's submission to divine control over human, procreative instincts and base passions.

Circumcision was a common practice in pre-Islamic Arabia that was later absorbed into the Islamic tradition. Both Philo (ca. 40 CE) and Josephus (ca. 100 CE) note its presence in Egypt, Ethiopia, and Arabia prior to the coming of Islam. They suggest

circumcision was tied to certain rites of passage, like puberty or marriage, in these regions. Philo observes that Egyptian males and females were circumcised after the fourteenth year before marriage, whereas Josephus claims the Arabs performed it on males just after the thirteenth year, at the time Ishmael was circumcised. In one of the earliest biographies of the Prophet Muhammad, Ibn Ishaq (d. 767 CE) records that in pre-Islamic times the Quraysh would slaughter a camel to Hubal, the central idol of the Ka'ba, before their sons were circumcised. Ibn Ishaq mentions girls were also circumcised, but in less celebratory fashion. Oddly, these early biographical materials do not mention the Prophet Muhammad's circumcision. The explanations for how the Prophet was circumcised only appear in later works. For example, some fourteenth- and fifteenth-century documents suggest 'Abdu'l Muttalib circumcised Muhammad; others insist that the prophet was, in fact, born circumcised.

The justifications for circumcision vary dramatically in early Sunni sources and practices. The majority of Sunni *hadith* associate circumcision with rites of purification *(tahara)*. Cutting the foreskin often appears in lists that include other acts of general hygiene, including the clipping of nails, the use of the tooth-stick, the trimming of mustaches, and the depilation of both the armpits and the pubic region. Adherence to these purity practices, which call for the removal of excess bodily materials, allows the true believer to realize the *fitra*, which the *hadith* define as the originary religion reflected in one's true nature as God created it.

Some Sunni *hadith* also link the practice of foreskin removal back to Abraham, who circumcised himself at the age of eighty with a pickax. Unlike Judaism, Islam does not view circumcision as the sole signifier of the covenant between God and his people. Circumcision stands as just one of many tests Abraham performed to demonstrate his unflinching adherence to the true faith. Just as Abraham was willing to sacrifice his son, so too was he willing to sacrifice a part of himself to fulfill God's command. Like many other Muslim ritual practices, circumcision is significant only insofar as it reflects a deeper intent to submit fully to God's will.

In early Sunni legal circles, Islamic scholars debate whether the practice of circumcision is *wajib* (obligatory) or *sunna* (customary), or whether its obligations extend solely to males, or to males and females. Al-Shafi'i considers the practice mandatory for both sexes, whereas Malik and others consider it *sunna* only for males. Those who consider the practice mandatory for males and females look to those *hadith* that combine circumcision with non–gender specific purificatory rituals, such as the removal of armpit hair and the shaving of the pubic region. Female circumcision is supported by relatively few numbers of *hadith*, many of which are attached with some sort of disclaimer. In those that do support female circumcision, the command is to cut, but not to cut too severely for the sake of the woman and her husband. These *hadith*, which stem back to the Prophet himself, condemn practices of excessive mutilation or radical infibulation. In addition to debates about to whom the practice should apply, many legal schools also deliberate the time a circumcision should be performed. Some recommend the seventh day following the birth of a male child (as distinct from Jewish law), while others propose its performance after a child reaches his tenth birthday.

Like their Sunni counterparts, Shi'i jurists support the practice of circumcision. Not insignificantly, the Shi'is do insist that all major prophets, including Abraham and Muhammad, were born purified and circumcised, along with every Shi'i *imam*. The Shi'i view that foreskin, or any other body part that requires cutting, clipping, shaving, or plucking, would somehow mar the flawlessness of a prophet or *imam*, may be what informs this doctrine.

Kathryn Kueny

See also Birth; Customary Law; Festivals and Celebration; Gender and Sexuality; Hadith; Ibn Ishaq; Law and Jurisprudence; Malik ibn Anas; Muhammad the Prophet; Personal Hygiene; Purity, Ritual; Qur'an; al-Shafi'i; Shi'ism; Sira

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CLIMATE, THEORIES OF

There are two interconnected understandings of climate that developed in medieval Islamic society. The first derives from the rich Arabic geographical

literature that variously divided the world into different "climates" as a framework for topographical description and cartography. These geographical climates were referred to by the Arabic term *iqlim* (pl. *aqalim*), which derived originally from the Greek *klima* (inclination), the basis of the Ptolemaic cartographic system. The use of *aqalim* in Arabic geography is considerably varied and does not simply follow the patterns of the Greek tradition as it was translated through Syriac authors. Several individual geographical treatises, such as that of al-Khuwarizmi, as well as more encyclopedic works, such as Yaqut, tended to reproduce the original seven climates of Ptolemy. These consisted of horizontal bands that began at the equator and progressively moved northward to cover the whole of the northern hemisphere. The width of each band was determined by the length of the day at the summer solstice and therefore did not represent any topographical or anthropological reality. Nevertheless, as discussed in the work of the Ikwan al-Safa' and others, residence in a particular *iqlim* was considered to affect the health of its inhabitants, their capabilities, both mental and physical, and even their body types and skin color. For most medieval authors there was a distinctly marked preference for the middle latitudes, which represented regions of climatic balance, in both temperature and seasonality. One of the chief advantages of this theory was that Baghdad, the official capital of the Caliphate for much of the 'Abbasid dynasty, was located squarely in the fourth/middle climate, thus advantageously placed to represent the essence of *ta'adil* (equilibrium/moderation in all things).

This latitudinal division of the world was largely rejected, or at least significantly reworked, by many medieval geographers who preferred to categorize the world in more civilizational or administrative terms. In maintaining the number seven as definitional to a theory of *aqalim*, certain authors were influenced by the Persian notion of *kishvar* regions, each of which comprised a large empire/civilization. Al-Biruni provided a diagram of the world based on the *kishvar,* such that his climates are represented by circles, not latitudinal bands, with Baghdad's *iqlim* in the center and the other six arranged around it. Within the tradition of descriptive geography that was championed by authors of the so-called Balki school of the tenth century, a more administrative logic would define these regions and also increase their number. In probably the most sophisticated geographical treatise of the medieval period, al-Muqaddasi's *Ahsan al-Taqasim fi Ma'rifat al-Aqalim (The Best Division for Knowledge of the Regions)*, the author describes fourteen regions (six Arab, eight non-Arab) that were described not only using the administrative boundaries but also numerous other cultural and environmental factors, such as ethnicity and cultivation.

In virtually all of the works that used the notion of *iqlim* as part of a theory of geographical classification, the intent was to provide a framework for presenting information on the cities, settlements, populations, and topographical features located in these regions. This geographical literature tended not to prioritize the description of climate in a more meteorological sense, although this was addressed peripherally in many works, particularly compendia of knowledge such as the epistles of the Ikhwan al-Safā'. Rather, this second understanding of climate, distinguished in Arabic by the term *manakh* (climate, atmosphere), which encompasses notions such as weather and seasonality, was often dealt with in other sources. Medieval Arabic texts, particularly those that dealt with the question of the *'aja'ib* (miracles, natural wonders), such as al-Qazwini, have provided extensive information about issues such as the division of the seasons, the influence of weather on the body and culture, and general understandings of ecology and health. Two realms of knowledge have contributed to theories surrounding these questions: (1) Islamic cosmological/theological understandings of the four elements, the three kingdoms, the nature of the physical world, and the role of humanity as steward of God's creation; and (2) "folk" understandings based on practical experience and knowledge of the environment, which are often correlated with economic lifeways (such as agriculture, pastoralism, craft production) or landscapes (such as desert, irrigated agricultural plain, cities). Despite the distinctions between the geographical and meteorological senses of climate, there have been moments of convergence between the understanding of *manakh* and *iqlam,* particularly in connection with the understanding of what constituted the ideal climate for the development of civilizational and spiritual achievements. Ibn Khaldun noted in his seminal work of social history, *al-Muqaddimah,* that the middle three *aqalim* were the most suitable for civilization, particularly the proliferation of great monuments and advanced urban centers, because of the moderation of their meteorological climate. Moreover, these more temperate regions were envisioned as the place of prophets and righteous people, a testament to the link made in medieval Islamic society not only between climate and civilization, but also between climate and morality.

Ian B. Straughn

See also Agriculture; Cartography; Geography; Human Geography; Ibn Khaldun; Meteorology; Nomadism and Pastoralism, al-Qazwini; Yaqut

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CLOTHING AND COSTUME

Although there were regional and temporal variations in clothing styles throughout the medieval Muslim world, there was a distinct civilization-wide mode of dress that Yedida Kalfon Stillman has dubbed "the Islamic vestimentary system." This vestimentary system, which remained remarkably constant throughout the Middle Ages, developed from the gradual fusion of three different fashion systems that existed in the lands, rather cultural zones, that became the caliphate: the Arabian Peninsula, the Hellenistic Mediterranean, and Iranian and Turkish Central Asia. The pre-Islamic Arabian mode of dress was characterized by loose, flowing, untailored garments; the Hellenistic Mediterranean by tunics and wraps; and the Central Asian by fitted or tailored garments such as coats, jackets, and trousers. The process of fusion had already begun in the Arab kingdoms of Hira and Ghassan in northern Arabia that bordered the Byzantine and Sasanian empires and were zones of cultural osmosis just prior to the advent of Islam.

Early Islamic Clothing: Style and Religious Ideology

The general mode of dress of the Muslim community at the time of the Prophet was generally that of pre-Islamic Arabia with some modifications in accordance with new moral sensibilities. The new Islamic notions of corporal modesty were not unlike those of Near Eastern Judaism and Christianity. The Qur'an declares that God revealed *libas* (clothing) to humanity "to conceal your shame" (Sura VII, 26). The medieval Arabic lexicographers even defined *libas* as "that which conceals or covers the sexual organs." (It is noteworthy that in many modern Arabic dialects the word is used to denote underwear, not merely as a euphemism, but in recognition of clothing's essential nature.) Like Jews and Christians, the early Muslims were prudish about pagan society's easygoing attitude toward nudity, and the *hadith* literature stresses the importance of underwear. The basic Arab undergarment going back to Antiquity was the *izar*. This loincloth is already mentioned by Herodotus and still constitutes the lower half of the ritual *ihram* attire worn by male pilgrims to Mecca. During the formative period when Muhammad led the community in Medina (622–632), a new undergarment of Persian origin, *sirwal* (drawers), also came into use. Because not everyone in the early *umma* could afford a separate undergarment, there are numerous traditions warning against exposing one's private parts when sitting, squatting, or trussing up one's garment while working.

The principal article of clothing at the time of the Prophet was one of a variety of body shirts, such as the *qamis*, or tunics, such as the *thawb*. The latter was so basic that the word also simply means "cloth" or, in the plural, "items of clothing." Depending on weather, occasion, or wealth and status, a person might wear over the body-covering a mantle *(rida')*, a wrap *(burd, milhafa, shamla, or izar)*, a coat *(qaba')*, or a sleeveless robe *('aba'a)*. Many of the same garment names are used for male and female attire, although there probably were often some gender differences of style.

Following norms going back to the ancient Near East, covering the head was considered a mark of modesty for both men and women. Exposing one's hair was a sign of arrogance, and the Qur'an threatens the sinner with being dragged down to hell by his "lying, sinful forelock" (Sura 104, 15–16). Early Muslims covered the head with a variety of caps, such as the *qalansuwa* (considered so distinctively Arab that it was specifically forbidden to non-Muslim subjects by the Pact of 'Umar after the conquests), a headcloth, such as the *mandil*, or a turban *('imama)*. The early turban was probably a simple strip of fabric

wound about the head and not the composite headgear of later medieval and early modern times, which consists of one or more caps and a winding cloth. It certainly did not have the significance that it came to have in the later Middle Ages as "the crown of the Arabs," "the badge of Islam," and "the divider between unbelief and belief." Because of the turban's later significance, pious legends about the Prophet's turban abounded, and one of his epithets came to be *sahib al-'imama* (the wearer of the turban). Early *hadith*s, however, mention him appearing publicly with his mantle pulled over his head and held in place with a headband *('isaba)*.

With the exception of Muhammad's wives, whose special status set them apart, strict veiling for women does not seem to have been the norm in the early Muslim community. Around 626–627, the Prophet received a revelation that in public his and the Believers' wives should draw their *jilbab*, an enveloping outer wrap, "close about them. . . .so they be recognized and not molested" (Sura XXXIII, 59). Another Medinese verse (Sura XXIV, 31) enjoins Muslim women to be modest and cover their bosoms with a *khimar*, another female veil-cum-wrap, but makes no mention of covering the face. It would appear that strict veiling practices, together with the seclusion of women, only evolved among the bourgeoisie over the first two centuries of Islam in emulation of the Prophet's personal *sunna* (practice).

Since many of the most stirring prophetic utterances seemed to imply that Judgment Day was nigh, the early Islamic community tended toward sartorial austerity. According to the Qur'an (Sura XXII:23), the Believers will be clothed with raiment of silk and bracelets of gold and pearls in Paradise, but according to the *hadith*, Muhammad forbade men to indulge in such luxuries in this world. He did, however, make exceptions for men with pruritic skin conditions or body lice, as well as for women. During the century following the Islamic conquests, this early austerity in male attire rapidly gave way to greater luxury for the upper classes, and only the poor and the ascetic pietists continued wearing simple garments. Because of their plain wool *(suf)* robes, the ascetics came to be known as Sufis.

Evolution of the Islamic Vestimentary System under the Caliphates

The Islamic vestimentary system evolved in the great caliphate established by the Arab conquests. As noted at the beginning of this entry, the expanded empire included three different cultural zones, each with its own distinctive fashion system. At first, the Arabs, who were a minority in their own empire, tried to maintain identifiable differences of attire between themselves and their subjects. This led to the *ghiyar* (differentiation) regulations, which required the *dhimmi*s, or tolerated non-Muslim population, to be visibly dissimilar in dress from Muslims. These sumptuary laws evolved over a long period but were ascribed by later tradition to the so-called Pact of 'Umar, which was attributed to Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khattab (r. 634–644). The earliest of these rules probably only date from the time of 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz (r. 717–720). The requirement to have distinctly distinguishing clothing also applied to the Arab militia that stood guard over the empire. Arab warriors in the eastern provinces, for example, were forbidden from wearing the Persian *khaftan* (cuirass) and *ran* (leggings). However, by the end of the Umayyad period, the Arabs living in Khurasan had become increasingly assimilated into the local culture, and this certainly included their style of dress.

The fusion of vestimentary styles and a movement away from the earlier austerity were already taking place in the highest echelons of Islamic society shortly after the conquests. Both historical sources and artistic representations attest to the fact that some of the Umayyad rulers wore Persian-style coats, pantaloons, and the regal, high, miterlike hat known as the *qalansuwa tawila*. They also adopted, from both the Byzantine and the Sasanian courts, the custom of wearing special royal garments of such luxury fabrics as silk, satin, and brocade. Umayyad official attire was white, while the protocol of their successors, the 'Abbasids, required black. The Umayyads further emulated the Byzantine and Persian rulers by establishing state factories to produce royal fabrics with embroidered bands *(tiraz)* containing written inscriptions. Along with a mention of the caliph's name in the Friday sermon, having his name inscribed on *tiraz* and on coins came to be regarded as the ruler's prerogative. Garments of these regal fabrics were not only worn by the caliphs and their retinues but also were given as gifts. The bestowal of the *khil'a*, or robe of honor, became a standard practice in Islamic courts throughout the Middle Ages and continued until early modern times. Not only did the wearing of luxurious clothing spread down from the elite to the bourgeoisie, but also private ateliers began imitating royal *tiraz*. We know both from actual relics preserved in museums and from the documents of the Cairo Geniza that ordinary people who could afford it copied the practice of bestowing robes of honor on family and friends. Valuable articles of clothing were considered part of personal wealth and were handed down as family heirlooms.



Kaftan. Turkish, late sixteenth-early seventeenth century CE (CT22668). Credit: Victoria & Albert Museum, London/Art Resource. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Great Britain.

During the ninth and tenth centuries, fashion consciousness reached new heights in Baghdad. Sartorial style and elegance formed part of the polite cultural ideal of *adab*. In his manual for members of refined society, *Kitab al-Muwashsha' aw al-Zarf wa-l-Zurafa' (The Book of Ornamentation on Elegance and Elegant People)*, the aesthete al-Washsha' (d. 936) devotes several chapters to proper attire and the etiquette of dress for members of both sexes. Many Persian garments were integrated into the Islamic vestimentary system during that time. The 'Abbasids increasingly adopted elements from Sasanian court protocols, such as red leather boots. As a demonstration of their Arabian roots, Islamic legitimacy, and charisma, the 'Abbasid caliphs would on certain ceremonial occasions don the simple woolen *burda* (cloak) that had supposedly belonged to the Prophet Muhammad.

The Fatimid dynasty (909–1171) exceeded both the Umayyads and the ʿAbbasids in their use of clothing as part of their pomp and ceremony. A government agency oversaw the production, storage, and distribution of seasonal ceremonial attire for all officials from the caliph down to minor civil servants. A complete outfit might consist of a dozen articles of clothing. Fatimid ceremonial costumes were mostly white and embroidered with gold and silver thread in accordance with the dynasty's official image as bearers of divine light *(nur ilahi)*.

Turkish Military Dynasties and Later Medieval Fashion Trends

Yedida Stillman has noted three significant trends occurring in the Islamic vestimentary system during the late eleventh through thirteenth centuries under the Turkish military dynasties of the Seljuks, the Ayyubids, and the Mamluks, and under the Mongol Ilkhanids. These trends were (1) the introduction of new garments and fashions from Central Asia and the Far East; (2) increasing social stratification reflected by clothing; and (3) ever-stricter interpretation and enforcement of the dress code for *dhimmi*s.

The first category included a variety of Asian coats, jackets, and vests *(qabaʾ turki, qabaʾ tatari, bughlutaq, sallariyya, malluta)*; caps and hats *(sharbush, kalawta, saraquj, zamt)*; and military belts *(hiyasa, band)* and boots *(khifaf)* emblazoned with heraldic devices. Originally reserved only for the ruling military elite, some variants of these items were in time adopted by the bourgeoisie.

The increased social stratification under the feudalistic military regimes was reflected in the dress of the different classes of society. Not only did the "men of the sword" *(arbab al-suyuf)* have their own distinctive fashions, but so did the bureaucrat "men of the pen" *(arbab al-aqlam),* the religious scholars *(ʿulamaʾ),* the urban notables *(al-aʿyan),* the Sufis, the young mens' associations *(al-fityan),* and the masses *(al-ʿamma)*. During this period, for example, the Persian shawl known as the *taylasan* was the badge of qadis and jurists, and the miterlike *qalansuwa tawila*, a symbol of royalty under the Umayyads and a fashionable hat under the ʿAbbasids, became the mark of a dervish.

The strictness of application of *ghiyar* for the clothing of *dhimmi*s was due both to the increased social stratification of the times and to a hardening of attitudes toward non-Muslims. The Mamluks imposed a color code on *dhimmi* women's outdoor clothing. Jewish women were to be identified by a yellow *izar*, Christian women by a blue one, and Samaritans by red. In Sharifan Morocco, Jewish men (the only *dhimmi*s) had to wear black, and in Zaydi Yemen, Jewish males and females dark indigo. In Safavid Iran, *dhimmi* men wore an identifying patch, while their womenfolk were forbidden to veil their faces like Muslim women.

Overall, the Islamic vestimentary system remained remarkably constant both in its basic form and in ideology throughout most of the Middle Ages. There was continual evolution, introduction of new garments, and regional stylistic variation, but the fusion in different proportions over time and space of the three basic components—Arabian, Hellenistic, and Irano–Turkic—was the essential hallmark of the fashion system. This system would only begin to experience radical changes during the nineteenth century as a concomitant of modernization and the impact of the West.

Norman A. Stillman

See also Court Dress

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COINS AND CURRENCY

Without any own monetary traditions, the Arabs of Mecca and Medina at first adopted the preexisting coinages in the conquered regions. The result was the development of two currencies: the so called Arab-Byzantine in copper and gold and the Arab-Sasanian coinage almost entirely in silver, both with minor modifications to their prototypes. During the reign of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwan, coins of purely Islamic inspiration were struck. In AH 77/696 CE, the caliph issued the first

gold *dinars* at weight of one *mithqal* (4.25 g). Silver *dirhams* followed in AH 79/698 CE, at the "canonical" weight of 2.97 g. These coins were entirely anonymous; the inscriptions consisted of religious phrases. Additionally to those phrases, *dinars* also bear the date, *dirhams,* the mint and date. No such uniform design was applied to the copper coins, called *fulus* (sg. *fals*), which were more or less a local affair. During the 'Abbasid caliphate the epigraphic style of coinage continued with minor changes in the used formulas. In the 770s, the caliph's name often appeared on the coins, as did the names of the designated heirs, local governors, and court officials. From this period on *dinars* started to bear the mint, too. During the ninth century, copper coinage was largely abandoned. It is also apparent that Islamic *dirhams* started to be an important trading medium outside the Caliphate.

The various dynasties that took political authority from the 'Abbasids retained the standard design for their precious metal coinage. Sovereignty is expressed by the right of *sikka* (the mention of the ruler's name on the precious metal coinage). In addition to the existent denominations, new ones were introduced, at first in 'Abbasid Yemen.

As the western lands became independent of the 'Abbasids, they began to strike their own coinage. The Umayyads of Spain continued to strike silver coins like those of the Umayyads and later introduced a gold coinage. The coinage of the Almoravides reflected their fervor for the holy war by introducing pugnacious legends. The Idrisids minted silver *dirhams*, lighter than the contemporary 'Abbasid ones. The Sunni Aghlabid gold coinage, on the other hand, was of normal 'Abbasid type and weight.

In the East the Tahirids were the first to issue coins independently. Their Saffarid and Samanid coins were *dirhams* of the normal 'Abbasid type. The main post-'Abbasid coinage in this region was that of the Buyids, which was predominantly in gold. From circa 940, because of the lack of silver in Islam, the Samanids turned to the production of low-grade silver coins of large model, weighing up to twenty grams. Large, billon- or plated-copper coins were first struck by the Qarakhanids. Most dynasties followed and billon coinage came into prominence. By 1010, fine silver coinage had become uncommon in the Muslim world. Umayyad standards of monetary stability were never reached again.

The first to depart from the classical coin type was the Fatimid dynasty. On his accession, al-Mu'izz introduced new coinage bearing militant Shi'i inscriptions in a concentric coin design. Also, a new dinar with the legend "extremely high" to demonstrate the gold fineness was introduced. The twelfth century had some changes in the coinage of the eastern Islamic lands: copper coins reappeared as important money, sometimes in the form of large copper coins. Also, good silver *dirham* coinage was reintroduced by the Ayyubid sultan Saladin. Because of several monetary reforms, the Mamluks minted distinctive precious metal coins and coppers that displayed a variety of heraldic emblems. In 1225, the dominance of the Venetian gold *ducat* forced the introduction of a new Mamluk gold coinage, the *ashrafi*, at the same standard, which was also adopted by the Ottomans. In the Maghreb, the Almohads also used distinctive new coin types to emphasize their dissident beliefs. Their "square in circle" type of gold coinage and their square-shaped silver coins were adopted by all subsequent Western dynasties.

In the late twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, silver coinage spread to Anatolia, Iraq, and Iran. The Rum-Seljuk *dirhams* were minted copiously. Under the Mongol Ilkhan Ghazan Mahmud, the continued local coinages were abandoned. He created a silver coinage with uniform appearance, weight, and fineness. The early fourteenth century started with a series of reductions under his successors, which went along with changes in the coin design. This system was retained at a regional level by the post-Ilkhanid dynasts. The coinage of the Timurids was based on the Ilkhanid tradition but was dominated by a new and larger silver denomination. Timurid style and denomination spread widely through Safavid Iran and northern India. In their time, each of the great empires, Ottoman, Iranian, and Mughal, had their own diverse and complex coinage.

LEONHARD E. REIS

See also 'Abbasids; 'Abd al Malik ibn Marwan; Credit; Markets; Mining; Moneylenders; Precious Metals; Saladin (Salah al-Din); Tax and Taxation; Trade, Mediterranean; Weights and Measurements; Umayyads

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COMMANDING GOOD AND FORBIDDING EVIL

The principle of commanding the good and forbidding the evil *(al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar),* which is applied to any action promoting what is good and prohibiting what is reprehensible, formulates a religious and moral duty based on the Qur'an. The terms *ma'rūf* and *munkar* in the expression occur in the Qur'an sometimes in tandem, as in *al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar* (Q 3:110, 114; 7:157; 9:71, 112; 22:41), and at times separately (Q 4:114; 5:79; 16:90; 29:45).

In its basic sense, *ma'rūf* refers to good manners and behaviors that are well known, recognized, and embraced and that are not considered to be strange when seen among people, while *munkar* is the misdeed that is not approved and accepted. Discussions that took place in the Muslim community in political, dogmatic (confessional), and juristical domains and the distinction of reason and tradition (*aql* and *naql*) resulting therefrom, gave way to the reformation of the meanings of *ma'rūf* and *munkar* in accordance with this distinction. Thus, these two terms, in addition to their religious and moral significance, gained political and juristical content. While most Mu'tazilite theologians called *ma'rūf* what reason deems as good and *munkar* what reason deems evil in accordance with their position on the issue of good and bad *(husn* and *qubh)*, the Salafis and the Ash'arites defined *ma'rūf* as the deeds and utterances that the law says are good, and *munkar* as what the law says is improper. No matter how they are determined, all political, theological, and jurisprudential schools are in complete agreement that performing this duty is obligatory. However, there is a disagreement on whether this duty must be performed individually or collectively. There is a difference of opinion on such issues as to the way in which this principle should be implemented and the means of this implementation. The principle of commanding the good and forbidding the evil appears to have been enforced in two ways: (1) formally undertaken by the state, or (2) left to the individual responsibility of the Muslims. The former was institutionalized with the name of *hisbah* in such a way as to include the preservation of morality and the public order in society. *Hisbah* was intended to deal with the violation of individual, communal, and state rights and with the *munkar* about which there was no disagreement.

Commenting on the verse "*let there be a community of you, calling to all that is good, commanding what is right and forbidding what is wrong*" (Q 3:104), scholars such as Abū Ya'lā, al-Juwaynī, al-Ghazālī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Ibn Taymiyya, and Zamakhshari maintained that this duty was to be performed by those who are knowledgeable about *ma'rūf* and *munkar* and the methods of commanding and prohibiting such things and those who possess good qualities.

By citing the prophetic *hadith* that reads "*whoever of you sees wrong being committed, let him rectify it with his hand, if he is unable, then with his tongue, and if he is unable, then with this heart, which is the bare minimum of faith*," Muslim scholars also held that everyone should carry out this duty with their hands, tongues, and hearts in accordance with their ability. Among the scholars, there are those who, restricting this duty to tongue and heart, disapproved of the use of force, and there are also those who contended that the use of force and coercion should be resorted to when tongue and heart are ineffective.

The Kharijis asserted that this duty must be carried out, regardless of the circumstances, with anyone who goes astray, be it the state, the community, or the individual, and that the use of force and arms is required to do it. The Kharijis, who had as their motto the principle of commanding the good and forbidding the evil, accused anyone who did not agree with them of deviating from God's true path, and hence claimed that these deviants from God's path could only be fought through waging holy war against them. Grounding the legitimacy and the necessity of revolting against the state in this principle, the Kharijis had the lion's share in this principle's gaining a political content. The Ibadis, a Khariji faction, though disapproving of the use of weapon against people, believed that the tyrannical ruler has to be hampered and ousted by any means necessary, with or without arms. Although the Zaydiyyah and

the Imāmiyyah of the Shi'i were in favor, like the Kharijis, of the use of force and arms against tyrannical political authority, the Imāmīs in particular suspended this practice until the Imam in occultation appears.

Muslim scholars such as al-Hasan al-Basrī and Abu Hanīfah viewed "the commanding the good and prohibiting the evil" as more of a moral principle and thus did not approve of the use of force against the state and the community on the ground that it would effect mistrust among people, harm the integrity of the community, and cause further social disintegration and unrest.

As against the Khawarij, there was a group who considered *al-amr wa al-nahy* to be subject to the aforementioned conditions, and moreover did not go beyond the confines of the heart and the tongue for its sake. Ahmad b. Hanbal is counted among them. According to this group, a bloody uprising for the sake of struggling against unlawful activities is not permissible. The Salafiyyah, which also includes the people of *hadith,* did not deem it appropriate to resort to the use of force against political authority, even in the event that people are murdered and family members are harmed, in order to preserve social peace, to keep social order unharmed, and to prevent the community from breaking up due to disorder and corruption. Regarding this principle as one of the five fundamentals that complement the faith, the Mu'tazilah held that to make the good prevail in social life and to avoid the evil, gentle language or method should first be used; if it is not effective, then a harsh expression may be employed; and if this does not prevail, then hand or force (sword) are to be used until the goal has been achieved. The Mu'tazilah accepted the conditions for *al-amr wa al-nahy*, but, not limiting to the heart and the tongue, maintained that if the unlawful practices become common, or if the state is oppressive and unjust, it is obligatory for Muslims to rise in armed revolt. The Mu'tazilah perceived this principle as the legitimate source of revolt during the Umayyad period and determined the method and conditions of revolting against the government in accordance with this principle. However, when they rose to power during the reign of the 'Abbasid caliph Ma'mūn, the Mu'tazilah made use of the same principle as a means to coerce others into accepting their views. For them, in order to rise against the authority, certain conditions such as "just imam," "loyal and sincere followers," and "hope of success" must obtain.

In modern times, it is possible to consider within the extension of this principle the activities of the opposition parties in politics and the activities of civil organizations for protecting the rights of the individual in Muslim societies.

Mahmut Ay

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COMMENTARY

Commentary is a type of scholarship that attempts to elucidate, complement, correct, or even sophisticate an existing body of literature. Sometimes the underlying assumption is that the body of literature in question requires a commentary because it was produced at such a time in the past that its meanings and/or historical circumstances are concealed to the current reader or the knowledge in it requires updating. However, in some cases, commentaries are authored precisely to infuse into that body of literature ideas and beliefs that are not there in the first place, and subsequently make it harmonious with those championed by the commentators. Commentaries are extremely important for the proper understanding of

the dissemination of knowledge in the medieval Islamic world. Invariably, it was in commentaries that authors embedded their own views and sometimes corrections on earlier knowledge and dogma and opened new venues for the succeeding generations. In medieval Islamic scholarship, hundreds of commentaries were produced on a variety of religious and secular subjects, ranging from the Qur'an (being the most prestigious subject to compile a commentary on), Hadith, Sufism, and theology, to grammar, poetry, adab, and science.

Qur'an

A commentary on the Qur'an usually engages one or more of the following issues: meaning(s) of particular words and expressions, grammar and proper reading, circumstances of revelation, abrogating and abrogated verses, and political or theological implications of particular verses. The earliest Qur'an commentators from the first century of Islam (seventh century CE) seem not to have had a comprehensive approach to interpreting Islam's scripture. Rather, their commentary glosses are fragmentary and tend to represent one particular point of view. Later, in the second/eighth century, more comprehensive commentaries with a variety of opinions started to appear, such as the *Tafsir* of ʻAbd al-Razzaq al-Sanʻani (d. 211/826). Commentaries on the grammar of the Qur'an also started to appear around that time, such as *Maʻani al-Qur'an* by al-Farra' (d. 207/822). The most notable commentary from the medieval period is that of al-Tabari (d. 310/923), entitled *Jamiʻ al-bayan ʻan ta'wil ay al-Qur'an*, which preserves a large number of commentary glosses by scholars from the first two centuries of Islam whose commentaries, if they ever existed as individual compilations, are otherwise lost to us. Other influential commentaries include *Haqa'iq al-tafsir* by al-Sulami (d. 412/1021), which extracts the "hidden" mystical meanings of the verses of the Qur'an; *al-Kashf wa-l-bayan ʻan tafsir al-Qur'an* by al-Tha ʻlabi (d. 425/1037), which incorporates Sunni, Shiʻi, and Sufi interpretations but leaves out, intentionally it seems, the Muʻtazila views; *al-Tibyan fi tafsir al-Qur'an* by Abu Jaʻfar al-Tusi (d. 460/1068), which preserves the traditions of several Twelver Shiʻi imams; *al-Kashshaf* by al-Zamakhshari (d. 538/1144), which preserves moderate views of Muʻtazila commentators; and *Tafsir al-Jalalayn,* started by Jalal al-Din al-Mahalli (d. 864/1459) and completed by his student Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti (d. 911/1505), which is the most popular commentary in the Arab world because of its conciseness.

Hadith

The Qur'an was not the only religious text that received the attention of medieval Muslim commentators. The Hadith, perceived by most Muslims as second in importance to the Qur'an, received its share of commentaries. Such works were authored precisely to verify the authenticity of the *hadith*s they contain and their transmission, as well as the circumstances that allegedly led the Prophet Muhammad to utter them. For instance, several commentaries were authored on the famous *Sahih* of al-Bukhari (d. 256/870); the most notable of them is *Fath al-bari bi-sharh sahih al-Bukhari* by Ibn Hajar al-ʻAsqalani (d. 852/1448). Similarly, commentaries were written on the *Muwatta'* of Malik ibn Anas (d. 179/796), like the one by al-Zurqani (d. 1122/1710), and on the *Sahih* of Muslim (d. 261/875), like the one by al-Nawawi (d. 676/1277). Commentaries on Hadith were also authored by grammarians who were eager to explain away certain grammatical inaccuracies in the words attributed to the Prophet Muhammad, like the one by Ibn Malik (d. 672/1274) on the *Sahih* of al-Bukhari.

Sufism and Theology

Sufi commentaries were written sometimes to "unveil" the mystical treasures hidden in a given text, like those on the Qur'an, but were also authored to clarify and simplify a complicated, difficult-to-comprehend, mystical language for the novice mystics. For instance, Shams al-Din Shahrazuri (fl. seventh/thirteenth century) wrote a commentary on the Sufi gnostic work *Hikmat al-ishraq* of Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi (d. 587/1191). *Ihya' ʻulum al-din* of al-Ghazali (d. 505/1111) was the subject of a major commentary by al-Zabidi (d. 1205/1791), entitled *Ithaf al-sada al-muttaqin bi-sharh ihya' ʻulum al-din*. Several commentaries were authored on *al-Futuhat al-makkiyya* by Ibn ʻArabi (d. 638/1240), including *Sharh mushkil al-futuhat al-makiyya* by ʻAbd al-Karim al-Jili (d. ca. 832/1428). Similarly, the mystical poem *Qasidat al-Burda* of al-Busiri (d. 694/1294) was the subject of several commentaries. Theological commentaries were also written on topics ranging from the one hundred names of God, such as *Lawamiʻ al-bayyinat sharh asma' Allah taʻala wa-l-sifat* by Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d. 606/1210), to other theological compilations, such as the several commentaries written on the *Kitab al-fiqh al-akbar* attributed to Abu Hanifa (d. 150/767).

Grammar, Poetry, and Adab

Besides the several commentaries on the grammar of the Qur'an, one can mention the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Malik (d. 672/1274), a thousand-line poem (a summary of his 2757-line poem) on Arabic grammar, which received more than forty commentaries, the most notable of which is that of Ibn 'Aqil (d. 769/1367), which in turn received minor commentaries, like the one by al-Suyuti (d. 911/1505). The grammar book of Sibawayh (known as *Kitab Sibawayh*) also received several commentaries. Poetry, especially pre-Islamic poetry, received tremendous attention on the part of medieval commentators. For instance, several commentaries were produced on the seven or ten most-celebrated epics *(al-mu'allaqat)*. Other examples include commentaries on the poetry of al-Mutanabbi (d. 354/955), like *Sharh diwan al-Mutanabbi* by al-Wahidi (d. 468/1075), and on the celebrated *Diwan al-Hamasa*, a collection of poems attributed to Abu Tammam (d. 231/845). The belletristic masterpiece *Maqamat* of al-Hariri (d. 516/1122) received several commentaries as well.

Science and Philosophy

Science and philosophy received their share of commentaries, and it is in such commentaries that one is likely to encounter the original contribution of Muslim, Christian, and Jewish scholars from the medieval Islamic World, who corrected or elucidated the knowledge presented in earlier Greek and Arabic books. Because of their significance, some of these commentaries were translated into Latin in the late Middle Ages and during the Renaissance. Several commentaries were written on Ptolemy's *Almagest* on astronomy, and on Euclid's *Elements* on geometry. With respect to medicine, Ibn al-Nafis (d. 687/1288) probably stands out as one of the most prolific medieval commentators. He authored an extensive commentary on the medical encyclopedia *al-Qanun fi l-tibb* of Ibn Sina (d. 428/1037) and another commentary on the *Aphorisms*, the *Prognostics*, and *De natura hominis* of Hippocrates. Logic was also an attractive subject—Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198) wrote on the *Logic* of Aristotle *(Sharh al-burhan li-Aristu)*; but it was Porphyry's *Isagogep* that received the most attention, like the commentary on it by the Nestorian monk Abu 'l-Faraj ibn al-Tayyib (d. 435/1043). In philosophy, Ibn Sina's two masterpieces, *Kitab al-Shifa'* and *Kitab al-isharat wa-l-tanbihat,* are the most original philosophical compilations ever produced in medieval Islam and feature extensive commentaries on the philosophies of Aristotle, Plotinus, and al-Farabi (d. 339/950).

Suleiman Mourad

See also Scriptural Exegesis

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COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET

The term *Companions* refers to anyone living in the original community of the Prophet, though the precise definition varies greatly. In Arabic sources, it is rendered *sahaba*. Companions are generally held in high esteem due to their close relationship to the Prophet. They are a source of prophetic traditions, as well as heroes and role models for later generations of Muslims.

Khadija, the Prophet's first wife, was the first to convert to the new faith in approximately 612 CE and may be considered the earliest Companion. She was followed by the prophet's nephew, 'Ali b. Abi Tâlib, the Prophet's adopted son Zayd, and Abû Bakr, who would later become the first caliph. The early conversion of influential and respected Quraysh, such as the Prophet's uncle, Hamza b. Abi Tâlib, and 'Umar b. al-Khattâb, helped establish respect for the new faith.

Many Companions faced persecution for their beliefs. At Mecca, most clans in Quraysh allowed the harassment and, in extreme cases, the torture and execution of kinsmen who converted to Islam. These circumstances led a large number to emigrate to Ethiopia in approximately 615. When the Banu Hâshim withdrew its protection of the prophet after the death of Abû Tâlib, the Prophet and most remaining Companions emigrated to Yathrib, to the north of Mecca, in 622.

The sanctuary at Yathrib, later called Medina, allowed the Muslim community to grow. Because belief in Islam rather than loyalty to a tribe or clan formed the basic bond in the new state, the closeness of companionship, often coinciding with priority in conversion, had important implications in deciding social and political rank. Many Medinese converts became close advisors of the Prophet despite their tribal origin. When the Prophet showed favors to later converts from among the Meccan nobility later in his life, many early converts, including those from Mecca, complained bitterly.

The decision, upon the death of the Prophet, to keep the Muslim community united politically ensured for several decades the primacy of Companions in Muslim government. The caliphate was established in the Quraysh. The first four caliphs, however, were all close Companions. The first caliph, Abû Bakr, was one of the earliest converts and had no important clan affiliation to aid his rise to power.

The caliph ʻUmar b. al-Khattâb formalized the privileged status of Companions. He created a dîwân, which fixed the stipends of Muslims according to the approximate date of their conversion and service to Islam. Those who joined the community before the battle of Badr in 624 received higher stipends than those who converted before the Pledge of Hudabiyya or the Conquest of Mecca.

Much of the prestige and authority of Companions, nevertheless, remained charismatic. As the Muslim conquests brought large numbers of countries and peoples into the Muslim fold, either as converts or *dhimmis*, Companions provided an important link to the original Muslim community at Mecca and Medina. They held themselves as the guardians of the true Islamic tradition. People turned to them for arbitration much as they once turned to the Prophet. They did not hesitate to criticize even a caliph where they deemed him in error.

These different views of companionship led to open conflict during the reign of the caliph ʻUthmân b. ʻAffân and the First Fitna (656–661 C.E.). Although ʻUthmân was himself a Companion, many Companions turned the community against him for his innovations and his favoritism of his clan in dispensing favors and appointments. The Companion and son of the first caliph, Muhammad b. Abi Bakr, led a faction that stormed his house and killed him. In the First Fitna, which followed, Companions led and fought on all major sides. At the Battle of Camel, the celebrated Companions Talha b. ʻUbayd Allâh and al-Zubayr b. ʻAwwâm and the Prophet's favorite wife, ʻÂ'isha bt. Abi Bakr fought against the Prophet's nephew, ʻAli b. Abi Tâlib. In the end, Muʻâwiya b. Abi Sufyân, the son of one of the Prophet's Meccan persecutors, became caliph.

Subsequent years saw the sharp decline in the political influence of Companions, but not in their general esteem. When Muʻâwiya died in 680, his son succeeded him as caliph. Although most Companions would have resisted the innovation of hereditary succession, very few survived. Those who remained had been very young at the time of the Prophet's death and were known mainly for their activities since that time as representatives of one faction or another. Hussayn b. ʻAli, for example, had become the recognized leader of the Banû Hâshim, representing the Prophet's extended family and descendants. He revolted, but his following could not match the resources of the caliphal state. He was quickly massacred.

Nostalgia for an earlier era, nevertheless, kept alive veneration for the memory of Companions. A number of piety-minded individuals and groups emulated their simple austere piety. This piety inspired new forms of popular activism. Individuals such as al-Hasan al-Basrî, Ibn Sîrîn, and Ibrahîm al-Nakhaʻî became renowned for their modest lifestyles, religious knowledge, and frank judgments. Khârijis, promoting a more radical agenda, disavowed the corrupt centers of caliphal power. They formed small bands in the countryside and waged ceaseless battle against the government.

The development of Islamic law in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries greatly elevated the moral status of Companions among Sunni Muslims. As scholars sought to validate traditions of the Prophet upon which much of Sunni law rested, they resolved the character of every Companion to have been unimpeachable. If any report could be reliably traced back to one, then it was presumed to be true. This doctrine became known as the "Rectification of the Companions" *(ta ʻdil al-sahaba)*. It eliminated the need to discuss and judge numerous controversies that had divided different groups of Companions and which may have called into question fundamental principles of belief. It led, nevertheless, to disputes over who actually qualified as a Companion, with some insisting a candidate must have attained a mature age or have visited the Prophet before his or her death.

The doctrine had a profound impact on Sunni historiography. Later Sunni historians treat early controversies with great unease. Their descriptions are generally terse. Where they must, they choose reports that are theologically sound and refrain from assigning blame to any known Companion. While they admit something happened, they often claim the reasons for such a thing happening are not known. They criticize earlier historians as indiscriminant in their choice of reports, which ascribe a wide range of motives and calculations to many Companions.

At the same time, while early writers subsumed both Companions and subsequent transmitters of prophetic traditions in their biographical dictionaries, later writers sometimes devoted dictionaries to the lives of Companions exclusively. The later works attempt to decide definitively who was a Companion and to assert their excellent character beyond any doubt. They often add anecdotal information absent from earlier sources without giving documentation. Ibn al-Athir's discussion of Talha b. ʻUbayd Allâh and al-Zubayr b. ʻAwwâm illustrates this tendency.

He mentions the great service each provided for Islam, the favors the Prophet bestowed upon them that recognized this service, and the excellent reputations they enjoyed among their peers. However, when he reaches the Battle of Camel, where both opposed the Prophet's nephew and the caliph ‘Ali b. Abi Tâlib, he gives only a lengthy account about how each, upon meeting ‘Ali on the battlefield, withdrew rather than fight their fellow Companion. Both were later killed against ‘Ali's wishes. Despite the detail, Ibn al-Athir never gives the sources of his information.

Shi‘is, in contrast, maintained a more critical perspective. Their faith emphasized their loyalty to the Prophet's descendants through ‘Ali b. Abi Tâlib and his daughter Fatima. They held most, but not all, Companions to be virtuous. As a group, they failed to support ‘Alî's claims to the caliphate. Many were responsible for acts of violence against ‘Ali's supporters. The caliph ‘Uthmân, for example, exiled the prominent Abû Dharr, thereby bringing about his early death. Talha, al-Zubayr, and Mu‘âwiya are also objects of reprobation. Shi‘i historical writers, as a result, extol the virtues of ‘Ali and his followers but transmit more freely than Sunni sources reports that give more human characterizations, if not impugn the integrity, of many other Companions.

STUART D. SEARS

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CONCUBINAGE

In the Muslim world, a concubine was a female slave who had a sexual relationship with her Muslim master. According to Islamic law, concubines, like slaves in general, had to be of non-Muslim origin, on the basis that they were legitimate booty from holy war.

There were benefits and drawbacks for both the master and the concubine. For the master, control over the concubine was much greater than that of a wife. He could initiate and terminate the relationship at will and could have as many concubines as he could afford, unlike the limit of four wives. He also did not have to pledge a dowry to his partner, which wives would often use as a bargaining chip for their own well-being. This relationship of a concubine was also widely respected in Islamic law and most often carried no social stigma. The downside for the master included three points: (1) the initial cost of a slave was often greater than a dowry, (2) he had to respect the offspring of a concubine as his own child, and (3) he owed basic obligations to humane treatment for the concubine as a slave. The concubine often had little power, except when she bore her master a child. At this time she held the status of *umm-i veled*, namely, a mother who could advocate the well-being of his child. The concubine faced many more disadvantages, as she had no power to resist the advances of his master and was subject to his mercy for her financial well-being, including inheritance rights, except for any children. If the concubinage was terminated, she had to wait forty-five days before she could enter a relationship with a second party.

Concubinage was common in the Muslim world, beginning with the initial Arab conquests when a massive influx of non-Muslim captives were taken. A booming trade of female slaves continued throughout the medieval period. Umayyads, ‘Abbasids, Fatimids, Mamluks, the Crimean Tatars, Seljukids, and Ottomans alike often took the slaves from the Caucasus, the Crimea, western Ukraine, and the Balkans.

Concubinage was practiced at all levels of society. On a popular level, concubines were most often taken on the frontiers, where slaves were taken by armies, raiding forces, or slave traders. Concubines often had a strategic value for Muslim soldiers in a border garrison, as they could help establish a new social group that would help consolidate Muslim power in the region. This can be seen particularly in the Ottoman-area regions such as Tunis, western Anatolia, and the Balkans, where non-Muslim concubines bore a new Muslim generation that identified itself with the interest of the emerging regime. Concubines were commonly sold in market towns and large metropolitan areas. Many urban Muslim subjects saw concubines as an attractive relationship when the single female population was low.

The most famous concubines were those which rulers and high Muslim administrators took as their own. While a number of ‘Abbasid and Mamluk rulers had concubine mothers, the Ottoman dynasty was by

far the most concubine dominated. Sultans started to have concubines as consorts at least since the mid-fourteenth century, when Sultan Murad I fathered his son, the future Bayezid I, with a concubine. Sultans still occasionally took wives, however, since it could help cement regional alliances with outside dynasties. After the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the Ottoman Sultans began to only have children from concubines, since having a wife entailed granting significant privileges to someone besides the sultan. Concubines also fit very well within an emerging palace system in Istanbul, which regulated all members as slaves of circumstance. Concubines who inhabited the harem, or female section of the palace, and had relations with the sultan had the right to bear only one male child. Having such a child was a greatly sought honor. Yet their male children competed with all their half-brothers to become the next sovereign. In the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a son who succeeded to the throne regularly murdered all of his half-brothers in the name of a unified sultanic authority. If the son was somehow able to become a successor, the concubine, as the mother of the sultan, could exert enormous privilege, including control over all female members of the court. Even if she did not succeed in this ultimate aim, a concubine held an extremely influential social position that compared with many of the greatest Ottoman military and administrative officials. Many also were eventually married to many of these officials, as they too were originally slaves of the palace.

York Allan Norman

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THE CONSTITUTION OF MEDINA

The Constitution of Medina is the modern name for an ancient Muslim document embedded in the text of the biography of the Prophet Muhammad by Ibn Ishaq (d. AH 151/768 CE) in the recension of Ibn Hisham (d. 218/833). The document consists of a set of articles that bind the subscribing tribal groupings in the oasis of Medina to a single polity through a strong mutual alliance that is both offensive and defensive. Each clan remains a separate constituent unit of the new polity, with accountability to the whole group and responsibility for the actions of its members. No member clan is to shelter or protect anyone betraying or acting against the Medinan polity, particularly the Qurashi enemies of the Muslims that had recently arrived from Mecca. Nevertheless, the right of protecting other outsiders is accorded to all individual tribal members according to existing custom, except that a woman may only be granted that status with the approval of her own clan.

As a collectivity, the members of the Medinan polity are all identified as believers *(mu'minun)* and one community *(umma)*, whether Muslims or Jews, reflecting perhaps the situation shown in Qur'an 2:62, 3:64, and 5:69, among other verses. That is, in opposition to the pagans, all of the members of the Medinan polity believe in God and the Last Day, providing an ideological basis for the polity. Also, the constitution declares the inner part *(jawf)* of Medina an inviolable sanctuary *(haram)* like Mecca. This declaration further emphasizes the establishment of a zone of safety and peace among the parties to the agreement. The constitution authorizes little internal political structure or enforcement mechanism. Such central authority as exists appears limited to the Prophet Muhammad, who is the final arbiter of disputes that may arise, including those concerning the interpretation of the document, and the Prophet alone having the decisive authority to authorize offensive military expeditions in case of war. He lacks, however, the power to conscript troops, as the permissibility of holding back from fighting is clearly stated. Thus, overall the document pictures a federation of tribes more akin to a republic than an autocracy.

Although scholars disagree about whether this document was written all at once or added to from an original base, most likely all of it dates from shortly after the arrival of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina in 1/622, and certainly it was completed by his death in 11/632. This certainty about the earliness of its date arises because in it the Prophet is not given a clearly sovereign or commanding position as he later attained; the Quraysh, who later became honored nobles, are shown only to be the enemy; and the Jews are included in the polity as allies and members, all suggesting the situation at the beginning of the Muslim era. Despite changes as the Prophet's authority grew, the document probably remained in force, for the Medinan polity remained rather rudimentary

right up to his death. Thus, as shown by the late verses in Qur'an 9:38–50, 81–96, and 118–122, the Prophet had to use exhortation and lacked the power to actually conscript troops right to the end, exactly as in the constitution.

For modern Muslims, the Constitution of Medina has been hailed as a predecessor to modern constitutionalism and rule of law equivalent to the Magna Carta and is often cited as a key precedent for constitutionalism, rule of law, collective leadership, and democratizing reform.

KHALID YAHYA BLANKINSHIP

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CONSULTATION, OR *SHURA*

The word *shura* occurs in the Qur'an and means "consultation." Two verses specifically refer to this concept. The first (Q 3:158–159) states, "So pass over [their faults], and ask for [God's] forgiveness and consult them in matters; then, when you have made a decision, put your trust in God." The second verse (Q 42:38) runs, "And [they are] those who answer the call of their Lord and perform prayer, and who conduct their affairs by mutual consultation, and who spend of what We have bestowed upon them."

Consultation (also referred to as *mashwara* and *mashura*) has been regarded as obligatory *(wajib)* or simply recommended *(mandub)*, depending on the circumstances. The predominant sentiment in the literature is that *shura* as mutual consultation in various spheres (political–administrative, communal, military, familial) is the preferred and desirable method of resolving matters. In the political realm, it is often considered a duty incumbent on the ruler to confer with knowledgeable advisors. For example, the Qur'an commentator Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Qurtubi (d. AH 671/1272 CE) states, "It is the obligation of the rulers to consult the scholars on matters unknown to them and in religious matters not clear to them. [They should] consult the leaders of the army in matters having to do with war, and leaders of the people in administrative issues, as well as teachers, ministers, and governors in matters that have to do with the welfare of the country and its development."

Shura was known in the pre-Islamic period as well. Arab tribes before Islam had a loosely formed council of elders called *shura* (also known as *majlis* or *mala'*), which adjudicated intratribal and intertribal matters through consultation. Like a number of other Jahili virtues and customs, the Qur'an endorsed *shura* as an acceptable and normative practice within Islam. This is evidenced in Muhammad's own adherence to this principle in variegated circumstances and the precedent established by the first two caliphs in particular, as documented in *hadith*, biographical, and historical literature.

For example, during the preparations for the battle of Badr, the Prophet is said to have consulted with Habbab al-Mundhir, recognized for his military expertise, and with Salman al-Farisi before the Battle of Khandaq in 627; on the latter's recommendation the Prophet had a ditch dug around Medina, which successfully prevented a potentially disastrous siege by the pagan Meccans. Before concluding the Treaty of Hudaybiyya in 630, Muhammad conferred with his Companions on the provisions of the treaty and the propriety of acceding to them. Numerous other instances of prophetic consultative activities are to be found in these literatures, creating, in fact, a powerful precedent for succeeding generations. The Companion Abu Hurayra is thus said to have remarked, "I did not see anyone more [predisposed] to consultation *(mushawara or mashwara)* with his Companions than the Prophet."

After Muhammad's death in 632, Abu Bakr publicly declared his commitment to the principle of *shura*. The historian al-Tabari (d. 310/923) refers to the Saqifa episode when Abu Bakr got up to address the Ansar, who at first had opposed his nomination as the caliph. Abu Bakr reassured them by saying that he would not fail to consult them with regard to political matters, nor would he adjudicate matters without them.

The most famous *shura* in the sense of a consultative body is the six-man electoral council set up by ʻUmar b. al-Khattab in 644, as he lay on his deathbed, to elect a candidate who would succeed him. The deliberations of this council brought ʻUthman, the third caliph, to power.

As dynastic rule became the norm after the death of ʻAli in 661, the last "Rightly Guided Caliph," invocation of *shura* as a mandated social and political practice became a way to register disapproval of a political culture that had progressively grown more authoritarian by the ʻAbbasid period (750–1258). Therefore, some political and religious dissident groups, like the Khawarij, made *shura* their clarion call against dynastic government starting in the Umayyad period. Certain genres of ethical and

humanistic literature *(adab)* continued to extol the merits of consultation in various spheres, including bureaucratic, military, and, of course, political administration.

To this day, *shura* as a religiopolitical principle resonates strongly with a significant cross-section of Muslims, as it had with a considerable number of medieval Muslims, representing just, consultative government as opposed to arbitrary despotism *(istibdad)*. In the contemporary period, reformist Muslims tend to conflate *shura* with the modern concept of democracy.

Asma Afsaruddin

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COPTIC LANGUAGE

The latest stage of the Egyptian language, Coptic emerged in the second century CE and lasted as a spoken and written language until the eleventh century, after which it remained in use only for liturgical purposes by the Copts of Egypt. From the ninth century onward, Arabic gradually replaced Coptic; today, Arabic is the primary language used in the Coptic Church.

The term *Coptic* is derived from Greek word *Aiguptios* (Egyptian), which was subsequently brought into Arabic as *qibt*. After the conquests of Alexander in 332 BCE, Greek became the administrative language of Egypt and eventually superseded the use of the Egyptian language, which came to exist only in spoken form. Greek language had the advantage of a simple alphabet (the Demotic script had already supplanted the traditional hieroglyphic script); its practical advantage was significant. By the end of the first century CE, in unknown circumstances, the Coptic alphabet had emerged. The Coptic alphabet borrowed the twenty-four letters of the Greek alphabet and added seven letters from Demotic (Egyptian) for sounds found in Egyptian but not in Greek. Although the vocabulary of Coptic was largely Egyptian, many words were borrowed (especially in biblical and liturgical texts) from Greek. Some ten major regional dialects of Coptic have been identified; among these, the Sahidic Coptic of Upper (that is, southern) Egypt and the Bohairic dialect of Lower (that is, northern) Egypt are most important. Sahidic Coptic was the primary dialect for written literary texts (and documents such as contracts, wills, and letters) until the eleventh century; Bohairic emerged somewhat later, was the only dialect to survive after the ninth century, and continues in limited liturgical use until today.

Of the diverse texts produced in Coptic (including documentary and literary texts), the vast majority pertain to Christianity in Egypt; indeed, many of the earliest extant texts in Coptic are Sahidic translations from Greek of biblical books (from both the New Testament and the Septuagint). In addition, apocryphal works, martyrologies, monastic rules and letters, hagiographical literature, patristic works, and other ecclesiastical texts came to be translated into Coptic during the third century and beyond.

One of the most important discoveries for the study of Coptic and the history of Christianity was a cache of thirteen codices (containing fifty-two individual works) found in 1945 at Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt. Many of the texts in this collection of fourth-century CE Coptic translations of Greek works (which came to be called the Nag Hammadi Library) have been associated with a form of Christianity loosely identified as gnostic in orientation. In texts such as The Apocryphon of John, the Testimony of Truth, the Gospel of Thomas, and many others, there emerges a privileging of esoteric knowledge necessary for salvation.

Literary works originally composed in Coptic began to appear in the fourth-century Pachomian monastic literature and, more importantly, in the writings of the fifth-century abbot of the White Monastery, Shenoute. Although the large literary corpus of Shenoute has yet to be published in a critical edition, much debate has circled around his pioneering use of Coptic for his theological compositions. Was his decision, for example, influenced by his hostility to classical Greek culture? Or was it motivated by his desire to reach a local population that could not understand Greek? When so much of our knowledge of Coptic is mediated through a bilingual lens (as in the many Greek–Coptic bilingual manuscripts), Shenoute's choice of Coptic over Greek deserves continued study.

After the Arab conquests of the seventh century, the subsequent increased Muslim immigration to Egypt, and the conversion of many Copts to Islam, Coptic gradually gave way to Arabic. The transition is readily apparent in the numerous extant Coptic–Arabic bilingual manuscripts. Such manuscripts have provided an important source for the

study of ancient Egyptian and Coptic. Today the academic study of Coptic is particularly vibrant among scholars in the fields of religion (especially the history of early Christianity) and papyrology (the study of ancient papyrus remains). Among the Copts of Egypt today, there have been attempts to revive the use of liturgical Coptic, but Arabic continues to be the primary language of Egypt, even in the Coptic Church.

KIM HAINES-EITZEN

See also Alexander; Arabic; Copts; Greek

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COPTS

Origins and Theology

The Coptic Orthodox Church, the native church of Egypt, is one of the oldest Christian churches in the world. The word *Copt* is derived from the Greek word *Aigyptos,* which was in turn derived from "Hikaptah," one of the names for Memphis, the first capital of ancient Egypt.

Tradition holds that the church in Egypt was founded by the evangelist St. Mark in the first or third year of the reign of the Roman emperor Claudius, in 41/42 or 43/44 CE, and Mark is considered the first in an unbroken chain of 117 patriarchs. The new faith spread quickly throughout Egypt, and Alexandria, its capital, soon became a major spiritual center of the Christian church. The Catechetical School in Alexandria, the most important institution of learning in early Christendom, fostered such seminal theological scholars as Clement, Origen, Athanasius, and Cyril of Alexandria. The school worked to prove that reason and revelation, philosophy and theology were not only compatible but also essential for each others' comprehension.

The Egyptian church, like others, suffered intense persecution from its rulers, the Roman government, prior to the 313 Edict of Milan, which granted freedom of worship to Christians within the Roman Empire. In fact, the Coptic calendar, called the Era of the Martyrs, begins August 29, 284, the beginning of the reign of the great persecutor Diocletian. As a result, the concept and ideal of martyrdom is extremely central to the Church's ethos. When "opportunities" for martyrdom diminished, the Egyptian Christians' energies were channeled toward its symbolic substitutes: asceticism and monasticism.

The monastic movement was the truly outstanding contribution of the Egyptian church to world Christianity. The origins of the movement are traditionally ascribed to St. Anthony, who practiced a rigorous asceticism in the Egyptian desert in the third century. All Christian monasticism stems, either directly or indirectly, from the Egyptian example.

From its position at the center of the world Christian church, the Church of Alexandria became marginalized in the fifth century, when its members ended up on the losing side of the controversies over the nature of Christ, which had been raging for hundreds of years. Cyril of Alexandria, concerned to emphasize the divinity of Jesus Christ, refused to accept the pronunciation of the Council of Chalcedon in 451, which proclaimed that Christ was truly God and truly man, and as such possessed two natures (human and divine). By the sixth century, those who rejected Chalcedon had consolidated into three great monophysite ("one nature") churches: the Coptic Church with its daughter church, the Ethiopian; the Syrian Jacobite Church; and the Armenian Church.

History from the Islamic Conquest through the Mamluk Period

The disaffection felt by the Copts for their Chalcedonian–Byzantine (Roman Empire successor) rulers contributed to their lack of resistance to the Islamic conquest of 642. In return for payment of a special poll tax, the Copts were classified as protected people *(ahl al-dhimma)*. The native patriarch Benjamin I, who had been in hiding from the persecution of the Byzantine-appointed patriarch, was encouraged to emerge and reassume the leadership of his church. There was no attempt to force the Copts to convert to Islam; indeed, conversion was rather discouraged because it decreased the base of those liable for the poll tax and thus state revenue.

The Byzantine system of taxation, combining a land tax with a poll tax (for non-Muslims), was basically maintained, though streamlined and centralized. Copts continued to staff the tax and administrative



Woman and her lover in a garden. Panel of woven Coptic textile. Fatimid period, eleventh century. Credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY. Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, Egypt.

bureaus, except at the highest levels, and when the official language of the administration was changed from Greek to Arabic in 705, the Copts learned Arabic and maintained their predominance in that field, increasing the speed of Arabization and the transition of Coptic to a purely liturgical language.

Taxation was heavy, leading to a number of tax rebellions in the eighth and ninth centuries, the most serious being the Bashmuric Rebellion of 829–830. The harsh suppression of these revolts, combined with the heavier taxes and other social disabilities endured by the Copts, contributed to an increased pace of conversion to Islam. Some believe that by the end of this period the Copts' shift from majority to minority had already occurred, while others place that milestone later, in the Mamluk period.

During the Fatimid period (969–1171), the Copts, if not the majority, were still a substantial minority of

the population. While still in the minority, the Copts flourished, participating actively in the social, artistic, and economic life of the country and sporadically even reaching the highest ranks of the government. This era of tolerance was not unmarred, however; the persecution of the caliph al-Hakim (r. 996–1021) is one such example.

The advent of the Crusades led to a deterioration of the position of the Copts, who were suspected of sympathizing with their co-religionists (the Muslims being unfamiliar with the doctrinal differences between the Copts and the Western Christians). In fact, the Crusades were disastrous for the Copts, as the Crusaders scorned them as heretics and forbade them to make their accustomed pilgrimages to Jerusalem.

The thirteenth century, despite its turbulence, turned out to be the great century of Copto-Arabic literature. Led by the four Awlad al-ʻAssal, brothers theological, linguistic, and historical scholarship, as well as literature, enjoyed a renaissance.

The deterioration of the Copts' situation, however, intensified under the rule of the Mamluks (1250–1517), perhaps due to their perception of themselves as the "defenders of Islam" against outside threats such as the Mongols and the Crusaders. Six hundred years after the conquest, the Copts still filled the ranks of the bureaucracy, for which they were considered to have a natural affinity. Under this regime, most of the bureaucrats had converted to Islam, but their sincerity was doubted and they were still labeled Copts. On numerous occasions the government dismissed the Copts en masse from their bureaucratic posts, only to be forced to reinstate them in the face of the ensuing administrative chaos.

If the Copts were not already a minority before this time, the numerous conversions brought on by the difficult conditions of the Mamluk period assured that they were so by the end of it. The core who remained have clung to their faith and traditions, maintaining their self-awareness as a distinct community that persists to this day.

Marlis J. Saleh

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CORDOBA

Cordoba, named *Qurtuba* in Arabic and *Córdoba* in Spanish, was the political capital of al-Andalus during the Umayyad emirate and caliphate periods (AH seventh century first quarter of the eleventh century CE). Today it is the capital of the province of the same name. Cordoba is located in the southwest of the Spanish state, overlooking the medial course of the Guadalquivir River (*Wadi al-kabir* in Arabic) on both banks.

The rural area of the south of the city was called *qanbaniya*, approximately the same rural area known these days as "the Cordoba countryside." The plain known as *Fahs al-Ballut* (field of oaks) was located to the north of the province, where the little town of Pedroche is found (known by the Arabs as *Bitrawj* or *Bitrush*.). Until the thirteenth century, the Cordoban region was known for the wheat produced in its countryside and for the gardens and meadows that flanked the river. Nevertheless, the main areas of farming production of al- Andalus were found far from the capital, in the Seville highlands and the Toledo surroundings. Mining exploitation did not completely disappear with Cordoba's decadence, and there is evidence that still in the thirteenth century, Ovejo (located forty kilometers from the capital) was an important center of extraction of cinnabar, from which mercury is obtained.

The city was occupied by the Muslim armies in AH Shawwal of 92/July–August 711 CE. Leading these armies was the manumitted slave Mughith al-Rumi, deputy of Tariq ibn Ziyad. Governor al-Hurr ibn ʻAbd al-Rahman al-Thaqafi (r. 97–100/716–719) transferred the capital of al-Andalus from Seville to Cordoba. His successor, al-Samh ibn Malik al-Jawlani (r. 100–102/719–721), repaired the old Roman bridge and some demolished parts of the protective enceinte. Al-Samh also founded the first Islamic cemetery of the city, the *Maqbarat al-rabad* (cemetery of the suburb), in the north bank of the river. In 133/750,

governor Yusuf ʻAbd al-Rahman (r. 129–138/747–756) bought the church of Saint Vincent to make it the first cathedral mosque *(al-jamiʻ)* of Cordoba. In 138/756, the governor was overthrown by the Umayyad prince ʻAbd al-Rahman, who had managed to escape from the massacre of his family in Syria. ʻAbd al-Rahman made Cordoba the administrative, political, military, religious, and cultural capital of his new emirate.

In this way, Cordoba came to monopolize most of the artistic activities. Its monumental center was composed of the fortress or alcazar (erected on the remains of the old Visigoth palace), the main mosque, and the bridge. The fortress and the mosque were located on the north bank of the Guadalquivir River, separated from the river by a terrace.

Work began on the mosque in 785, under the rule of ʻAbd al-Rahman I, and it was enlarged on several occasions, as a parallel process to the city's growth and development, during the governments of ʻAbd al-Rahman's successors, Hisham I (r. 172–180/788–796), ʻAbd al-Rahman II (r. 206–238/822–852), and Muhammad I (r. 238–273/852–886). During the rule of ʻAbd al-Rahman III (300–350/912–961)—the first to adopt the title of caliph—the city enjoyed its apogee. It was this same caliph who ordered the palatine city of Madinat al-Zahra' three to be built, approximately three miles northeast of Cordoba, at the foot of the mountains. The remains of this city were declared a national monument in 1923. Since then, some of its old rooms have been restored, among which the so-called Rich Room is especially significant. In regard to the old fortress of Cordoba, it has to be said that it was assigned to administrative uses when the court was transferred to Madinat al-Zahra'. Later on, when the palatine city was destroyed, the fortress was used again as the residence of the different governors of the city.

The most important enlargement of the main mosque of Cordoba was carried out by al-Hakam II (r. 350–366/961–976), son and successor of ʻAbd al-Rahman III. The last big enlargement was commissioned by al-Mansur ibn Abi ʻAmir, the mighty *visir* of Hisham II (r. 366–399/976–1009). Al-Mansur built his own palatine city, Madinat al-Zahira, east of Cordoba. This city underwent the same fate of Madinat al-Zahra' and was destroyed during the widespread revolts that took place at the beginning of the fifth/eleventh century.

After the fall of the caliphate, Cordoba was ruled by the Jahwarids, between 1031 and 1070. It then became a part of the territories governed by the Seville monarch Banu ʻAbbad. In 1091, Cordoba was taken by the Almoravids, who built the defensive wall of the eastern part of the city. In 1236, the city passed into Christian hands for good, after its conquest by Ferdinand III of Castile.

After the disappearance of the caliphate and the subsequent loss of Cordoba's political and economic hegemony, the city still kept its intellectual prestige, especially in the area of religious sciences. However, Cordoba was no longer the main representative of Andalusis' cultural life. Rather, it had to share this role with the capitals of the different petty kingdoms into which al-Andalus was fragmented from the eleventh century onward. The city recovered its capital status under the Almoravid rule, but the construction of monuments could never equal the emirate and caliphate periods. Almohads, for their part, clearly showed a preference for the city of Seville.

After the Christian conquests, the process of conversion of churches into mosques, which had taken place during the Islamic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula, was reversed. Cordoba was taken by the Christians in 1236, and its main mosque was converted into a cathedral. The modifications undergone by the mosque did partially alter its original shape. However, contrary to what happened to other mosques that underwent a similar transformation process, the Cordoba temple still keeps a markedly Arabic and Islamic character. This is probably related to the artistic and architectonic singularity of the building, the preferred object of all the descriptions of Islamic Cordoba.

Cordoba was the home of "*ulama*" such as of Ibn Hazm (d. 456/1064), Ibn Rushd (Averroes) (d. 595/1198), and Maimonides (d. 601/1204).

MARIBEL FIERRO

See also Andalus; Ibn Hazm; Ibn Rushd (Averroes); Maimonides

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COSMETICS

In Islamic times both sexes used cosmetics extensively, continuing a long tradition in the pre-Islamic Near East going back in time to the ancient civilizations of Mesopotamia, Ancient Egypt, and Iran. Cosmetics were used for different purposes and can be studied under different aspects: in connection with cleaning and hygiene; as perfumes; for skin protection, especially from the sun; for hair coloring; for medicine; and also for magical purposes. Generally, cosmetics were linked to traditional views about beauty and appearance, carrying especially for women a sexual aspect. The important role cosmetics played in social life was highlighted at wedding ceremonies. Many cosmetics combine different uses and applications. Henna and *kuhl* (as ophthalmic medicine) possess medical properties as well. Even the expensive ointment *ghaliya*, mainly made of musk and ambergris, had a double use as perfume and medication. Generally, women used cosmetics widely, but mainly in the private sphere, and only slave girls, singers, and the like used it more extensively in public. For men and children the usage of decorative cosmetics was restricted to basics such as *kuhl* and henna mentioned in the traditions *(hadith),* as recommended by the Prophet Muhammad. Cosmetic substances came mainly from plants such as henna, indigo *(nil, wasma)*, saffron, and sandalwood. Others were derived from minerals such as ochre, or metals such as *kuhl;* a few have an animal origin, like musk.

Historical sources give a lot of information: in the works of the medieval Arab and Persian historians and scientists, such as Biruni, Ibn Sina, Nasir ad-Din Tusi, al-Kindi, and others, and also in medical works and in sociocultural writings like those of Ibn al-Washsha'. Some works include hundreds of recipes for cosmetic substances, including their surrogates and falsifications. These existed parallel to innumerable local and individual recipes, transmitted by family tradition and health care professionals.

The traditional ideal of beauty stated that women's skin should be white, soft, smooth, and hairless. Ointments and pastes were used for lightening the skin. For the face, white powders and powdered rouge were used. Often, yellow pastes made of sandalwood, saffron, and similar substances were used to protect the face from sunlight and to soften the skin. A beauty spot made with perfumed crèmes was not unusual. For body hair removal, a large variety of different mixtures were used, based mostly on either sugar or honey. A special technique to remove body hair consists of a twisted thread pulled back and forth by the fingers of both hands.

Coloring the hair was practiced by both sexes. For thick, long, and dark black hair both sexes used mixtures of indigo, oak apple, walnut, and similar materials. Henna could be added for extra shine. Henna was also used to cover gray and white hair, producing shades of orange-red. After cleaning and coloring the hair, perfumed oils and ointments could be added, as mentioned in the traditions of A'isha, the Prophet's favored wife. For the men it was important to have a black beard like the Prophet, and it could be perfumed, as practiced by the Prophet with the precious *ghaliya*.

The primary cosmetic used by men, women, and children for eyes was *kohl (ithmidh, surma)*, a black mixture in use since pre-Islamic times. The best varieties came from Iran. Its main substance was powdered antimony sulphide. Some mixtures contained lead among other metal or mineral substances, and occasionally, organic materials such as nut shells and even soot were used. Other recorded eye cosmetics, equally called *kuhl*, were made from a variety of substances, which produced dark blue, dark red, purple, or even yellow hues.

Henna, partly enriched with indigo (or a substitute such as oak apple ink), was the main body paint used for hands and feet. Medieval Persian and Indian miniature paintings depict ladies and occasionally men with hands and feet dyed in different shades of orange-red. Also, they picture ladies adorned with intricate body paintings in black, blue, or dark brown, or while applying makeup. The important role henna plays in wedding customs all over the Islamic world is especially visible in the "henna night" bearing witness to the magical properties ascribed to cosmetics.

Combs; metal mirrors; mortars; small, narrow-necked vessels for liquid cosmetics and makeup jars for powders and ointments; applicators; makeup palettes; and other small tools and vessels come from all parts of the Islamic world. A variety of materials were used in their production, reflecting local resources, customs and habits, and the user's financial status.

Gisela Helmecke

See also Baths; Marriage; Medicine; Painting; Perfume; Women

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COURT DRESS, ‘ABBASID

By the early tenth century CE, Islamic society was perceived as consisting of four classes: (1) the ruling family, (2) the chief ministers (viziers), (3) the wealthy upper classes and educated middle classes, and (4) "The remainder … a filthy refuse, a torrent of scum" (al-Fadl ibn Yahya, courtier quoted in Levy 1957, 67). It was understood that the individual's social rank and occupation should be visible in dress; to adopt fabric, styles, and colors associated with a higher class displayed dissatisfaction with the God-given order and thus challenged spiritual and temporal authority, whereas wearing clothing associated with a lower social grade displayed proper humility, so pious Muslim rulers were always recorded as being austere in their attire. At the same time, political statesmen such as Nizam al-Mulk (d.1092) argued for the importance of rich, colorful, ostentatious court dress and ceremonial to demonstrate secure political power, economic prosperity, and social well-being. This apparent contradiction was never resolved.

Caliph al-Mansur (r. 754–775) is traditionally credited with the introduction of black robes as the ‘Abbasid dynastic color to be worn by all court bureaucrats and theologians at audiences and at public investiture of sultans and governors; failure to do so was seen as a public rejection of the regime, the ruler, and his policies. Black banners had heralded the ‘Abbasid uprisings against Umayyad authority, and it was understood that the color signified the need for revenge and mourning for the tragic deaths of the Prophet's grandsons (*see* Hasan and Husayn ibn Ali Talib). (In contrast, the dynastic color of Egypt's Fatimid caliphate [c. 969–1171] was white, reflecting luminous splendor and divine light.) At each caliphal investiture, the legitimacy of ‘Abbasid rule was reinforced by donning several relics of the Prophet Muhammad's, including his *burda* (mantle), implying the transference of authority, and blessing.

The ‘Abbasid court had two main groupings, the military and the bureaucrats, known by their different



Scene from a picnic of the court of Abbas I. Safavid mural, 1640s. Credit: SEF/Art Resource, NY. Chihil Sutun (Pavilion of Forty Columns), Isfahan, Iran.

modes of dress, as their Arabic names imply: *ashab al-aqbiyya* (men of the *qaba'*: the military garment) and *ashab al-darari'* (men of the *durra'a*: voluminous robe). However, the precise structure of such garments is unclear. A third group, the *'ulama* (*see* Theologians) increasingly adopted a distinctive dress indicating their growing separation from the other court power groups, while in time the 'Abbasid caliphs took to wearing military dress for most ceremonial duties, mirroring their growing dependence on army support. Gifts of clothing and other presents *(khil'a)* became an established court ritual, accompanied by due ceremony. It could consist of one garment, but generally four or more items were presented, in one of three price ranges according to the recipient's status. These could be decorated with a *tiraz* (embroidered band, identifying the donor (and thus the honor bestowed), the date, the place of manufacture, and so on (see Tiraz).

While medieval Arabic literature contains a great variety of clothing terms, the exact structure and characteristics of these garments were not detailed, and few items have survived. It appears the wraps and simple garments with minimal seaming (such as the so-called Coptic tunics) of the Umayyad period were replaced by more multiseamed items, perhaps to minimize costly fabric wastage or marking changes in loom technology. Late-ninth-century Baghdadi fashionable citizens were known for their keen knowledge and appreciation of fabrics, obtained from across the Islamic empire (see Textiles, 'Abbasid). Graduated coloring and textural compatibility were important considerations. Strident color shades were best avoided, while thick and thin textiles, and linen and cotton were not to be worn together.

Small fragments of 'Abbasid textiles are found in most major museum collections, but few were acquired from controlled archaeological excavations. *Tiraz* pieces have generally had extraneous material removed, so they provide few clues as to their original placing and the clothing items they once decorated. However, a number of Islamic manuscript paintings produced in or around the thirteenth century (such as *Kitab al-Diryaq*, 1199, probably Northern Iraq, ms. Arabe 2964; and *Maqamat al-Hariri*, 1237, probably Iraq, ms. Arabe 5847, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris) are known, and these, along with figural depictions on contemporary ceramics and metalwork, help the dress historian. However, for the early 'Abbasid period, aside from murals located in the remote eastern regions of the empire, the pictorial evidence is virtually limited to wall paintings from the Samarran palaces (see Architecture, 'Abbasid).

Patricia L. Baker

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COURT DRESS, FATIMID

The Fatimids, who ruled Egypt from 969 to 1171 CE, followed the conventions of other Islamic dynasties in their adoption of an official dynastic color. The Fatimid color was white. Most court costumes were a white luxury fabric (fine linens, silks, or brocades) with inscribed or ornamental bands (tiraz), and embroidered with gold or silver threads. Every member of the court received a ceremonial costume, often for the public celebration of a festival in the Islamic calendar. These costumes often were complete outfits (including underclothes) and consisted of anywhere from five to fifteen separate pieces. The base material, the number of pieces in the costume, and the amount of gold or silver in the costume were tied to rank. Our sources provide almost no information about tailoring of these garments, which is typical of the period, where there were a limited number of styles and most garments were woven in a single piece.

In the sources dating to the early eleventh century, most court garments are described as being woven or embroidered with gold *(muthaqqal, mudhahhab)*, but silk is mentioned rarely. Inventories describing clothing distributed for festivals from the early twelfth century onward, however, mention numerous garments of both silk and gold, often woven into or embroidered onto a linen base. Silk was so readily available in the twelfth century that its presence in an inventory is not necessarily a sign of high rank, but the presence of gold (a more expensive commodity) always indicates high rank. The gold thread used in

the production of textiles for the court was produced under the supervision of the director of the caliph's mint. The predominance of linen as a base material for court costumes is a function of the central importance of flax to the Egyptian agricultural economy of the Middle Ages.

Clothing in the Fatimid period was a form of capital, and the luxury materials used in the production of court costumes carried significant economic, as well as symbolic, value. The Fatimids kept large treasuries of fabrics and costumes that were distributed at designated times for use by court personnel. The detailed inventories of the contents of these wardrobe treasuries show that they formed a significant part of the Fatimid dynasty's wealth. In the 1060s, the caliph al-Mustansir was forced to sell the contents of his wardrobe treasuries to raise money to placate his rebellious army. When the economy recovered, his successor replenished the wardrobes and multiplied the number of costumes distributed on ritual occasions. The textiles and garments were produced in government factories. Many of them had inscribed or ornamental borders *(tiraz)*. The caliph did not wear a crown, but rather an elaborately wrapped turban. His eunuch bodyguards also wore specially wrapped turbans, with a "tail" left hanging down to the side or back. His highest-ranking eunuchs were distinguished by wrapping the tail under their chin (called *muhannak*). Princesses of the royal family received gold robes, while their eunuch guardians received garments of silk. The most luxurious costumes came in wrappers of fine linens or in chests.

In addition to the costumes given to courtiers at festival times, dignitaries received robes of honor *(khil'a,* pl. *khila')* as a mark of special favor, to mark important events, and when invested with office. The term literally means "cast-off," and originally a *khil'a* was a piece of clothing actually worn by the ruler and then given to another. By the tenth century, these honorific robes were only rarely actual cast-offs, and the caliphal textile mills produced robes specifically for this purpose. At the Fatimid court, honorific robes were typically given whenever an official was appointed to an office at court, and the phrase "he was invested with a robe of honor" clearly meant that he was appointed to office. These robes carried both prestige and material value, since they were made of luxury fabrics at a time when clothing was a form of capital and could represent considerable wealth.

The noncourtier middle and upper classes imitated court fashions by wearing luxury fabrics, giving robes of honor as gifts, and wearing inscribed bands (or bands that created the appearance of being inscribed) on their robes. Important officials of the Jewish community, for example, conferred embroidered silk robes of honor upon scholars, and men of higher status conferred robes of honor as gifts upon men of lesser status. Such costumes were extremely expensive, often costing as much as twenty dinars, a sum of money sufficient to support a lower middle class family for nearly a year.

PAULA SANDERS

See also Fatimids; Gifts and Gift Giving

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COURT DRESS, MAMLUK

As in 'Abbasid times, the two major court groupings were distinguished by dress: the military, calf-length *qaba'* garment with close-fitting sleeves, which was designed for riding and fighting and worn with breeches tucked into high boots; and the ample, full-length robes of bureaucrats (*arbab al- 'ama'im,* turban wearers), worn with loose trousers. It appears the basic, simple robe and wraps of the early Islamic period had been set aside for more tailored garments, using the fabric loom width to form the front and back with, if required, extra material in the form of triangular inserts or gussets added to the selvage sides of the main panels. Indeed, by the late fourteenth century CE, tailoring was perceived as a mark of civilized urban society (Ibn Khaldun 1967).

The Mamluk sultanate retained the Ayyubid dynastic color (yellow) for battle dress, but for court parades and ceremonials, certain military sections jealously guarded their exclusive right to various dress items and colors; thus, in 1498, the royal Mamluks reacted aggressively to the sultan's honorific presentation *(khil'a)* of their short-sleeved *sallari* tunic and special turban form to the black commander of the musketeers, instead of that section's usual red wool cloth *(qaba')*. The *khassikiya* (royal bodyguard) was renowned for its meticulous dress, which

incorporated a section of *tiraz zarkash* (see Textiles), presumed to be a highly decorative band woven with gold or silver metallic thread, perhaps with an honorific inscription, placed at the (dropped) shoulder-sleeve join. The terminology suggests there were at least five or six types of *qaba',* and possibly the method of fastening still denoted the ethnic origins of the wearer as in Mongol times (see Mongol Dress); certainly the so-called *qaba' tatari* (diagonal fastening from left shoulder to waist) and the *qaba' turki* (from right shoulder diagonally to left) implied this. There was also a great variety in headgear, with some forms worn by the Bahri Mamluks falling out of favor by the mid-thirteenth century CE, the so-called Burji period. Certain court members were permitted blazons *(rank),* which were displayed on their belongings, their buildings, and their servants' clothing; these could be simple shapes, say of a lozenge form (the royal napkin holder's serviette), or a stylized composite design indicating the various court responsibilities associated with the owner (see Heraldry).

Our knowledge of bureaucratic dress mainly derives from historical descriptions of the *khil'a* awarded by the sultan for loyal service, at least twice a year at the major Muslim festivals, but also given to mark new appointments, honorable dismissals, and so on. As with the military, bureaucrats were presented with robes according to status. Viziers and chief secretaries could expect white *kamkha* (patterned woven silk) robes decorated with embroidery and lined with squirrel and beaver, whereas lower ranks were given cheaper fabrics in other colors, and fur-trimmed only. Similar voluminous robes with long, wide sleeves were presented to members of the *'ulama,* but generally speaking, because of theological antipathy to men wearing silk, theirs were made of wool. The 'Abbasid caliph in exile (see 'Abbasid caliphate) wore black at all court ceremonies and invested each new Mamluk sultan with black robes, thus symbolizing the legitimate transference of authority with his blessing (see *Burda*, *Khirqa* of Muhammad).

Apart from market regulations *(hisba)* concerning tailors, dyers, cobblers, and so on, sumptuary legislation was regularly issued by the sultan, often at the request of the *'ulama*. Male and female descendants of the Prophet Muhammad were required from 773 AH/1371–1372 C.E. to wear in public a piece of green fabric about their clothing, so that due respect could be paid. However, the chief targets for such legislation were women's attire and that of non-Muslims (see Dress, *dhimmi*). Insisting street patrols policed matters, the *'ulama* bitterly criticized the outrageous sums spent on women's garments, the excessive amounts of fabric used particularly for sleeves, bejewelled hems, and shoes, and railed against ladies wearing headcoverings based on men's styles, and the fashion of wearing *sirwal* (trousers) low on the hips.

Few complete dress items have survived—the occasional shoe (Keir Collection, London; Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto), caps (minus turban cloths) (V&A Museum, London; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), and embroidered tailored linen shirts (Royal Ontario Museum; Textile Museum, Washington, DC; V&A Museum). Nevertheless, garment fragments in the major collections often possess informative cutting and tailoring details as to buttons, loops, and seams. Mamluk manuscript illustrations provide useful information about certain styles, although artistic license may have impinged on depictions of garment colors and patternings; similarly, the inclusion of Mamluk men and women in European paintings (such as the work of Giovanni Bellini, d. 1516) should be viewed as "Orientalizing" additions rather than accurate records of contemporary fashion.

Patricia L. Baker

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CREDIT

Many scholars have cited the lack of credit as a reason why Islamic societies were unable to effectively compete with the Western European commercial interests that emerged during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This argument is based on the premise that only Western Europeans tolerated the development of financial interest and profit as commercial practice.

It is clear, however, that Islamic notions of profit and interest also developed to a substantial degree during the medieval era.

Both Muslim and non-Muslim merchants who engaged in long-distance trade constantly risked social

alienation. Most outsiders viewed the overseas and caravan trade in luxury items such as spices and silk as sinful because the money spent on non-necessities could have been used for the greater social good. Only those who gained a profit—namely the state, which took custom imposts; the merchants; financiers and adventurers who ran the trade; and the patrons and retailers who purchased the items—saw the venture in positive terms. On a number of occasions and places, others sought to prevent "injustices," most often invoking the religious principle that merchants and traders who took financial interest and profit exploited the productive forces in society.

Merchants in the Islamic world sought a number of legal means to protect themselves against such allegations. The first of these constructions were joint-venture contracts for long-distance trade, either in credit *(şirket'ül-vücüh)* or involving both labor and capital *(commenda; mudaraba).* In both cases the merchant and financiers involved would combine their assets before the venture, and later would split the profits. Such arrangements circumvented measures against interest. These merchants also developed a new means of transferring funds *(havale),* which involved one permanently based merchant issuing a deed to another, who would redeem the promise once the traveling merchant brought it to the permanently based merchant. This practice was absolutely critical because coinage was often in very short supply, was bulky, and was very liable to be stolen.

As in most European economies, merchants in the Muslim world faced considerable resistance from local manufacturers and traders. These local urban economies were organized into guilds that continually tried to monopolize economic activity. Guilds wielded considerable power in enforcing "just regulation" among the urban populace. Many historians argue that merchants made little headway in developing commercial capital among these local economies.

However, a number of intriguing recent studies have pointed to commercial development, particularly in the sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire. Commercial activity again established itself through Islamic legal institutions, in particular the pious foundation *(waqf),* a welfare institution that often formed the basis of each city quarter *(mahalle),* a structure arguably as central to urban life as the guilds themselves. Although early *waqfs* were donations of land and immovable property for the good of the Islamic community, donations of cash *waqfs* began to boom in the mid-sixteenth century. Cash from these *waqfs* was lent to merchants and other parties at interest *(rib).* This innovation was justified by Ebu's-suud, the leading Ottoman religious authority, who argued that taking of interest was justified if it served the public welfare of the Muslim community. While this author has only seen detailed evidence of this in Sarajevo, there are also signs of the practice in other major urban centers of the empire, such as Istanbul, Edirne, and Bursa. Some scholars have commented that the interest this money was lent at was very high, sometimes reaching 25 percent or even 50 percent. Nevertheless, the prevalence of a rate of 8 percent to 10 percent in Sarajevo at least might beg a reconsideration of the issue as a whole.

Finally, merchants were increasingly used as a means for the state to develop their treasuries, particularly when they were to embark on military campaigns, as seen most clearly in the conflicts between Muslim and non-Muslim Mediterranean powers in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It was during this time that the Ottoman sultan, like his French and northern European counterparts, came to rely heavily on long-distance merchant families who had just suffered persecution as Jews from the Iberian Peninsula. These merchant families became an attractive asset to the state because they could garner considerable amounts of cash. They additionally could more effectively collect revenues, even though they too made a hefty profit from the transaction. One should not ignore, however, that Muslim merchants made up a majority of the tax farmers, particularly in provincial settings. In time they would work alongside emerging urban elites, such as the money changers and jewelers, and would help break down the barrier between the commercial and local urban economies.

York Allan Norman

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CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

To appreciate the general concept of crime in Muslim societies requires appreciating very different properties of the legal framework. Due to the composite

nature of the *Shari'a*, the assessment of a crime is contingent on multiple types of reasoning—those of religious law rooted in Tribes and Tribal Customs developed and transformed into a legal scholar's law, and finally, legal doctrine often reconciled to new social and cultural conditions. Our discussion will be confined to the most elementary categories of crimes and punishments according to Muslim jurists, to the social meaning of retaliation and collective liability, and to the question of judicial arbitrariness.

Taking the perspective of a legal scholar's law, criminal acts are basically grouped into six categories: (1) interfering with the order of descent, such as by adultery; (2) affecting another's honor by slanderous accusation; (3) detriment to one's own power of reason, such as by intoxication; (4) illegal seizure of wealth as through theft or highway robbery; (5) attacks against life or physical integrity; and (6) perturbation of public order. The first categories, in particular fornication, wrongful accusation, drinking wine, theft, and highway robbery, comprise the *hadd,* or limit penalties. They are rights or claims of God *(huquq Allah)* explicitly stated in the *Qur'an* (Q 24:2 f.; 24:3 f.; 5:33; 5:38; 5:90 f.). The pursuit and the punishment of these crimes are incumbent on the Muslim community—that is, the legal authorities. Such crimes require corporal punishment ranging eighty lashes for slanderous accusation and capital punishment, either by stoning for fornication or, for highway robbery, by crucifixion or decapitation. Apostasy does not fall into the judicial categories of crime. From a religious point of view, the punishment of the apostate belongs to the hereafter; however, in this world he is condemned to death inasmuch as he places himself out of the bounds of the social community.

The fifth category comprising homicide and bodily injury—and occasionally other damages as well—is known as *jinayat* (offenses). Since they belong to the rights of humans *(huquq adami),* prosecution of such crimes only takes place at the request of the offended party. The penalties vary based on either an intentional or an erroneous commitment of the crime (Schacht 1964, 181). In the case of voluntary murder, there follows a threefold penalty: the punishment in the hereafter, the loss of inheritance rights, and retaliation for the damage of the victim's group. The latter can change its claim on the culprit's life into recompensation *(diya)*, which might also be paid, in the case of involuntary homicide, by the "blood-money group" *('aqila)*.

The term *'aqila* signifies the agnatic descent in its largest sense and refers to tribal notions of collective liability. However, the importance of the *diya*—a fact of which medieval Muslim jurists were particularly aware—resides in the function of replacing or restricting the circular exchange of violence resulting from blood feuds of the tribal factions (Brunschvig 1960, 338; see, for example, Hart 1996, on the mechanisms of tribal feuds). It has often been aptly stated that the introduction of the *diya* in early Islam marks a major shift in the transition from private revenge to penal law. Furthermore, legal doctrine transcended gradually the tribal notion of collective liability toward a concept of responsibility based on the obligations of property and geographical closeness (Johansen 1999, 370). In a comparable way the scholars elaborated definitions of theft to the effect that they translated divergent variants of economic and social patterns into the legal doctrines of their respective Schools of Jurisprudence. Since progress of law offers a rather tautological explanation for these developments, only detailed studies of relevant social and historical backgrounds could shed more light on the primary agents of legal change (Johansen 1998).

In cases of uncertainty about an offense punishable by a *hadd* penalty, as well as in instances of transgression of the public order, the decision is left to the discretion of the judge. He is authorized to pronounce a wide range of punishments, such as public announcement of the crime, imprisonment, exile, corporal punishment, or monetary fines. However, all these punishments shall not be more severe than the *hadd* penalty. The judge's discretionary power *(ta'zir)* has given rise to the famous Weberian formulation of *Kadijustiz,* which points to a state of legal uncertainty and arbitrary justice. A number of studies criticize this statement on the ground that it lacks the necessary reflection about judicial considerations of social relations or legal doctrine. The ongoing discussion focuses on the importance of the legal sphere (Powers 2002, 23–52; Dakhlia 1993).

Tilman Hannemann

See also Commanding Good and Forbidding Evil; Ethics; Peace and Peacemaking; Police; Prisons; Thieves and Brigands; Usury and Interest; Wine

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CRUSADES

Crusades is the name commonly given to a period of conflict between Roman Catholic Christians and non-Christians that lasted, at its height, from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries CE. It is important to note that this term is a modern label applied to this period retrospectively by historians. The numbering of the major expeditions of the Crusades (First Crusade, Second Crusade, etc.) is also a modern invention used merely for convenience's sake; in reality, the passing of warriors from Europe to the Levant was a much more continuous process.

Although the major targets of the Crusades were the Muslims of the Levant, Crusades were also conducted against a variety of groups in other locations, including non-Christians, heretics, and political opponents of the papacy in various parts of Europe. However, as far as the Muslim world is concerned, it was the Levant that felt the greatest impact from the Crusades.

The First Crusade (1096–1102) was launched by Pope Urban II (d. 1099) in 1095. At the Council of Clermont in France he exhorted his Catholic brethren to march to the aid of the Christians of the East, who were suffering under Muslim rule, in return for which he promised his listeners remission of their sins. The call was answered by both of Urban's intended targets: the knightly classes, and members of the lower classes who were stirred up with religious fervor. Starting in 1096, a number of armies marched to the Levant, the most successful ones fighting their way across Asia Minor and down the Levantine littoral, establishing Catholic Christian states at Antioch, Edessa, and Jerusalem. A fourth Catholic state, based at Tripoli, came into being when Crusaders took the city in 1109. A number of major expeditions to the Levant were launched over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, one of which, the Third Crusade (1189–1192), took Cyprus from its Byzantine ruler in 1191, establishing yet another Catholic state there.

After the initial shock of the loss of Jerusalem, the third holy city of Islam, had passed, the Muslim response to the arrival of the First Crusade was largely one of apathy and compromise. While a number of Muslims, particularly preachers and poets, called on their political authorities to respond to the Crusader invasion, and some undoubtedly did, many rulers were preoccupied with struggles with other Muslim rivals and found that it was actually more convenient to ally themselves with the Franks, as the European Crusaders were called by the Muslims; indeed, one finds several cases of Muslim and Frankish leaders joining together to fight against other Muslims, Franks, or even both! Thus the Crusaders became integrated into the political framework of the region. However, over time, and particularly during the reigns of the sultans Zanki (r. 1127–1146), Nur al-Din (r. 1146–1174), Salah al-Din (Saladin, r. 1169–1193), Baybars (r. 1260–1277), and Qalawun (r. 1279–1290), there was a gradual hardening of Muslim hostility to the Franks that led to an increase of the *jihad* (holy war) against them, resulting in the gradual reconquest of territory by the Muslims. The last Frankish stronghold on the coast, Acre, fell to Qalawun's son, al-Ashraf Khalil (r. 1290–93), in 1291, while Cyprus lasted until 1570, when it was conquered by the Ottomans. By this time, despite further attempts that had been made to launch Crusades to the East, the era of Catholic states in the Levant had come to an end.

However, it would be a mistake to see the Crusadeing period as merely one of conflict. During the period there was a vibrant trade of goods between the Levant and Europe that experienced only temporary hiatuses during periods of increased hostility between Muslims and Crusaders. Some features of the Franks, especially military prowess, seem to have been admired by the Muslims, and a number of genuine friendships, transcending the religious barriers, seem to have formed. That said, in the sources, Muslim perceptions of the Franks still tend to be tinged with an air of superiority. While Franks clearly adopted Muslim habits and practices that were more suited to life in the Middle East, the Muslims seem to have felt that the Europeans had little to teach them in return.

NIALL CHRISTIE

See also Abu Shama; Architecture, Secular: Military; Ayyubids; Baybars I; European Literature about Medieval Islam; Fatimids; Franks; Ibn al-'Adim; Ibn al-Athir; Ibn al-Furat; Ibn Shaddad; Ibn Taghribirdi; Ibn Wasil; Interfaith Relations; Jerusalem; Jihad;

Mamluks; Manzikert; Muslim–Crusader Relations; Nur al-Din ibn Zanki; Pacts and Treaties; Saladin (Salah al-Din); Seljuks; Sibt ibn al-Jawzi; Trade, Mediterranean; Warfare and Techniques; Weapons and Weaponry; Zankids

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CURSING

Although using the name of God in promissory oaths is perfectly acceptable Muslim practice, invoking God's power against fellow Muslims in the form of a curse *(sabb, la'n)* is regularly condemned in the *hadīth* literature. The Prophet is remembered never to have cursed a Muslim (although he is said to have cursed his enemies), and to have included among the rights of a wife that she not be cursed by her husband. In one report, the Prophet is shown to have equated cursing a believer with murdering him, a statement that reflects a widespread belief in the power of curses to do real harm. Oaths were, in fact, sometimes strengthened with self-curses ("May God blacken my face if I fail to do such-and-such"), although swearing in this manner was widely disapproved of by the legal scholars. Even so, exposing oneself to curses was the central feature of the judicial procedure known as *li'ān*, an ordeal used to resolve accusations of adultery in cases where neither confession nor witnesses were on hand. The Prophet is said to have invited a delegation of Christians from Najran to resolve their dispute with him by recourse to reciprocal cursing *(mubāhala)*, an invitation that was not in the end taken up.

Early Muslims commonly expressed their affiliation with a particular faction by dissociating from and cursing its enemies. 'Ali was cursed by the Umayyads soon after the First Civil War ended, and those who supported 'Alid claims likewise cursed 'Uthman and Mu'awiya. Eventually, Imami (and some Zaydi) Shi'is would incorporate cursing of the first three Caliphs into their supererogatory prayers. (The *qunūt*, understood in classical Sunni and Shi'i law as a prayer of supplication, in fact, began as an imprecation against enemies used by Muslims of various sects.) More generally, Muhammad's Companions were cursed by Imamis and some Zaydis; in certain contexts, this "vilification of the Companions" *(sabb al-s.ah.āba)* could take place during public festivities commemorating the Prophet's designation of 'Ali at Ghadīr Khumm.

Keith Lewinstein

See also Oaths

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CUSTOMARY LAW

With the establishment of the Islamic sphere of influence in North Africa and Asia, large segments of the rural population, such as Berbers or Kurds, progressively converted to Islam and became, in theory, subjects of Islamic law and jurisprudence. However, sedentary tribes, as well as Arab Bedouins, retained distinctive types of jurisdiction, to such an extent that the fourteenth-century CE historian Ibn Khaldun stated in regard to the notion of common descent, "The only meaning of belonging to one or to another group is that one is subject to its laws and conditions" (Ibn Khaldun 1967, 267). The question of customary law in the Islamic world touches accordingly on the problem of accommodating concurrent normative orders, as well as the negotiation of group identities in the context of state expansion into tribal areas.

Approaches, Sources, and Terminology

In studies of Muslim societies, the term *customary law* usually adopts one of three meanings representing different approaches to the subject. First, customary law might refer to a body of rules or to judgments, enacted either by state agencies or by Muslim jurists, and stating or regulating generally accepted social practices. In this case, the legal character of custom is acknowledged because it has been sanctioned by formal authorities. The research interest then focuses on the particular modes of sanctioning, that is, the conditions under which a specific custom might become integrated, temporarily or permanently, into the normative body of the *Sharī'a* (cf. Libson 1997; Johansen 1999). Second, customary rules and judgments were also pronounced by informal authorities, such as tribal assemblies, arbiters, charismatic leaders, and so on. Since the legal character of these customary rulings is not immediately apparent, most studies of tribal jurisdiction are indecisive about whether they deal with "custom" or with "law." Some authors, mostly of Islamic studies, have applied the first approach in classifying any custom not in accordance with Islamic law under "social practice" (cf. Coulson 1959–1961). Colonial legal practitioners and social anthropologists have proposed rather two distinct spheres of Islamic and customary jurisdiction (cf. Milliot 1932; Gellner 1969). The importance given to custom in this latter framework characterizes the third meaning, according to which Islamic law scarcely produced social significance in tribal contexts (cf. Chelhod 1971). The activities and notions considered as "customary law" might then encompass the whole range of social practices. As a result, the legal aspects of custom are determined by the respective research interests and vary considerably; the investigated subjects include such different topics as folklore and ethnology, popular religion, social structure, vengeance and blood money, and arbitration procedures. However, since most of these questions belong to Tribes and Tribal Customs (q. v.) in general, we will limit our discussion to the first two meanings.

A central feature of tribal customary law is the fact that it was only occasionally written down. The sources are therefore unevenly distributed, and most of the material dates back merely as far as the eighteenth century. Throughout the medieval period, no testimonies other than the consideration of custom by formal authorities meet the requirement of sufficient documentation for analytical purposes. However, this author believes that it is relatively safe to further define the characteristics of tribal customary law from more recent material, if some precautions are observed. A number of studies suggest that customary law evolves in close relationship to other normative conceptions within legal pluralistic settings. Therefore, all too factitious presumptions on its immutability—expressed, for example, in the widely accepted evaluation of custom as a pre-Islamic residuum—are sometimes misleading. Another important factor restraining the general value of some assertions about the contents of customary law is the actual diversity of local practices. Both the adaptivity to changing social and cultural conditions and the variability of practice contribute to a multifaceted picture of our subject hardly obtainable within narrowing definitions.

The textual basis for considering custom in Islamic law appears in the *Qur'an* (Q 7:199): "Observe forgiveness, and command what is just" *(khudh al-'afw wa 'amur bil-'urf)*. Despite the fact that the translations of the term *'urf* in this verse differ widely, it refers literally to "what is known." In this sense, *'urf* evoked a local or a general custom and could acquire the legal value of a contractual stipulation. The other main technical term for designating custom, *'ada,* or literally "what is repeated," is not attested in the *Qur'an*. In the vocabulary of the legal sciences, it appeared with the meaning of "common usage" after the tenth century. *'Urf* and *'ada* are often mentioned in law texts as a pair. Some authors tried to arrive at a general definition allowing discrimination between *'urf* and *'ada* (see Libson 1997, 133, n. 4). However, the technical usages of both terms varied according to the contexts of text production and might be best traced in considering the texts of selected discursive fields throughout a certain period.

Customary Law According to the Schools of Jurisprudence

The attitudes of the four Sunni schools of jurisprudence toward *'urf* and *'ada* show remarkable differences. Social practice among the people of Medina became an important part of nascent Maliki legal doctrine under the precondition that it had been confirmed as judicial practice *('amal)* by Malik ibn Anas or his contemporaries (cf. Dutton 1999). From the tenth century onward, the *'amal* evolved into a juridic tool enabling judges to pronounce legal solutions founded on local *'urf*, even if these solutions differed from the majority doctrine *(mashhur)*. Andalusian and Maghrib cities such as Cordoba, Fez, and Qayrawan established in this way their distinctive, unified judicial practice. The prerequisites for this procedure had been summed up by the Moroccan jurist Miyyara (d. ca. 1662–1663 CE) and included the confirmation of the *'urf* by righteous witnesses, a continuous legal precedence of exemplary jurists, and the principal conformity with Islamic law (on Maliki *'amal*, see references in Toledano 1981:14 f.; Libson 1997:134, n. 8). Besides the *'amal*, there are numerous general statements of renowned Maliki jurists, from Abu 'Imran al-Fasi (d. 1038) to Ahmad al-Dardir (d. 1786), on the necessity of considering *'urf* in legal evaluation.

Whether or not custom constituted a formal legal source in early Hanafi law is a question still awaiting further research. The prevailing opinion among Hanafi jurists came to be the preference of textual authority found in *Hadith* and *Qur'an,* which would definitively override deviating *'urf*. In cases in which the texts were silent, the jurists disagreed whether local *'urf* could be taken into consideration. However, when the *'urf* in question enjoyed universal acceptance among the Muslims, it possessed the force of legal argument. There are some noteworthy exceptions from the majority opinion, such as the Egyptian scholar Ibn Nujaym (d. 1563), who openly argued against Hanafi doctrine by first acknowledging certain local customs of Usury and Interest not explicitly mentioned in the texts and then trying to establish his judgment as a principle (see Johansen 1999; Libson 1997, 142–154; Hallaq 2001, 215–233).

The positions regarding custom in the Shafi'i and Hanbali schools have not been thoroughly studied. The prolific Shafi'i scholar al-Suyuti (d. 1505) dedicated a full chapter of a treatise to custom, but he could nevertheless entirely avoid the problem of local *'urf* in his response to questions emerging in the central Sudanese Tekrur (Libson 1997, 154; Hunwick 1970). Driven by obvious political motives, the Hanbali scholar Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328) denounced in his condemnation of the Mongol rulers of Baghdad their adherence to Mongol custom despite their previous conversion to Islam, and turned it into a primary reason for declaring them to be unbelievers. Finally, in Shi'i legal literature, *'urf* figures merely in the sense of "habit" and no allusion is made to specific tribal custom. However, the particular notion of legal reasoning in Shi'ism might have contributed to its greater flexibility in adjusting custom and legal doctrine.

Tribal Customary Law

The case of Maliki law in North Africa, which recognized custom to a large extent, affords significant insights into the modes of negotiating the concurrent normative orders of tribal groups. Berber customary law differed from Islamic law in several important, and by no means tolerable, aspects; for example, denial of inheriting real estate by females, the dower for a wife's family at marriage, the taking of interest, and the avoidance of bodily punishments. Moreover, state jurisdiction *(hukm al-sultan)* and officially appointed judges were almost absent in tribal areas. Instead, tribal assemblies *(jama'at),* as well as arbiters *(muhakkamun)*, delivered legal judgments.

It is possible that most tribal actors conceived customary law in the framework of "their" *shari'a*, the only semantic reference to law available for them (see Rosen 1995). However, both sides, jurists and tribes, spent considerable effort to adjust conflicting norms of customary and religious law. On the one hand, various legal remedies of Islamic law, from gifts and sales to endowments, were intentionally employed for legalizing inheritance practice (*see* Powers 2002, chapters 4 and 6). On the other hand, the authors of a tribal resolution from 1749, declaring overtly female disinheritance and laying explicit claim to the equal value of '*ada* and state jurisdiction, carefully sought to satisfy the formal requirements for the establishment of a Maliki *'amal* (cf. Patorni 1895). Both accommodation and self-authorization, different modes of dealing with the same problem, demonstrate the awareness of distinct legal orders, which nevertheless intersect and interact within the legal process.

Though there are no empirically founded reasons to presume a common language of the *'ada* forming the equivalence of legal doctrine, legal and political discourses generated images of tribal '*ada* reduced to changing features of unbelief, from disinheritance to highwaymen. A comprehensive study on the selective

processes of these contested markers of customary law promises important insights about the transformations of Muslim rural societies.

TILMAN HANNEMANN

See also Agriculture; Irrigation; Muslim Conceptions of Past Civilizations; Pagans and Pagan Customs

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CYPRUS

Cyprus (*Kıbrıs* in modern Turkish, *Kubrus* in old Ottoman or Arabic text, and *Kypros* in Greek) is the largest island in the Eastern Mediterranean. The first encounter of Cyprus with Islam began in 632 CE when the Arab invaders under Abu Bakr, according to the Arab and Greek chronicles, showed themselves in Cyprus capturing the Byzantine city of Salamis (Constantia) and converting the large basilica of St. Epiphanios into a mosque. During another expedition by Mu'awiya, governor of Syria in 649, Umm Haram bint Milhan, wife of Ubada ibn as-Shamit, a close relation of the Prophet, died by a fall from her mule in Larnaca. Hala Sultan Tekke, a *külliye* including her mausoleum erected at the spot of her tomb, marked by a megalithic monument, is the most venerated Islamic monument in the island.

The Arab expeditions continued during the Latin Crusading Kingdom between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries. In one of these, the Memelouk Sultan Emir Tanriverdi al-Mahmoudi from Cairo landed at Limassol with his army in 1426 and proceeded as far as Nicosia, where he enjoyed the luxury of the Lusignan king's palace and demanded a quarter to be allocated to them in the capital city, as well as making an agreement of an annual tribute.

Islamic societies took part sometimes as allied forces beside the Lusignans against the Byzantines or the Genoese. However, there is not much known about the extent of the spreading of the Islamic culture in Cyprus dating back to pre-Ottoman rule, although medieval chronicles referred to mosque building and the presence of the Turcopoles on the island. There are several Ottoman buildings (St. Ömer Tekke, Kirklar Tekke, and Ömerge Mosque) dedicated to the early Islamic martyrs.

The Ottoman conquest during the reign of Selim II in 1570/71, with the consent of the *Sheyh ül Islam,* introduced the permanent Islamic culture on the island. An organized settlement policy by forced migrations from Anatolia, mainly Konya, Karaman, Larende, Niğde, Ichel, Menteshe, Denizli, and Zülkadiriye, created a Turkish Islamic population beside the Orthodox Greek natives. Institutions of the Ottoman administration and the Islamic religion were established, the most significant being the *Evkaf (waqf)* institution, which still functions as the administrator of the religious and philanthropic affairs as the greatest property holder in the island. Trade activities from the Islamic countries also increased during this period.

Cyprus became a chief principality governed by a *Beylerbeyi* in Nicosia and *Sancak Beys* in the *kazas,* including some provinces in Anatolia such as Ichel, Sis, Alaiye (Alanya), and Tarsus until the early decades of the seventeenth century. British rule terminated the Ottoman administration in 1878, although the Turkish Islamic culture continued.

The language of the Turkish Cypriots is in the southeastern dialect deriving from Oghuz Turks.



Büyük Han in Nicosia, c. 1571. © N. Yıldız.

Islamic architectural heritage is of Ottoman character. Büyük Han, Büyük Hamam, Ömeriye complex, Arap Ahmet and Agha Cafer Mosques, Hala Sultan and Mevlevi Tekkes, aqueducts, fountains, and the castles in Paphos, Larnaca, and Limassol are the most notable ones from the sixteenth century. Also, Latin monuments, mainly Selimiye (Ayia Sophia) Mosque in Nicosia, Lala Mustafa Pasha (Ayia Sophia or St. Nicholas) Mosque in Famagusta, the city walls, and citadels and domestic buildings, restored and renovated according to Turkish culture during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, is a sign of the respect of the Ottoman administrators toward the cultural heritage. Several others were constructed during the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, including Bekir Pasha Aqueduct and Sultan Mahmut Library. Museums located in Mevlevi Tekke, Dervish Pasha Konak, and Canpolat Bastion display art and ethnographical collections of Islamic origin. Islamic manuscripts and Ottoman documents in the possession of the Turkish Cypriot Archive and Documentary Centre and the *Waqf* Administration in North Cyprus and the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive in Istanbul show the legacy of the Islamic culture in Cyprus.

NETICE YILDIZ

See also Abu Bakr

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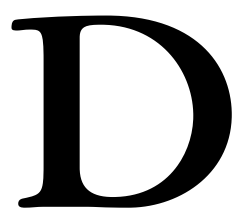
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DAMASCUS

Damascus (Dimashq) is the current capital of the Arab Republic of Syria. In popular usage, it is widely referred to as *al-Sham,* a term that is also used to refer to greater Syria (i.e., *Bilad al-Sham*).

Damascus owes its existence to the river Barada, which springs from the eastern slopes of the Anti-Lebanon mountain range, and, after crossing Damascus, empties into the eastern and southern desert, forming around the city a fertile agricultural land known as *al-Ghuta*. The abundance of water and agriculture, along with the city's strategic location on the internal highway that connects the south (Egypt and Arabia) and the north (Mesopotamia and Asia Minor), allowed Damascus to play a significant role in Near Eastern trade and communication, and, at times, in politics, too, from antiquity to modern times.

The city plan took its shape inside the surrounding wall and its seven gates during the Roman period. The main east–west street (decumanus) is still partly in existence, and approximately in its middle was the Temple of Jupiter (which was converted during the Byzantine period into the Church of St. John the Baptist) and the market place (agora), the ruins of which still exist just outside the southern gate of the Umayyad Mosque. The town's houses were arranged in quarters on both sides of the main street, with small alleys and paths leading to them.

Damascus fell to the Muslim army in AH 15/636 CE and ever since has been under Islamic rule. It rose to significance under the Umayyads (r. 41–132/661–750), who chose it as their main capital and reorganized it as an imperial city. During that period, the first mosque built on a grand scale in Islam (the Umayyad Mosque) was constructed by orders from Caliph al-Walid b. ʻAbd al-Malik (r. 86–96/705–715), who also ordered the construction of the Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. The site of the Umayyad Mosque and its courtyard was originally occupied by the Church of St. John, which included a small chapel built to house a casket that was believed to contain St. John's head. After the Islamic conquest, an earlier mosque was built in the southern corner of the Church's courtyard, although some Muslim historians suggest that the Church itself was divided into two sections: one for the Muslims and another for the Christians. Al-Walid ordered the confiscation of the property, and all preexisting buildings, including the Church and the earlier mosque, were razed to the ground to allow for the new mosque. The casket containing St. John's head was incorporated into the main mosque, where it still exists today. In 61/680, the head of al-Husayn b. ʻAli, the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad and the third Shiʻi Imam, was buried in the eastern side of the mosque complex; however, it was moved shortly after 359/970 and buried in Cairo, in a mosque built for that purpose by the Fatimids of Egypt (the al-Husayn Mosque). These two figures of tremendous religious and spiritual authority made the Umayyad Mosque a center especially for local pilgrimage and subsequently augmented the religious symbolism (fada'il) of Damascus.

In addition to the two key figures mentioned above, local legends identify Damascus and its surrounding

area as the birthplace of Abraham and the burial place of Moses and Mary, the mother of Jesus. Similarly, Jesus is believed to have escaped to Damascus with Mary and Joseph at the time of the Massacre of the Innocents—hence its association with the Qur'anic reference "wa-awaynahuma ila rabwatin dhati qararin wa-ma'ini" (23:50); it is also believed that He will descend into the city to usher in the End Times. The town's main medieval cemetery, Maqbarat al-Bab al-Saghir (this is outside of the southern Small Gate, which is also known as Bab al-Hadid), contains the graves of a large host of significant Muslim public figures and religious scholars, including companions of the Prophet Muhammad. All of this bestowed on Damascus—and, by extension, on Syria—additional holiness.

The city grew outside its walls, but it gradually lost most of its prestige and centrality, especially as compared with towns in Syria like Aleppo (Halab) and Hims after the ousting of the Umayyads. It reclaimed its political, intellectual, economic, and religious supremacy back when Sultan Nur al-Din (d. 569/1174) captured it in 549/1154 and made it his capital city, although its political prominence was lost again with his death. Nur al-Din ordered a major facelift for the city, including major renovations of some of its existing monuments and the addition of new ones, such as a hospice (al-Bimaristan al-Nuri), several schools for religious sciences (e.g., Dar al-Hadith al-Nuriyya), and several mosques. Since the time of Nur al-Din, Damascus has become one of the most prestigious centers for Sunni Islam, and its scholars (both natives and residents) played a significant role in the promotion and diffusion of Sunni Islam in Syria and the Middle East. During the Ottoman period, Damascus rose back to political supremacy, especially with the al-Azm family during the eighteenth century. Many members of the family were governors of the wilayet (province) of Damascus, which extended east to the Bekaa valley in modern-day Lebanon and south to Jordan and northern Palestine. The al-Azm family left their mark on the city, with their splendid palaces and public undertakings, including construction and renovation of the city's markets and caravanserais.

Damascus gave its name to several types of merchandise that were initially produced there and traded widely during the Middle Ages. The two most notable items are *damask*, which is a firm, lustrous fabric that blends linen and silk, and the *damask rose* (ward juri), which is a very fragrant red rose. A special syrup is made from the damask rose and used in desserts and a few other recipes; if diluted in water, the syrup becomes a refreshing drink that is usually served at weddings and on special occasions.

Suleiman A. Mourad

See also Syria; Umayyad Mosque

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DANCING

At least from the early 'Abbasid period, Muslim authors were troubled by the active role of female participants in various popular festivals, the mingling of genders, and the sensuality that accompanied some of these rites. They particularly addressed the issue of music and dancing during these ceremonies; hence, the prevalent attitude of Muslim writers toward dancing is concentrated in works that criticize Sufi customs or condemn manifestations of popular Islam.

That these questions alarmed some writers is reflected in an anecdote narrated by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam: Yazid ibn Abi Habib wrote to 'Umar and asked him about playing music and using tambourines and guitars at weddings. In response, the righteous caliph prohibited the playing of guitars but let the public beat tambourines. According to 'Umar, this denotes the difference between a wedding and fornication (sifah).

The jurists turned their attention mainly to those circles of Sufis that—through tambourine (daff) and flute (shabbaba) playing, hand clapping, and dancing (raq*s*)—attracted audiences to their public performances. Chanting, playing musical instruments, and dancing were magnets for the populace. Interestingly, the jurisprudents did not dwell on the music and dancing that were performed in the royal palaces.

An examination of hisba manuals and bid'a criticism confirms that dancing and music were not approved of. Condemnation of them is particularly conspicuous in works that criticize the quasi-Sufis (fuqara'). It is not surprising to find that those who wrote against popular culture and expressed disapproval of music and dancing also participated in campaigns against the manners and customs of the fuqara'. It seems that the principal objection of these fuqaha to music and dancing sessions (sama) was the sexuality associated with them, which would also explain their objection to singing (ghina).

A well-known example of such writers is Ibn Hajj al-'Abdari. This famous jurisprudent took a particularly fierce stand against the mingling of men and



Marriage of Akbar's brother at Agra in 1561. Folio from the Akbar-nama. Moghul miniature, c. 1590. (CT3443). Credit: Victoria & Albert Museum, London/NY. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Great Britain.

women in any social or religious situation, and this was also the attitude of Ibn Taymiyya toward dancing and music playing as expressed in several of his works. In his discussions of the sama', Ibn Taymiyya provides his readers with extensive descriptions of the fuqara's' rituals and performances as well as with information about popular Islam.

Ibn Taymiyya differentiates between two types of spiritual concerts (dhikrs): one is legal (sama' shar'i), but the other one oversteps the bounds of Islamic law (kharij shuru*t* al-masha'ikh). Ibn Taymiyya argues that, during the forbidden dhikrs, music is used to bring the participants to a state of ecstasy. He compares this practice to the consumption of alcohol or the use of drugs, both of which are strictly prohibited. He considers the deeds of the quasi-Sufis' to be a taboo, and he deduces that the shari'a forbids sama' that leads to ecstasy.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya opens his examination of music and dancing with a pseudo-fatwa (dated 740/1339). The question reads as follows: "What is the stand of our learned masters *(al-sada al-'ulama')* regarding *sama'*, which consists of playing musical instruments such as tambourine and flute, hand clapping, singing, and amusement. Men and women mingle and recite Qur'anic verses. Claiming that this ritual brings the participants in these ceremonies closer to Allah, the partakers argue that if a person dance his sins will be forgiven."

The question posed by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya triggered answers by other fuqaha, thereby raising a wide range of issues. Some scholars imposed a total ban on music. They depicted behavior by the Sufi brethren that led some to brand such a group as "a band of disgrace." Moreover, they were incensed by scenes of women and young men dancing and chanting in the presence of mixed audiences. In one case, the heads of the Kilaniyya brotherhood applied to the Hanbali qadi of Cairo (in 852/1448) to ban singing and the playing of musical instruments. They further appealed to the sultan to prohibit the playing of drums and flutes in al-Rifa'i's lodge.

It goes without saying that the fulminations against music and dancing achieved only limited results. Rigorous 'ulama never succeeded in eliminating music from Arab, Turkish, or Persian societies, as can be deduced from chronicles and biographies; proof is to be found in the performances by Sufis that used music as an instrument to attain unity with God, in works by authors favoring music, and in accounts of the activities of professional musicians. The tariqa Mavlawiyya (Mevleviler) are perhaps the best–known examples that support this proposition.

The failure of the puritans might explain the position arrived at by other jurists, who distinguished between licit and illicit poetry. These fuqaha' regarded loud supplication (awrad) and the reciting of Qur'anic verses as noble, and they permitted the chanting of hymns. An example of this line of argumentation can be seen in the writing of 'Alwan al-*H*amawi.

Yehoshua Frenkel

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DARA SHIKOH (1615–1659)

The eldest son and the heir apparent of the Mughal Emperor Shahjahan (d. 1657) and his favorite wife Mumtaz Mahal and himself an Emperor manqué, Dara never showed much interest in political affairs. He took part in one military campaign to Kandahar in 1659, which resulted in failure, and he only accepted the governorship of Allahabad in 1645 so that he could be near the Chishti mystic and philosopher Muhibb Allah Ilahabadi (d. 1648); he never took up his post in Allahabad and merely corresponded

with the philosopher. Along with his favorite sister, Jahanara, he spent more time with literati and Sufis, affiliating himself with the Qadiri order. Their political disinterest led to his younger brother Awrangzeb to launch a successful bid to become emperor and outflanking Dara Shikoh. European travelers such as Bernier and Manucci regarded him as an aloof and arrogant man who had no real convictions and was hence interested in syncretism.

Dara was already associated with the Qadiri order at the time of Miyan Mir (d. 1635), but, along with his sister, he only formally joined in 1640, paying allegiance to Mulla Shah Badakhshi (d. 1661), Miyan Mir's successor. This in itself was a significant act: the heir apparent pledging allegiance to a Sufi master was an almost unique step during the Mughal period. Dara wrote two hagiographies of famous Sufis of the past and of the Qadiri order: *Safinat al-Awliya'* in 1640 and *Sakinat al-Awliya'* in 1642. However, his major literary contribution came later. In 1646, he completed his best work, *Risala-yi Haqq-numa*, which was a defense of monism that was steeped in the learning of the school of Ibn 'Arabi. His growing interest in following in the footsteps of his great-grandfather Akbar led to his encounters with Indian thought. In 1653, he met the kabirpanthi ascetic Baba La'l Das and asked him questions about truth, religion, and community, a conversation that was recorded for posterity in an intriguing mix of Persian, Sanskrit, and Hindavi by Dara's secretary, Candrabhan Brahman.

Dara's most obvious expression of syncretism came in 1655 with the completion of *Majma' al-Bahrayn (The Mingling of the Two Oceans)*. Drawing on Qur'an 18:60, he argued that the essences of Indian religions (he meant the Vedanta and Natha paths) and Sufism were the same. A rather mediocre work, its significance lies not in the quality of its composition but rather the identity of its author. It does seem that Dara had a good grasp of Sanskrit and of the technical terminology of the Vedic schools, because he himself translated this work as *Samudrasangama*. He extended this by commissioning a translation of the Upanishads. which was completed in 1657 with the title *Sirr-i Akbar (The Great Secret)*. He claimed that the Upanishads were the "hidden scripture" alluded to in Qur'an 56:78.

A patron of the arts, Dara commissioned paintings and albums that included depictions of himself that still survive. Awrangzeb, who was seen as a heretical aesthete, took advantage of Shahjahan's illness in 1658 and had Dara declared a heretic. During the ensuing trial, Dara was condemned, and he was executed on August 12, 1659. His political failure meant that he could not call on powerful defenders for his cause. Since then, historians and Indians have debated what might have been. Awrangzeb has been cast as Dara's opposite, associating with Naqshbandis and treating non-Muslims harshly; this was in contrast with Dara's syncretic idea of "universal peace." Dara's real problem was that, by focusing on lofty ideals and transcendental unity, he had little understanding of political realities.

SAJJAD H. RIZVI

See also Akbar; Mughals; Sufism

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DATES AND CALENDARS

The Islamic calendar, also known as the Hijra calendar, is based on a lunar cycle that has twelve months of approximately twenty-nine to thirty days each. The term *Hijra* refers to the emigration of the early Muslim community in Mecca to the northern oasis of Yathrib (later known as Medina), a seminal event in Islamic history. 'Umar b. al-Khattab (r. 634–644 CE), the second Rightly Guided Caliph, designated the year that the Emigration (Hijra) took place (622 CE) as Year One of the Islamic calendar in 638. It has become a standard convention of the modern scholarship of Islamic history to provide both dates, with the Hijra year first, followed by the Gregorian calendar-based Common Era (CE) date: for example, 450/1058. Conversion from the Hijra calendar to other calendars is not an exact science, and detailed data (i.e., the day of the week, the month, and the year) are required before one can obtain an accurate conversion. This is due in large part to the methods that have been traditionally used to determine the changeover from one month to the next.

According to traditions that predate the rise of Islam, each new month begins with the sighting of the new crescent moon right after sunset and lasts until the sighting of the next new crescent moon; this system of dating based on the movement of celestial bodies or the moon with the sun is also known as a synodic system. Although this is fraught with potential human error, medieval scholars eventually settled on a more consistent system of giving the odd-numbered months thirty days each and the even-numbered months twenty-nine days each.

The twelve months of the Islamic calendar, in order, are as follows: (1) Muharram; (2) Safar; (3) Rabi' al-Awwal; (4) Rabi' al-Akhir (or al-Thani); (5) Jumada 'l-Ula; (6) Jumada 'l-Akhira; (7) Rajab; (8) Sha'ban; (9) Ramadan; (10) Shawwal; (11) Dhu 'l-Qa'da; and (12) Dhu 'l-Hijja. For administrative and agricultural reasons, medieval Muslims also used derivations of existing solar and/or fixed-month calendars from the region; these include aspects of the Ancient Egyptian seasonal calendar, the Roman Julian calendar, and the Persian calendar. Although the Islamic calendar and dating system was the overarching system used by medieval Muslims (especially with regard to religious holidays [*eid*s]), Muslims from such places as al-Andalusia, Central Asia, and India would retain their traditional calendars and practices at the local level. Some key days in the Muslim calendar are Eid al-Adha (The Feast of the Sacrifice), which commemorates Ibrahim's willingness to sacrifice his son, Isma'il (10 Dhu 'l-Hijja); Eid al-Fitr (Breaking of the Fast), which is celebrated at the end of Ramadan; and Laylat al-Qadr (The Night of Power), which occurs during one of the last ten nights of Ramadan; on this night, the prayers of sincere Muslims are said to be answered. In addition to these days, such local traditions as the Persian Nawruz (Festival of the New Year) are observed, regardless of their non-Islamic origin. It should also be noted that, within Islamic society itself, there are some minor deviations in terms of ritual practice concerning dates and calendars between the Sunni and Shi'i communities. The most famous difference involves the commemoration of Ashura (10 Muharram); within the Sunni community this has some significance, but, within the Shi'i community, it is the commemoration of the martyrdom of Husayn b. Ali, the grandson of the Prophet, in 680 at the hands of Umayyad forces.

The Islamic calendar of twelve lunar months creates a year with 354 days; the result of this is that, over decades, the Islamic months actually travel throughout the solar-based seasonal year. The practical effect of this can be seen with the example of Ramadan, the Islamic month of fasting, during which Muslims refrain from drinking and eating between sunrise and sunset. At one point, Ramadan will fall during the winter season, when the days are shorter; a decade or so later, Ramadan will fall during the summer, when the time between sunrise and sunset is much longer. Medieval scholars of both the religious and natural sciences wrote numerous works about the proper methods for ascertaining the change in months as well as about their astronomical observations. Modern scholars have used these works, in addition to more modern calculation methods, to create reliable conversion tables; students and scholars also have Internet-based conversion tables at their disposal that allow for day-to-day conversions.

Eric Hanne

See also Astrology; Astronomy; Festivals and Celebrations; Nawruz; Pagans and Pagan Customs

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DEATH AND DYING

Qur'anic Themes

"Every soul shall taste of death," declares the Qur'an in verse 3:185, in an expression suggesting why death ought to be a universal concern. Yet human beings, in the Qur'anic understanding, are not equally preoccupied with their mortality. Their attitudes differ strikingly, depending on whether or not they believe in the afterlife.

According to the Qur'an, infidels enjoy life without giving much thought to the hereafter. They cultivate the vineyards of this world, pay no heed to the Hour of Reckoning, and doubt that God has the power to recreate life from bones and fragmented corpses. A harsh surprise awaits them, for, after passing away from this life, they will suffer a second death, an

afterlife of torment in the fire of Hell. Believers, by contrast, live in awe of God's power to create and destroy. They argue against the infidels that, if God can revivify with vegetation a lifeless land, so too can he quicken the dead, and that, on the Day of the Resurrection, they shall be rewarded with eternal life in the Garden.

This polemic dialog, recorded in verses 36:78, 56:47–8, and elsewhere, does not necessarily reflect actual exchanges between incredulous infidels and believing Muslims. However, regardless of its historic truth, the dialogue served to emphasize—if only in believers' minds—the reassuring notion that an omnipotent God would allow life to continue after death. The related belief that God controlled life and death—and that in fact He decreed or predetermined the very moment at which every individual's life should end—also offered consolation. Muslims, unlike early Arabic poets, did not see death as a misfortune striking loved ones unjustly and arbitrarily; rather, death for them was a part of God's wise—if inscrutable—plan.

Such consolation derived special meaning in an environment in which, as a result of tribal warfare and the military struggles of the first Muslims, the way of death was often violent. In fact, the theme of violent death is an essential one in the Qur'an. It recurs most frequently in the so-called Medinan verses, as O'Shaughnessy has pointed out. There are references to the persecution and violent death of several prophets, and one reads about killing by drowning, stoning to death, burning to death, and crucifixion. These ways of dying, although gruesome, need not be feared by those fighting in God's path, for martyrs only *seem* to undergo death: in reality, they continue to live with God.

Upon death, as during sleep, God sends angels to take the souls of women and men. He returns the souls of the sleepers to their bodies so that they will continue to live until their predetermined end, and He keeps with Him the souls of the dead. Deceased wrongdoers plead with God, asking Him to allow them to return to Earth, where they hope to accomplish the good works they had neglected to do during life. However, a barrier that shall be breached only on the Day of the Resurrection, according to verses 23:99–100, prevents the dead from crossing over into the realm of the living. In death, they must live with the consequences of their actions in the physical world.

The Ideal Way of Dying

Throughout early Islamic times, the Qur'anic ideal of suffering a violent death in the name of Islam remained appealing. In biographical works and in the hadith, the bravery of warriors for the faith, who expressed a yearning to die of battle wounds, was celebrated. Thus, Khubayb ibn ʿAdiyy (d. 625 CE), who, according to Muslim tradition, inaugurated the custom of offering a special prayer before suffering death in captivity, boasted in a poem that mutilation was in no way a concern to him, convinced as he was that God would bless the limbs of his amputated body. The reward of Paradise was on the minds of holy warriors, according to Muslim tradition, and this belief inspired them to fight bravely even while anticipating the disfiguration of their bodies beyond recognition.

The hadith granted the status of martyr not only to those who died on the battlefield but also to several other categories of Muslims. For instance, those who died of plague, of a stomach ailment, by drowning, or in the destruction of a building were considered martyrs. The logic underlying this formulation seems clear: to undergo a painful, gruesome death counted as a way of meriting in the afterlife the rewards of martyrdom. It was essential, however, for the dying person, in agony, to not succumb to desperation; to reach Paradise alongside the martyrs of the battlefield, one needed to retain until the end a sense of composure and patience supported by trust in God's judgment.

Dying of old age in one's bed was less admirable than dying in battle, but Muslims who anticipated a peaceful death could undertake certain preparations to reach the end of life properly. First, they would need to discharge any unpaid debts. Failure to fulfill this financial obligation would result in suffering in the afterlife, according to the hadith. Second, dying persons were obliged to provide loved ones with instructions about what shrouds they wished to wear to the grave. This was an important specification to make, because burial attire was typically very expensive and often purchased after death. Muslims typically expressed in their last will not only a desire for modest clothes (as noted by Ibn Saʿd in his biographies of famous women and men), but they also often specified that their funeral procession should not be accompanied by candles, which seemed a superfluous expenditure, nor by professional wailers, whose laments seemed to protest God's decree to terminate an individual's life.

These deathbed instructions may not appear particularly Islamic, but Muslims did develop certain idealized, Islamic forms of reaching the end of life. Reiterating the name of Allah and reciting Surat Ya-Sin or another section of the Qur'an dealing with the resurrection of the dead were considered exemplary ways to die. However, the most striking of the Islamic

forms of dying involved one's physical orientation. It was associated in the first instance with Muhammad's daughter, Fatima (d. 632). Anticipating death, she asked for her bed to be placed in the middle of the house, and she then lay down on it facing the qibla, the Muslim direction of prayer. This way of dying became an ideal that, according to biographers, pious Muslims such as Caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz (d. 720) followed in the moments before death.

Natural and Unnatural Death

Death as a result of illness, old age, or holy war did not require theological explanation. It seemed clear in such cases that the event had been decreed if not predetermined by God. What was harder to explain was death by an unnatural or accidental cause, as in the cases of murder and suicide. A death of this sort seemed, in the eyes of some Mu'tazilites, to cut short the natural span of one's life, of which God knew in his prescience. Murderers and suicide victims, they argued, followed their own wills in terminating life prematurely and acting against God's foreknowledge of the time at which death would have occurred had the divine plan not been interfered with. It was wrong to commit murder or suicide, they reasoned, and therefore unreasonable to believe that God in his justice and goodness predetermined such a way of dying in advance. Orthodox theologians disagreed. In their predestinarian view, the moment of death was always anticipated by God, whether the death seemed just or unjust; divine justice was postponed until after death. Persons who killed others or themselves would be tortured in the afterlife in a retributive scheme, punished in Hell with the same instruments they had used to terminate life.

Natural death was the subject not of theological but of medical explanation. In the view of Ibn Sina (d. 1037) and other exponents of Greco-Muslim medicine, this way of dying appeared to be the endpoint of the process of senescence. With aging, the human body gradually loses the ability to balance its primary qualities and constituent humors. Because, in old age, the innate heat (one of the primary qualities that burns most vigorously in youthful bodies) begins to fail, the body enters a state of disequilibrium. It steadily loses moisture, and it becomes drier and colder; eventually this process results in death. In juxtaposition with this explanation, which follows the Aristotelian view of the etiology of disease, Muslim authors also presented the Galenic–Hippocratic scheme of humoral pathology. According to this scheme, disease was caused by a disturbance of the mixture of essential bodily fluids: blood, phlegm, black bile, and yellow bile—the four humors. A pronounced disorder of humoral composition could also end in death.

To prevent natural death from occurring is not the aim of medicine, Ibn Sina clarified in *The Canon of Medicine*. Natural death occurs by divine decree, whenever a person reaches his or her appointed end, which depends on one's own individual constitution. The purpose of the art of medicine was simply to maintain, through a regimen that took both dietary and environmental factors into account, a person's body in a state of equilibrium. In his treatise about the ailments of the body in Egypt, Ibn Ridwan (d. 1068) lists exposure to overly dry air, an abrupt change in diet, and drinking water contaminated with dead matter as factors leading to epidemic disease and widespread mortality.

This discussion about the natural and unnatural causes of death was of course theoretical: it reveals attitudes toward death, but it does not provide a concrete idea about how Muslims usually died, how long their life spans were, and so on. Such knowledge could come only from archaeological excavations of Muslim cemeteries, accompanied by paleopathological analysis. Unfortunately, the archaeology of death in Islam is still in its infancy, and such analysis is lacking. However, there is one short study of a cemetery in Alexandria, whose burials dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are worthy of report. Of 489 subjects, 172 were adult males, 193 were adult females, 115 were children, and 9 were of undetermined age or sex. The mean age of the adult males was forty-five years; of the females, it was thirty-five years. Spondylitis, an inflammation of the vertebrae, affected many of the older men and women, who lived beyond the age of sixty and seventy. Neoplastic tumors and skull traumas were not uncommon. These findings provide us with some indication of the high incidence of mortality in children (nearly a quarter of the total deaths) as well as some measure of the average life span of women and men in a late-medieval city.

Status of the Corpse

Collections of hadith and of law and jurisprudence include numerous regulations regarding the care of the dead. Normally they devote an entire volume to the subject under the title *Kitab al-Jana'iz (The Book on Funerals)*; however, occasionally, discussion of the topic is subsumed under the volumes devoted to

prayer and purity. In this corpus, the acts of the Prophet Muhammad and of the first generation of Muslims figure prominently. One learns from this literature about the proper way for Muslims to mourn, wash corpses, process toward the cemetery, and bury and pray for the dead. These rituals are discussed elsewhere in this encyclopedia (see also: Burial Customs) and by Halevi in his social history of death. Here it will suffice to mention something about the status of the corpse in relation to notions of purity.

The ability of the deceased to produce impurity in corpse handlers was a key subject of discussion in Islamic law. Jurisprudents debated in particular whether or not corpse washing and pall bearing subjected one to a state of major ritual impurity; positions on these subjects varied. At one extreme, certain Sunni jurisprudents subscribed to a ruling by ʻAbdallah ibn ʻAbbas (d. 687), according to which deceased Muslims were considered pure and therefore in no way sources of impurity. At the other extreme stood Shiʻis jurisprudents, who regarded deceased human beings as generators of major ritual impurity. What did this divergence of opinions entail? For Shiʻis, it seemed necessary to perform a major ritual ablution after disposing of a corpse; for Sunnis, this seemed to be optional.

Pondering Death

The most famous medieval authors of books about death—Ibn Abi al-Dunya (d. 894), al-Ghazali (d. 1111), Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 1350), and al-Suyuti (d. 1505)—had moral lessons to impart. They described the process of dying and the afterlife to warn believers to lead a virtuous life, and they encouraged readers to imagine in detail their own deaths—down to the worms feasting on a putrefied corpse—to emphasize the basic notion that death was not an endpoint but rather a point of transition toward an afterlife that could be blessed or horrible.

These authors represented the process of dying as being most painful for the wicked. The spirit of an evil person was violently extracted from the body by terrifying angels. Then, after a brief tour of the hereafter, it was deposited in the grave to dwell in the corpse until the final judgment. During this period of the afterlife between death and the resurrection, sinners suffered tortures. The spirits of Muslims who died a natural death, who had prayed diligently, who had performed good deeds, and who had thought about the hereafter also inhabited the grave between death and the resurrection. However, these spirits—unlike those of sinners—experienced a blessed existence in the grave as a foretaste of Paradise.

Life in the grave was in some ways remarkably similar to life before death. The inhabitants of the grave lacked the ability to move their bodies, but they possessed an intellect. They were able to hear (according to an oral tradition that to some degree contradicted a Qur'anic pronouncement), and they could communicate with the living, mostly by the mediation of dreams. In these dreams, they would sometimes ask the living to perform deeds on their behalf—deeds from which the dead would draw tangible benefit, as Kinberg has shown. The gift of prayer would fill the grave of the deceased with light, and this light would ward off the dark tortures of the grave.

The stories by Ibn Abi al-Dunya and others regarding death and dying suggest a stark contrast between the fate of the blessed and the doomed; in this respect, they echo the sharp Qur'anic division between infidels bound for Hellfire and believers bound for Paradise. However, this similarity in moral outlook should not obscure two significant changes. The original post-Qur'anic stories dwell on the condition of the dead in the grave between death and the resurrection, a period of the afterlife neglected by the Qur'an, which concentrates instead on the fate of souls on the Day of the Resurrection and thereafter. More importantly, the post-Qur'anic stories admit a certain ambiguity in the status of believers after death. The tortures of the grave concern not only infidels but also Muslims who failed to pray earnestly or to pay their debts before dying. These Muslims could still hope to reach Paradise, but only after suffering retribution in the grave.

LEOR HALEVI

See also Afterlife; Black Death; Burial Customs; Disease; Epidemics; Inheritance; Suffering

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DECADENCE: NOTION OF

In the context of the analysis of cultures and the writing of their histories, the notion of *decadence* (and, by extension, the phrase "age of decadence") is used to describe a process of "falling away" (the literal meaning of the word) and of "decline." By implication, therefore, other phases or periods in accounts of developments within that cultural tradition are portrayed as being on a "higher" level from one or more points of view, that being a necessary prerequisite for the process of decline. The criteria that are involved in making such assessments involve assigning value to certain cultural trends while devaluing others. The entire matrix fits within what may be called the "rise and fall" model of cultural history, a term and title adopted by a variety of composers of narratives, Edward Gibbon and Edgar Allan Poe being two of the better-known examples.

An age of decadence is thus normally seen as a kind of "middle" period, one akin to eras otherwise known as "dark ages" or even "middle ages." The implication is that, although such periods may possess their own particular traits and trends, they are generally less worthy of the ascription of cultural value than those periods that precede and follow them. The precedent period is often regarded as a "classical" era (sometimes also called a "golden age" within the logic of such terminology), that being the time period during which a particular cultural system chooses to find the major bases for its sense of heritage and the system of moral values that are implicit in the construction of such a heritage. Such a classical period is normally seen as being brought to a close by one or more of a series of cataclysmic events, mostly involving invasions by outside forces. At the other end of such a central era, a process of modernity commences with yet another contributor to this model of history, in the form of a renaissance, whereby a movement of ascent out of a "lower" (dark, decadent) level of cultural production (however determined) leads inexorably toward the contemporary period, from which the concept of modernity and the process of modernization can be assessed.

The application of these ideas to the organization and sequencing of Islamic history has been a complex process. What seems clear is that, although there were indeed several significant invasions of the Islamic world that had profound effects on the cultural history of the regions involved (e.g., the sacking of Baghdad in 1258 CE, the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the fall of Granada in 1492, and the fall of Cairo to the Ottomans in 1516), the way in which these transformations of the balance of power have been applied to the sphere of cultural production has created a set of historical divides that tend to de-emphasize those continuities that provide a more plausible logic for the analysis of creativity and changing trends in esthetics and critical thinking.

The very term *decadence* (inhitat) and its use to describe—or even to create—an historical sub-period in Arab–Islamic history seems to have been, in fact, an import to the region, one based on studies undertaken by both Western specialists on the Middle East region and Islam and also by the large number of Middle Eastern intellectuals who, beginning in the nineteenth century, traveled to Europe to receive their higher education. For example, the great Egyptian scholar Taha Husayn (d. 1973) wrote a dissertation about the historical theories of Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406) and encountered the writings of the French scholar, Gustave Lanson (d. 1934) about the nationalist project of writing literary history. He returned to Egypt after his studies in France to advise his fellow countrymen to return to the great era of the eleventh century and earlier in their quest for inspiration rather than looking into the creativity of the seven or so centuries of the more immediate past and its precedents.

Quite apart from the peculiar kind of logic represented by this attitude, it was to have an enduring effect on the sense of modernity that has been the topic of considerable debate throughout the twentieth century: any assessment of the balance between the

indigenous and the imported, the Islamic and Middle Eastern on the one hand and the Western on the other, was heavily tilted in favor of the latter of the two. More recent times have seen attempts at a total reassessment of this balance, involving not only a re-examination of cultural movements during the nineteenth century but also research into the cultural production of the so-called period of decadence itself to come to some conclusions about not merely the nature of the postclassical and premodern within Arab–Islamic cultural history but also the esthetic bases for the evaluation of the creative production of the time. These bases, to put it mildly, emerge as radically at odds with those of Western critical norms and expectations; these issues, one might suggest, are the origins of the entire problem.

Within the context of the Arab–Islamic heritage, one consequence of this set of scholarly attitudes has been a tendency to downplay and often to ignore some seven centuries of scholarship and creativity. This period is, almost by definition, indeterminate, but it can be seen from a cultural (i.e., nondynastic) perspective as stretching—mostly by default—from roughly 1150 until 1830. This is the period during which a short list of renowned writers would include the following: Ibn al-Farid (d. 1235), Ibn al-ʿArabi (d. 1240), Ibn Khaldun, Al-Qalqashandi (d. 1418), Al-Maqrizi (d.1441), Jalal al-din al-Suyuti (d. 1505), Al-Maqqari (d. 1631), and ʿAbd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi (d. 1731). However, apart from the relatively limited amount of attention that has been paid to these and a few other notable figures, there is a great deal else that is habitually glossed over as being part of an age of decadence and thus lacking in interest or importance. In more recent times, the earlier half of this lengthy time period—often dubbed the "Mamluk" period (a term, needless to say, that can only be used to refer to the more Eastern segments of the total region)—has been the subject of more concentrated attention. A somewhat more detailed and accurate picture is now beginning to emerge of at least the earlier centuries of the period—a picture that reveals the continuingly elaborate structures of court life, with its hierarchies of bureaucrats and chancellery officials, many of whom were contributors to the preservation and advancement of knowledge. If their predilection for compilation and their tendency to digress and to indulge in elaborate wordplay have failed to interest or excite Western scholars who choose to base their evaluations on entirely different criteria than those favored by the indigenous culture, that should be seen as implying a confrontation of approaches but not an ascription (or condemnation) of "decadence."

By contrast, the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century remains almost a closed book in many disciplines of Arab–Islamic scholarship. The reasoning that suggests that the diminution of inspiration and output in Arabic scholarship and creativity can be attributed to the use of Ottoman Turkish in administrative matters appears on the surface to have only the most limited validity. This period is, above all, the one during which the label of decadence appears to have been the most harmful in that, apart from the efforts of a very few scholars, almost no attention has been paid to the cultural milieu of the times. As noted earlier, any assessment of the nature and process of the nineteenth-century movement known as *al-nahdah* (renaissance) is radically compromised by this lack of information and scholarly interest.

The notion of decadence as a culturally evaluative term is one that is in need of a complete re-examination within the context of Arabic and Islamic scholarship. The (mis-)use of the term as a way to leapfrog from a classical period directly to a purportedly modern one continues to distort current understanding of those continuities whereby today's Arab and Islamic worlds link themselves to their heritage.

Roger Allen

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DEGREES, OR IJAZA

Meaning "permission, license, or authorization," the term *ijazah* refers to several distinct types of academic certificates in common use in medieval Islamic scholarship. The best known of these are the license of transmission (ijazat al-riwayah) and the license of audition (ijazat al-samaʿ, samaʿ), which originally (or ideally) served as written records of the direct audition of a text on the part of the recipient from the transmitting authority, whether the text was a single hadith report, a work by the transmitting teacher

himself, or a work by a third party. The ijazah played an important role in the transmission of texts in all fields, and it was meant to guarantee the accuracy and authenticity of the student's manuscript copy. In an age before printing, the ijazahs recorded in series at the end of a manuscript often provided an accurate codical genealogy that reached back to the original author. In the field of Prophetic hadith, the formal transmission of a report from one authority to the next in the chain of transmission (isnad), authorized by an ijazah, was considered an important indication of its authenticity.

Technical discussions of textual transmission in works about hadith criticism (usul al-hadith or mustalah al-hadith) and in chapters about scriptural reports (akhbar) in manuals of jurisprudence (usul al-fiqh) assign the highest degree of reliability to direct aural contact, in which the student hears the dictation of the transmitting authority or reads the text back to that authority, descending by degrees to munawalah (the "handing over" of a text by the authority to the student) and wijadah (the "finding" of a text in the hand of the author). This scheme reflects a formal stress on the value of oral/aural transmission that early on became archaic, particularly when most of the texts so authorized were standard published works (e.g., the six canonical compilations of Sunni hadith). In practice, the ijazah of transmission was often a formality that did not guarantee that direct audition had taken place. In fact, the sources often report that a scholar transmitted a text ijazatan (by license) to indicate that he had not studied or heard it directly from the transmitting authority, which is in contradistinction with qira'atan (by reading). Teachers granted ijazahs for a book after the recipient had read out a few lines from its opening pages. They granted ijazahs by correspondence to "students" they had never met, or they granted ijazahs for all of their own works to students who could not possibly have studied them all. Young children—even babies—received ijazahs for attending dictations they could not understand. Students often received a general certificate (ijazah ‘ammah) that granted them blanket permission to relate all of the works that a given teacher had the authority to transmit. Referring to this practice, Ibn Hazm remarks that the license that is in common use by his contemporaries is invalid, and he insists that the transmitting authority must list the texts for which he is giving authorization completely and exactly.

The acquisition of ijazahs played an important part in establishing scholarly status by documenting links to earlier generations of scholars in the Muslim community. The ijazah granted scholars permission to teach the fundamental works of the Islamic sciences and to cite them authoritatively. In some ways, however, ijazah collection became a symbolic activity. Al-Suyuti, for example, related hadith from more than six hundred authorities, and Ibn Qadi Shuhbah mentions another scholar who received ijazahs from thirteen hundred authorities; it is unlikely that these contacts could have involved any sustained study. Nevertheless, the piles of certificates that such scholars assembled were often collected into volumes, and they represented symbolic academic capital and served the important social function of establishing a scholar's identity and credentials. Shi'is and other minority figures could divert suspicion by collecting ijazahs from prominent scholars whose orthodoxy was unimpeachable. In addition, the exchange of ijazahs became a part of professional academic camaraderie. Certificates were usually expressed in elaborate rhymed and rhythmical prose (saj‘), and they provided opportunities for scholars to impress their peers, flattering them with honorific epithets and showing off their skills in artistic prose composition.

There were no set texts for ijazahs, which could vary in length from a single paragraph to a sizable volume, but they did follow a relatively standard outline: (1) an opening prayer, praising God and blessing the Prophet Muhammad; (2) an introduction of the student, with genealogy and flattering epithets that were intended to indicate his academic accomplishments and relative scholarly merits; (3) some description of the circumstances under which contact occurred and under which the ijazah is being granted; (4) permission to transmit or teach, expressed by the term *ajaztuhu* ("I hereby permit him") and followed by the list of works subject to this permission; (5) a summary of the authority's own chains of transmission, establishing his right to transmit said works; (6) the authority's own bibliography, listing the works he has written for which he is granting permission to the student (this was not always included); and (7) a colophon giving the precise date on which the document was granted and often recording the place as well. Ijazahs were often issued in response to an istid‘a' (written petition); the scholar so petitioned would record the ijazah on the same sheet of paper. Little is known about payment for ijazahs, but it is likely that payments or gifts were expected in some cases.

Al-Qalqashandi defines three categories of ijazah in common usage in Mamluk Egypt and Syria, including not only the license of transmission but also the ‘ard (presentation of books) and the ijazat al-ifta' wa'l-tadris (license for issuing legal opinions and teaching law). Before embarking on advanced study, students would memorize introductory textbooks in various fields and then present them in an oral

examination ('ard). The examiner would open the book chosen and ask the student to recite from memory the passages on which he alighted. One generally performed this 'ard in one's teens and repeated the performance before a number of scholars. For example, Muhammad b. Tulun (d. AH 953/1546 CE) received ijazahs for presenting one set of books from eightteachers at the age of fourteen. The certificate was written on a small square piece of paper, and several examiners might write certificates on the same sheet.

The license to teach law and issue legal opinions (ijazat al-ifta' wa 'l-tadris; also ijazat al-tadris wa'l-ifta' or simply ijazat al-ifta') is the type of ijazah that resembles the medieval European university degree most closely, for, rather than authorizing the recipient to transmit or teach a particular text, it attests to his or her mastery of an entire field (in this case, the law) and permits entry into professional categories: law professor (mudarris) and jurisconsult (mufti). The main difference between the two is that the granting authority is an individual professor, in the Islamic case, rather than a corporate institution in the case of the university. Despite this point, Makdisi has likened the ijazat al-ifta' wa'l-tadris to the medieval Latin *licentia docendi* and suggests that it served as a model for that degree. The license to teach law and issue legal opinions was clearly an actual document of official or legal standing. Al-Qalqashandi reports that such licenses were written in the riqa' script on Syrian or Egyptian paper, in folio, with evenly spaced lines a finger's width apart; this is the same format that was used for other important legal documents, such as patents of probity (isjalat al-'adalah), which established the candidate's qualification to serve as a notary or official witness. Al-Qalqashandi himself received a license to teach Shafi'i law and grant legal opinions in 778/1376–1377, at the age of twenty-one, from the leading jurist Ibn al-Mulaqqin (d. 804/1401). He copies the original document, with minor omissions, in Subh al-a'sha. Like the patent of probity, the license was often drawn up before a judge and signed by witnesses in addition to the granting authority. This license shows many similarities to the medieval Rabbinic semekha, although the relationship between the two has not been investigated to date.

The license to issue legal opinions is said to go back to the eighth century. Malik b. Anas (d. 179/795) was supposedly authorized to give legal opinions by seventy teachers. Al-Shafi'i (d. 204/820) was reportedly granted permission by his Meccan teacher Muslim b. Khalid to issue legal opinions when he was either fifteen or eighteen. The Maliki judge Isma'il b. Ishaq (d. 282/896) was authorized to issue legal opinions by Ahmad b. al-Mu'adhdhal (d. ca. 240/854–855). In these instances, it is not clear that a written certificate was granted. At this point, it is clear that the practice of granting such licenses had become prevalent in Egypt and Syria by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, because the sources quote or describe a number of actual licenses, usually restricted to the law of one of the four recognized Sunni legal madhhabs from this period. Research to date does not indicate when the practice first became widespread. Occasionally, women also received the license: 'A'ishah bint Yusuf al-Ba'uniyah (d. 922/1516), scion of the distinguished Ba'uni line of Damascene scholars, studied law in both Cairo and her native Damascus; she obtained the license to teach law and grant legal opinions, and she gained wide recognition as a jurist (al-Ghazzi, 1945–1948, pp. 287–92) In Sunni circles, granting of the ijazat al-ifta' wa'l-tadris seems to have lapsed after it was replaced at al-Azhar by the European-inspired shahadat al-alimiyah (degree of scholarly status) in 1871. Called *ijazat al-ijtihad,* it survives to this day as part of traditional Twelver Shi'i legal education at the centers of learning in Najaf and Qum.

DEVIN J. STEWART

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DESSERTS AND CONFECTIONS

Traditionally, the Arab cardinal virtues of generosity and hospitality are expressed by means of lavishly giving meat; milk, bread, and salt also play their parts in the rituals of hospitality. However, when food is lovingly described for its own sake, it is the sweet rather than the savory that takes pride of place. The pre-Islamic Arabs relished their dates and honey, both of which were beloved by the Prophet and extolled in the Qur'an; they remained important throughout Islamic times. Already, however, in pre-Islamic times, the inhabitants of Mecca had a foretaste of the sweet luxuries that were to become commonplace after the early Islamic conquests: 'Abd Allah ibn Jud'an, who had been at the Sasanid court, introduced the Persian sweetmeat called faludhaj (paludag in Pahlavi), a relatively simple affair made from wheat flour and honey but considered a great delicacy. It was in Persia that the conquering Arabs were to encounter a sophisticated cuisine that boasted numerous kinds of sweetmeats and confections. Its impact is visible in the Arabic culinary vocabulary, in which many names of the most popular confections are derived from Persian. In addition to faludhaj (which remained, in more elaborate forms [usually with almonds and sugar], among the most beloved sweets), one finds judhab (Persian gudab), sanbusak (Persian sanbusa; a kind of pastry or pie), and khushk-nanaj (Persian khoshk-nana, a kind of sweet biscuit), among others. An interesting hybrid is the very popular lawzinaj, which is made of almond paste wrapped in flaky pastry. The first half of its name is the Arabic word for almonds (lawz); the word entered many European languages, through medieval translations of Arabic medical treatises, as *lozenge*. The word *marzipan* (another sweet based on almond paste) has also been said to derive from Persian or Arabic; although this seems likely, none of the conjectures that have been proposed are entirely convincing.

The precise translation or identification of these and other sweetmeats is made difficult by the instability of the dishes: many different recipes are given for the same term throughout the centuries, with a variety of ingredients and methods of preparation, and they may even waver between the sweet and the savory as a result of the common habit of adding sweeteners to meat dishes. Gudab, for instance, is described in a Persian–English dictionary as follows: "Syrup of dates boiled down; a dish of meat, rice, vetches, and walnuts, on which a condiment of vinegar and syrup is poured; food dressed under roast meat." Alternatively, in a poem about a judhaba by the ninth-century poet Ibn al-Rumi, it is called (in Arberry's translation) "sweeter than the sweet...It is more sweet than sudden peace/That brings the quaking heart release." Another meat dish with sweet ingredients (honey, sugar, or molasses of dates or grapes) is sikbaj, a great favorite.

In addition to the Persian terms, however, there are many Arabic ones, such as *khabisa* (for a wide variety of puddings and jellies), *fatira* (a kind of pancake-like bread), *qatifa* (a kind of crêpe or pancake), *kunafa* (a kind of shredded-wheat pastry), *'asida* (a kind of pudding, already known from pre-Islamic times), and *halwa,* in its many forms, a term that itself means "sweet." Colorful names include *asabi' Zaynab* (Zaynab's fingers), a sweet pastry filled with nuts, and *luqaymat al-qadi* (the qadi's tidbits), sweet pastries shaped like dinars (according to a Mamluk cookery book) made with pistachio nuts and flavored with nutmeg, cubeb, clove, saffron, and musk, according to taste.

Although honey remained important as a basic sweetener, it had a serious rival in cane sugar (sukkar), which became known in early Islamic times, the word as well as the substance coming from Persia and ultimately India. The less wealthy would use the cheaper dibs (treacle or molasses). Although the place of sweets and desserts during the course of a formal dinner was by no means as invariably at the end as it is in modern

practice, they tended to come toward the conclusion of a meal during medieval times as well. This seems to be reflected in the cookery books, in which the sections on sweet dishes are usually found toward the end. Large quantities of sweets were traditionally consumed at certain festivals, such as the end of Ramadan and the birthday of the Prophet. A "war" between meat dishes led by King Mutton and sweets (aided by vegetables and dairy products) under King Honey, with a wealth of culinary information, is the subject of an amusing literary composition from Mamluk times.

GEERT JAN VAN GELDER

See also Food and Diet

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DHIMMA

Dhimma is the term used in Islamic law for the covenant of protection (also called *aman*) that exists between the Islamic state and the tolerated members of the Qur'anically recognized non-Muslim religious communities (Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, and Sabaeans) who live permanently within its boundaries. The medieval Arab lexicographers explained the word as being derived from the root for "blame," meaning that to violate the covenant was blameworthy. The protégés under this covenant were designated individually as *dhimmis* and collectively as *ahl al-dhimma* (people of the covenant). Although the specifics of dhimma came to be elaborated over the centuries, its essence goes back to two legal precedents: a Qur'anic verse and the theoretical treaty of surrender between the Christian communities of Syria and Palestine and the Muslim armies.

Sura IX, 29 enjoins Muslims: "Fight against those to whom the Scriptures were given...and follow not the true faith, until they pay tribute (*jizya*) out of hand, and are humbled." That is, after the scriptural peoples *(ahl al-kitab)* have surrendered, accepted the suzerainty of the Muslim community, and become humble tribute bearers, they are to be accorded permanent protection. The form of tribute paid for this protection was not regularized during Muhammad's lifetime. The Jews of Khaybar and of the oases of northern Arabia paid half of their annual date harvest; the Christians and Jews of Yemen paid a poll tax of one dinar that fell upon all adults of both sexes, and they had to furnish certain services to the dominant community.

The second precedent was the so-called Pact of ʿUmar, which was supposedly a writ of protection (*dhimma* or *aman*) from the time of Caliph ʿUmar ibn al-Khattab (r. 634–644). It was based on several capitulation agreements, most notably the agreement with Sophronios, the patriarch of Jerusalem. The text of the document was probably redacted during the caliphate of ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAziz (717–720), when there was a hardening of attitudes toward dhimmis in Islamic public policy. The Pact of ʿUmar stipulates that, in exchange for the guarantee of life, property, and religious freedom, dhimmis accept a host of restrictions that reflect their subject status. Among these are the following: they may never strike a Muslim; they may not bear arms, ride horses, or use normal riding saddles on their mounts; they may not sell alcoholic beverages to Muslims; they may not proselytize, hold public religious processions, build new houses of worship, or repair old ones; and they may not teach the Qur'an (for polemical purposes), prevent kinsmen from embracing Islam, dress like Arabs, cut their hair like Arabs, or adopt Arabic honorific names *(kunyas)*.

Many of the provisions of the pact established a social hierarchy, with Muslims being dominant and dhimmis subordinate. Certain provisions, such as the obligation to provide hospitality to the Arab troops, to supply military intelligence, and to not harbor spies, reflected the first century after the Islamic conquests, when the Arabs were a minority occupying a vast empire; these eventually fell into desuetude. Other provisions, such as the prohibition against dhimmis building their homes higher than those of Muslims, clearly reflected a much later period; during the early years of Islamic rule, Muslims tended to settle in their own fortified camp towns and not in close proximity to the subject population. Other provisions (e.g., prohibitions against building or repairing houses of worship) seem to have been observed only sporadically. Because many of the new cities founded by the Arab conquerors came eventually to have dhimmi inhabitants with their own churches and synagogues, it was clear to all that they were built after the Pact of ʿUmar had gone into effect. Sometimes a church or synagogue was found to be in violation of the pact, but usually the payment of a bribe or fine sufficed to avoid demolition or confiscation of the offending building. So, too, the many decrees throughout the Middle Ages renewing the stipulations that dhimmis wear dress that

distinguished them from Muslims indicate that there was a lack of consistent enforcement. The fact that the Pact of ʿUmar mentions only Christians is immaterial, because the Shariʿa makes no juridical distinction among the ahl al-kitab. As a social reality, however, Christians and Zoroastrians were more highly regarded during the early Islamic centuries than were Jews, a fact that is noted by the essayist al-Jahiz (778–868/869) in his polemic against Christians, and that is also reflected in popular lore.

As Islamic law, institutions, and administrative practice evolved, the rules of dhimma became more highly defined and ramified. The tribute paid by the conquered peoples varied greatly from one province to another, depending on the terms of surrender made with the Arab commanders. Eventually, Islamic law required all adult dhimmi males to pay a graduated poll tax (jizya) of five dinars for the wealthy, three for the middle class, and one for the working poor (although not for the totally indigent), as well as a land tax (kharaj) for those who owned real estate. In his treatise on taxation written for Harun al-Rashid, the qadi Abu Yusuf (d. 798) discusses the proper administration of the jizya, kharaj, and percent ushur (literally tithes, but, in this case, tariffs). Dhimmis were required to pay a 5 percent tariff on their merchandise, as opposed to the Muslims, 2.5 percent. This still gave them a distinct advantage over foreign merchants, who paid a ten-percent rate. Abu Yusuf clearly states that dhimmis "are not to be oppressed, mistreated, or taxed beyond their means." He specifically rules out torture as a means of extracting payment of taxes, although he does require imprisonment. Nevertheless, jurists came to view certain repressive and humiliating aspects of dhimma as *de rigueur*. Dhimmis were required to pay the jizya publicly, in broad daylight, with hands turned palm upward, and to receive a smart smack on the forehead or the nape of the neck from the collection officer.

Differentiation (ghiyar) in dress from Muslims, which was probably originally a security measure after the Islamic conquests, came to be interpreted as a mark of humiliation. The Pact of ʿUmar mentioned only that dhimmis should wear Arab headgear and that they should wear a distinctive belt (the zunnar). Specially colored garments and patches on outer clothing were added to the distinguishing costume by a decree of Caliph al-Mutawakkil in 850. Although this imposition was probably short-lived, distinguishing garments became the norm for non-Muslims during the later Middle Ages, particularly during the Mamluk Empire (1250–1517) and in the Maghrebi states. The muhtasib (inspector of markets and censor of public morals) was in charge of seeing that dhimmis complied with the dress code and the other restrictions on their mounts, saddles, and general comportment.

From the earliest days of the Islamic conquest, dhimmi officials had not only been left in charge of their own communities but were employed because of their administrative skills in the wider bureaucracy. The imposition of Arabic as the sole language of government records and correspondence under ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 685–705) did not change this situation. In the eastern provinces, Nestorian Christians and Zoroastrians were particularly prominent in government offices; in Egypt, the same was true for the Copts, and, in North Africa and Spain, it was so for Jews. The only position not normally open to a dhimmi was that of vizier. Conversion to Islam, however, easily removed this obstacle to advancement, and, in a few instances, even this formality proved unnecessary. Muslim jurists and preachers decried dhimmis holding any positions of authority over Muslims, and pious edicts by rulers, such as the decree of al-Mutawakkil, occasionally purged non-Muslim officials. However, these bans proved only temporary. Islamic law finally came to justify the situation. The constitutional theorist of Islamic government, al-Mawardi (974–1058) ruled that a dhimmi could even hold the vizierate so long as it was a ministerial position of tanfidh (i.e., executing orders from the ruler) rather than one of tafwid (i.e., delegated with fully initiating powers). Public demonstrations of pomp and power by non-Muslim officials were viewed by the pious and by the Muslim masses as violations of the dhimma and at times led to violence not only against the offending official but against his entire community. The uprising and assassination of the Jewish vizier of Granada, Yehosef ibn Naghrela, in 1066, was accompanied by the wholesale destruction of the Jewish quarter of that city. The assassination of the Jewish vizier Aaron ibn Batash in Fez in 1465 not only entailed massacres of Jews throughout Morocco but brought down the Marinid ruler, ʿAbd al-Haqq, and his dynasty as well.

There was a marked rise in anti-dhimmi sentiment and increasingly restrictive implementation of the rules of dhimma throughout the Islamic world during the later Middle Ages as a result of profound changes in the spiritual, social, and economic climates. The Reconquista in Iberia, the Crusades, and the Mongol invasions heightened the antipathy toward non-Muslims. Islamic society became more institutionalized around religious brotherhoods, guilds, and state monopolies. Graduates of madrasas (Islamic schools of higher education) increasingly squeezed non-Muslims out of the bureaucracy. The secular and humanistic atmosphere of the Hellenistic renaissance of the ninth through twelfth centuries also waned.

However, the basic notion of the dhimma as a binding compact of protection for the ahl al-kitab was never rescinded, except under heterodox regimes such as that of the Almohads during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

NORMAN A. STILLMAN

See also Almohads; Christians; Churches; Clothing and Costume; Copts; Diplomacy; Interfaith Relations; Al-Jahiz; Jews; Al-Mawardi; Synagogues; Zoroastrianism

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DIPLOMACY

Diplomacy has been a core feature of Islamic political life since the days of the Prophet Muhammad. The earliest recorded instances of envoys and ambassadors appear when Muhammad dispatched message-bearing representatives to various oasis settlements in the Arabian Peninsula and to a number of political states (e.g. Byzantines, Sasanians) in the Hijaz, North Africa, the Holy Land, and the Iranian Plateau. Likewise, the Prophet was involved in negotiating and establishing a number of treaties, most notably the one of Hudaiba in 628, with non-Muslim communities. This early diplomatic activity was framed by a strong ethical agenda and sense of religious conviction; the Prophet's message to rival communities and empires was clear and unambiguous: submit and accept Islam or suffer the consequences. It is this polarized view of the relationship between the ummah and surrounding states that defined the future mechanics of international diplomacy, whereby the known civilized world was divided into the dar al-Islam (house of Islam) and the dar al-harb (house of war; everywhere that Shari'ah was not practiced). It was the obligation of every Muslim to expand through effort (jihad) the boundaries of the house of Islam at the expense of the house of war. However, during the initial phases of Islamic conquest, well-populated regions in Syria, Egypt, and Iran would capitulate and negotiate settlements whereby an annual tribute (kharaj or jiyya) was remitted in exchange for religious independence and military protection. The jurists were eventually forced to address this dilemma as the frontiers of the Islamic empire continued to expand: Which "house" did these autonomous non-Muslim regions belong to? Some, like Abu Hanifa and Ibn Hanbal, were committed to the traditional polarity, but others, like al-Shafi'i, accepted the existence of a third house: the dar al-'ahd (house of the covenant). It would appear that most medieval Islamic states accepted this schema for reasons of practicality and *realpolitik*. This was especially true for those densely populated peripheral areas of the Islamic world in which frontiers between dar al-Islam and dar al-harb had emerged: the Iberian peninsula, the Balkans, the Caucasus, and the Deccan.

In this context, the dispatching of ambassadors (safirs) by states such as the Cordoba Umayyads, the 'Abbasids, the Fatimids, and the Seljuks to negotiate ceasefires, peace treaties, and tributary arrangements became a regular occurrence in Islamic political activity. By the ninth century, there existed in 'Abbasid Baghdad a special government office entitled divan al-rasa'il wa'l-sirr (office of letters and confidential records). Moreover, as the 'Abbasid empire fragmented and semiautonomous states began appearing in Central Asia and North Africa, envoys (qasids) were sent regularly to Baghdad to secure appointments of investiture ('ahd, manshur) from the caliph. Nizam al-Mulk's eleventh-century *Siyasat Nama (Book of Government)* contains a chapter that describes the prerequisites for an ambassador: piety, diligence, loyalty, gravity, and—above all else—keen eyes. In addition to reporting the events of his mission, an ambassador was also expected to provide detailed information to his king about a rival empire's army, defenses, road networks, public works, and so on. The sending of ambassadors for such purposes became especially common in Spain and the Holy Land during the respective crusading periods, and it would appear that the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were especially formative for medieval Islamic diplomatic sensibilities. This sense of growing importance is attested to by the emergence of 'ilm al-insha (the science of epistolography) in different Islamic administrations and the production of a number of didactic and formulaic texts addressing standards of diplomatic correspondence for chancery officials.

Ambassadorial missions became increasingly elaborate and politically ambitious during the post-Mongol age; indeed, the Mongols themselves considered ambassadors to be sacrosanct representatives of a ruler, and they were shocked and outraged at the

Khvarazmian ruler ‘Ala al-Din Muhammad’s misguided decision to murder a retinue of Mongol ambassadors (ilchis) at Utrar in 1219. The Mongols used their affinity for diplomacy effectively after their invasions of the Islamic lands, receiving all manner of emissaries at the great tent-court in Qara Qorum and negotiating and concluding diplomatic arrangements with the Christian Crusader states in the Levant. Confessional divisions became less of a consideration during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as Ottoman rivals (Aq Qoyunlu, Safavids) approached various Christian powers (Venice, Hapsburgs, Spain) with proposals of Muslim–Christian alliances; indeed, the Ottomans arranged such an agreement with Francis I in the 1530s against Charles V. By the sixteenth century, ostentatious ambassadorial trains—with equally grandiose diplomatic communications and lavish gift-giving ceremonies—were the diplomatic norm in the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal empires. In fact, it was diplomacy and gift giving that allowed for the transmission of all manners of cultural artifacts across the central Islamic lands: scientific treatises, literary texts, illustrated manuscripts, *objets d'art*, and innovative craftsmanship and technology.

Colin Paul Mitchell

See also Archives and Chanceries; Cultural Exchange; Espionage; Gifts and Gift Giving; Interfaith Relations; Muslim–Byzantine Relations; Muslim–Crusader Relations; Muslim–Mongol Relations; Nizam al-Mulk; Pacts and Treaties; Peace and Peacemaking; Political Theory

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DISABILITY

The study of disability in the medieval Islamic world is still in its infancy. Preliminary evidence indicates that infectious diseases and epidemics were the foremost causes of disabilities; other causes included wars, old age, and heredity. Although primary sources attest to the presence of a variety of disabilities, such as lameness, hemiplegia, and deafness, the extent and significance of such conditions—as well as attitudes toward them—remain largely unexamined. Scholarly studies of blindness, leprosy, and insanity in the medieval Islamic world do exist, however.

Blindness was one of the most common disabilities in the medieval Islamic world. Causes were many and included accidents, aging, and contagious infections like trachoma and smallpox. Glaucoma, cataracts, and ophthalmia also appear to have been widespread. In addition, consanguineous marriages may have resulted in a relatively high incidence of hereditary blindness. Blindness appears in a variety of works composed in the medieval period. Physicians wrote extensively about eye diseases, and they paid special attention to developing surgical treatments for cataracts. Biographical sources abound in descriptions of blind men (and, far more rarely, women). For example, the Mamluk official Khalil ibn Aybak al-Safadi (d. 1363) composed a biographical dictionary devoted exclusively to 313 distinguished blind men who lived

between the seventh and fourteenth centuries. These include, among others, poets, scholars, physicians, political figures, muezzins, and those skilled in Qur'anic recitation. In addition, at the other end of the socioeconomic spectrum, sources indicate that blind beggars were a fairly common phenomenon. As for societal attitudes toward the blind, preliminary evidence implies that the blind were not necessarily stigmatized or marginalized and that their condition was not associated with moral, mental, or spiritual deficiencies (Malti-Douglas 1989).

Leprosy (Hansen's disease) appears to have occurred with moderate frequency. Medical, legal, and popular beliefs about the disease were complex and often contradictory, and the attitudes toward the leper were ambivalent. Some sayings of the Prophet Muhammad recorded in the hadith literature, such as "one should run away from the leper as one runs away from the lion" (Al-Bukhari, VII, pp. 408–409), were interpreted by some as an indication that leprosy was a punishment from God and/or contagious (although the Prophet himself denied the transmissibility of diseases in other sayings). Medical writings stressed belief in the contagious and hereditary nature of leprosy, and Islamic law curtailed some of the leper's rights, especially in matters of marriage and divorce. Although lepers were sometimes confined to hospitals or leper houses, they more often had freedom of movement, and, like the blind, many appear to have survived by begging. One historian has concluded that, unlike in contemporaneous Western European societies, "there was no social opprobrium" for leprosy (Dols 1983, 913).

The complex subjects of insanity and mental illnesses in medieval Islamic societies have received the most scholarly attention and are the subject of one monograph (Dols, 1992). A multifaceted picture emerges from a wide range of medical, legal, and literary sources, and from chronicles and travel accounts. There were several different types of conditions that today would be grouped under the categories of "madness" or mental illnesses, such as the following: the *majnun* (madman), who was often believed to be possessed by a jinn (spirit); the *majdhub* (holy fool); the melancholic; and the feeble minded. The legal rights and obligations of those considered feeble minded or insane were considerably curtailed, and a legal guardian was usually entrusted with their welfare. Physicians emphasized the physiological causes of mental illnesses, and they believed that most disturbances could be healed by restoring the correct balance of humors. Healing practices, however, were highly pluralistic: other treatments included religious healing, amulets, incantations, magic, and exorcisms. Although the family would usually be responsible for its mentally ill members, hospitals usually included a section that was reserved for the insane.

Much more research is required before any meaningful conclusions can be drawn about societal attitudes toward physical and mental disabilities in the various regions of the Islamic world between the seventh and sixteenth centuries. Nevertheless, preliminary evidence suggests that the physically and mentally disabled were not necessarily stigmatized or marginalized.

SARA SCALENGHE

See also Disease; Epidemics; Mental Illness

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DIVINATION

Divination in Islamic cultures—known variously as fal, tira, zajr, kihana, and jafr—consists of a wide variety of practices in which predictions about the course of future events are derived from the letters of the alphabet ('ilm al-huruf), numbers (hisab al-jummal), God's Beautiful Names (al-asma' al-husna),

the stars ('ilm al-nujum), the reading of the patterns of tea or coffee left at the bottom of a cup (qira'at al-finjan), and the interpreting words and letters in the Qur'an (fal-i Qur'an) or verses composed by poets such as Hafiz (d. AH 792/1390 CE). Many divinatory practices—whether they emerged from the analysis of books (bibliomantic) or the interpretation of visions (oneiromantic)—were related closely to the religious concepts of revelation, prophecy, and the Apocalypse (Fahd 1987; Fahd, "Fa'l").

Falnamas (divination books) were composed for rulers in need of guidance during military campaigns or who were caught in difficult political circumstances. Among many such works were those executed for the Ottoman Sultan Mehmet II (d. 886/1481), who conquered Constantinople/Istanbul in 1453 CE (Ates 1953), and Cem Sultan, who vied for the Ottoman throne and died in 900/1495 while in exile in Naples (Ersoylu 1981; Ertaylan 1951, 38–42). During the sixteenth century, a variety of other apocalyptic–prognosticative (jafr or malahim) texts, some illustrated with paintings of the Mahdi (Messiah), Christ, Dajjal (the Anti-Christ), and so forth (TSK B. 373 and IUK T. 6624), were commissioned by Ottoman rulers and officials as well (Fleischer, 1990). At the same time, Sultan Murad III (d. 1004/1595) commissioned a Turkish translation and illustration of a fal-i anbiya' or fal-i payghambaran (divination by the prophets). At least two manuscripts of the work survive (Morgan 788, 242), both of which draw substantially on the text and iconography of a Jalayrid anthology of astrological and divinatory texts in Arabic that was executed in Baghdad in 801/1399 (Bodleian 133, 163v-169v; Carboni 1988).

Divinatory works (risala-ya fal or falnama) attributed to the last Shi'i imam Ja'far al-Sadiq (d. 148/765) (at times also attributed to the Prophet Muhammad's son-in-law 'Ali) use the verses and letters from the Qur'an for divinatory purposes or for seeking guidance (istikhara) from God (Duvarci 1993:53–116). Such works survive today either as autonomous treatises known as *Divination by the Qur'an (Fal-i Qur'an)* (e.g., BnF Sup Turc, 26; Sup Turc, 49; Turc, 191–192); more often they were inserted at the very end of Qur'an manuscripts and were given the titles *Fal-i Mushaf (Divination by the Codex)* and *Fal-i Kalam Allah (Divination by God's Words)*. Even the famous Mamluk historian Ibn 'Arabshah (d. 901/1495) composed a treatise about divining by the Qur'an (al-tafa'ul min al-kitab al-'aziz), a copy of which was executed in 1080/1670 (Princeton, Yahuda, 4639). Although many sixteenth-century Persian and Ottoman Turkish *Fal-i Qur'an* treatises survive today (*inter alia* Keir VI.42, VII. 48, VII.49, VII.52; Bodleian Or., 793, fs. 334v-336r; Staabi Ms. Or. Oct. 86, fs. 370v-371r), this divinatory genre has not yet been subject to systematic research.

Scholarly attention has started to focus more carefully on the illustrated falnama genre, which typically combines large-scale paintings and facing texts that provide advice to the augury seeker (sahib-i fal) about when to get married, engage in trade, or set out for battle. The majority of these works were made in Iran, Turkey, and India from approximately 1540 to 1630 and bear the imprint of the earlier Jalayrid illustrated fal-i anbiya' mentioned above (Bodleian Or. 133). The earliest two falnamas were commissioned around 1540 to 1560 by the second Safavid ruler, Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–1576). One is dispersed, and its paintings are held in a number of libraries, museums, and private collections (e.g., Lowry 1988:120–129; Robinson 1992, cat nos. 89–92; Welch 1985), whereas the other manuscript, although damaged, remains complete (Dresden Eb 445; Rührdanz 1987). These manuscripts combine representations of the prophets, Shi'i legends, folk stories about heroes and rulers, astrological symbols, and apocalyptic events such as the Day of Judgment.

Both Safavid-illustrated falnama manuscripts appear to have served as prototypes for a large illustrated falnama made in Istanbul for Sultan Ahmet I in 1019/1610 (TSK H. 1703) and another illustrated *Book of Divination* made in Golconda around 1610 to 1630 C.E. (Leach 1998, 221–227). A number of Mughal illustrated falnamas were made during the seventeenth century (Falk and Digby, 1979, pp. 13–9), and at least one late-eighteenth-century Persian manuscript survives as well (Robinson 1992, 297).

In general, divinatory procedures arose from folklore, although they flourished under the aegis of rulers. Finding Qur'anic roots to legitimize a number of such practices (in particular dream interpretations [Lamoreaux, 2002, cf. *Dreams and Dream Interpretations*]) or theological opinion toward divination was ambivalent at best and hostile at worst. Many practices thrived in the form of "licit magic," whereby prognosticative customs were seen as seeking guidance from God rather than seeing into the future.

Christiane Gruber

See also Amulets; Astrology; Magic; Talismans and Talismanic Objects; Mythical Places; Mythology and Mythical Beings

Institutional Abbreviations

BnF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
Bodleian	Bodleian Library, Oxford University
Dresden	Sächsische Landesbibliothek—Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden
Keir	Keir Collection, London

IUK	Istanbul Universitesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul
Morgan	Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
Princeton	Princeton University Library, Rare Books and Manuscripts Collection
Rotterdam	Rotterdam Wereldmuseum, Rotterdam
Sackler	Sackler Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC
Staabi	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Berlin
TSK	Topkapi Sarayi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul

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DIVORCE

The legal dissolution of marriage in Islam includes four basic procedures: (1) the talaq (lit. "release"), which is the divorce of the wife after the triple pronouncing of a legally valid formula by the husband; (2) the tamlik (assignment) of the full power of dissolution to the wife in a contract; (3) the dissolution of the marriage by khul', which is the restitution of the bride dowry by the wife or her relatives; and (4) the divorce in mutual agreement and release of all respective rights (mubara'a). There are several other procedures, mainly different types of oaths and vows, that are provided for by the law but that are shown only limited social relevance.

The talaq is, according to a definition of the Tunisian jurist Ibn 'Arafa (d. 1400 CE), agreed on by most of the schools of jurisprudence as "a legal state that denies the husband the right to enjoy the benefits of his wife, and, if repeated two times by a free man and one time by a slave, renders his wife forbidden to him until after another husband intervenes" (Ibn 'Asim 1958, 318, n. 401). The latter clause pertains to the important judicial distinction between talaq raj'i and talaq ba'in (revocable and definite divorce). After the first and the second utterance of the divorce formula, a marriage is still legally valid and the reestablishment of marital relations a simple matter of revocation. After a triple divorce, remarriage is only possible with the intervening of tahlil: the former wife has to conclude a marriage with another man who subsequently divorces her. Legal proceedings—namely the intervention of a judge or a court session—are not a necessary prerequisite for the validity of talaq; more important are the choice of the right moment by the husband (a divorce should not take place during the wife's menses) and the observance of the waiting period ('idda) of three menstrual cycles of the wife. Another significant consequence of talaq addresses economical considerations: the wife preserves her own possessions, particularly the dowry that the bride received for the conclusion of the marriage.

The husband might assign the right for repudiation to his wife by allowing her choice (takhyir). However, the constitutive element of a tamlik contract is a predefined formula; for example: "Your divorce is in your hands" (talaquki bi-yadiki). The parties often set up conditions that delimit the wife's right to the occurrence of special circumstances (e.g., a prolonged absence of the husband, his marriage to another woman).

The definition of *khul'* by the Egyptian Khalıl b. Ishaq (d. ca. 1365) emphasizes the judicial analogy with definite divorce: "The *khul'* is [...] a *talaq* with compensation" (Khalil b. Ishaq 1885, 96). Whereas a

khul‘ divorce has to be initiated by the wife, its success depends on consent by the husband. However, if he is not willing to pronounce the talaq, his acceptance of a khul‘ divorce is more likely, because he could expect a significant restitution of his prior financial investment.

If both parties agree, divorce is possible with no compensation whatsoever. The opinions differ regarding whether divorce with mutual renunciation (mubara'a) constitutes a special form of khul‘ or a stand alone procedure of dissolution. Although there are no quantitative studies of this subject, one should not underestimate that, in a tribal context, most divorces seem to involve mutual consent (Layish 1991, 46).

Despite an obvious focus on divorce in the debates about Islamic family law, the state of research has remained rather behind most arguments. The literature is essentially marked by a lack of symmetry between the description of legal foundations and the evaluation of legal and social practice. As a result of this disproportion, most general statements about divorce in the Muslim world assess the provisions laid down in the Qur'an (notably verses 2:228–32 and 65:1–6) and in early Islamic jurisprudence (Schacht 2000). A small selection of more extensive firsthand sources is also available in English editions (Malik ibn Anas 1989, 221–238; Spectorsky 1993; Ibn Rushd 1996(2), 71–120). The evolution of divorce in customary law had been studied in tribal areas, from which one may infer more traditional situations (Layish 1991; Hanoteau and Letourneux 2003(2), 125–133; Schacht 2000, 155). Another approach to the social relevance of family law lies in case studies. For example, they have exemplified that women could acquire and use expert legal knowledge for the pursuit of their personal interests (Powers 2003). The attested-to material is, however, not yet sufficient to establish widely recognized patterns, and there is no doubt that social roles in divorce need further investigation.

Tilman Hannemann

See also Adultery; Family; Gender and Sexuality; Marriage; Love; Tribes and Tribal Customs

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DOME OF THE ROCK

The Dome of the Rock (Qubbat al-Sakhra) in Jerusalem is the oldest standing monument of Islamic architecture. It was built on the site of the Jewish Temple by orders from the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwan (d. AH 65–86/685–705 CE), and its construction was completed in 72/691–692. The Dome of the Rock, along with the Aqsa mosque (al-Masjid al-Aqsa) constitute the Haram al-Sharif, which corresponds to Herod's enlarged Temple Mount area.

The Dome of the Rock is a unique monument as compared to other Islamic monuments. It is not a mosque, and it was not intended to function as such. Whatever the reason for its construction might have been, it was and remains the most impressive example of Islamic religious architecture. The shape of the building is octagonal, with a diameter of forty-eight meters, and the structure consists of two ambulatories that surround the Rock, which are believed to be the site of the biblical story of the binding of Isaac (Genesis 22). The building stands on two arcades: an inner circular arcade that supports the dome and comprises twelve columns and four piers, and an outer octagonal arcade that consists of sixteen columns and eight piers. The dome is approximately twenty meters in diameter, and it rises approximately thirty meters above the building floor. In the panel on top of the octagonal arcade, there is the 240-meter-long foundation inscription that is coated in gold. At the beginning of the inscription, one encounters the name of the ‘Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun (r. 196–218/812–833), but this is because, when he authorized the



Exterior View. Completed in 691 CE Umayyad caliphate. Credit: SEF/Art Resource, NY. Dome of the Rock, Jeruselem, Israel.

renovation of the building, he ordered the name of ʻAbd al-Malik to be effaced and replaced by his own. Part of the text of the inscription quotes Qur'anic passages (the most obvious cases are the references to Jesus [3:18-19, 4:171–172, and 19:33–36]), making it the earliest dated reference to the Qur'anic text.

The architects and artisans who constructed the building were local Christians, and they were well versed in that particular style of architecture, which is also found in similar monuments—especially *martyriums*—in Jerusalem and Syria. In its decoration, which blends Byzantine and Persian styles, the creators used marble, painted wood, mosaics, and colored tiles. The outside of the dome was originally covered with gold sheets, which were later removed by the ʻAbbasids. The building has undergone several major renovations; the most recent one, made between 1956 and 1964, restored the entire building, including the current gilded dome.

There are many explanations for why ʻAbd al-Malik built the Dome of the Rock. The first explanation is that he was eager during the challenging first years as caliph to create a pilgrimage shrine in his domain to which Syrians would journey, for the

Ka'ba in Mecca was under the control of his enemy, Caliph Ibn al-Zubayr (d. 73/692). 'Abd al-Malik, according to this explanation, wanted to prevent any possible influence that Ibn al-Zubayr might exercise on the Syrians during the pilgrimage season. The town of the Jewish temple, Jerusalem, was the most appropriate choice for 'Abd al-Malik, and it was probably the only option. It has been also suggested that the Dome of the Rock was meant as a proclamation of the triumph of the new faith over the other two monotheistic traditions, Judaism and Christianity. With this second explanation, too, Jerusalem was the obvious choice because of its centrality to Jewish and Christian thought. A third explanation, which lacks support in Islamic literature, is that 'Abd al-Malik was rebuilding the Temple. A few contemporary Christian and Jewish accounts attest to this, including a Jewish *midrash* that names 'Abd al-Malik as the one who rebuilds the Temple.

Sometime after the completion of the Dome of the Rock, the site was identified as the place from which the Prophet Muhammad ascended to Heaven (mi'raj). This association, which represents the fourth and most popular explanation for why it was built, bestowed on the Dome of the Rock—and by extension, on Jerusalem—an additional, exclusively Islamic layer of holiness. Muslim legend has it that the Rock lifted itself when the Prophet stood on it to start his ascension; hence the widespread popular Muslim belief that the Rock is hanging up in the air. The inscription from the time of 'Abd al-Malik does not reflect any connection between the building and Muhammad's mi'raj.

Throughout Islamic history, the Dome of the Rock has attracted a cult of minor pilgrimage among the local population of greater Syria, and, to a lesser extant, Egypt, especially as a stop on the way to perform the major pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. This practice generated protest from theologians like Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), who wrote against the practice of the minor pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In recent years, the Dome of the Rock has become widely used as the representative symbol for Jerusalem in Palestinian, Arab, Islamic, and even Israeli media.

SULEIMAN A. MOURAD

See also 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan; Al Ma'mun; Jerusalem; Palestine

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DREAMS AND DREAM INTERPRETATION

Terminology and Genres

Hulm, manam, and *ru'ya* are the three main terms that the Arabic language uses for "dream" (for Persian dream literature, see Ziai *Encyclopaedia Iranica*: 549–551). All three terms appear in the Qur'an (Kinberg 2001, 546–553) and in different genres of the Islamic Medieval literature (for Sufism, see Corbin in Grunebaum, 1996; for Shi'i Thought, see Ziai *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 549–551, and Cemal Kafadar and Katz 1996). Hulm and manam occur during sleep, whereas ru'ya can take place either in sleep or in wakefulness (for ru'ya as a vision, see Fahd and Daiber 2002, 645–649). Manam and ru'ya usually indicate reliable and "true" dreams, whereas hulm is mostly associated with "false" dreams or nightmares (adrath ahlam).

Medieval Islamic literature makes a clear distinction between dreams and dream interpretation. As two separate genres, each is characterized by its own goals and styles. Dream interpretation is known in Arabic as *ta'bir* (interpretation of dreams; oneirocriticism), and it exists as an independent genre or as part of the inclusive adab literature. Dreams consist of dream narratives, known as *manamat* (pl. of *manam,* which means dream). Dream narratives have never developed into a separate genre and can be considered part of the hadith literature.

Works that belong to the ta'bir literature and that specialize in the interpretation of dreams often function as reference books. They provide general information about the scientific aspects of oneirocriticism, deal with the necessary qualifications that dream interpreters should acquire, discuss the dreamer's mental and physical conditions that are critical to the right understanding of dreams, and state strict rules for interpretation. These works are often arranged thematically, or they may take the form of a lexicon and deal with the items that appear in the dreams. Prominent representatives of the Muslim oneirocriticism

works that have survived out of a much larger number of works (for a list of dream-interpretation works, see Fahd 1966:330–61) include the pseudo Ibn Sirin's *Muntakhab al-Kalam fi Tafsir al-Ahlam*; *'Ibarat al-Ru'ya* (manuscript) by Ibn Qutaybah (d. AH 276/889 CE); *al-Bisharhah wa-al-Nidharah fi Ta'bir al-Ru'ya wa-al-Muraqabah* (manuscript) by Abu Sa'd al-Khargushi (d. AH 406/1015 CE); *al-Isharat fi 'Ilm al-'Ibarat* by Ibn Shahin al-Zahiri (d. AH 873/1468 CE); and *Ta'tīr al-Anam fi Tafsir al-Ahlam* by 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi (d. AH 1144/1731 CE). Although the pre-Islamic heritage (especially pre-Islamic poetry) and the Islamic spirit (especially Qur'anic verses) inspire large portions of these books, their methodology is based on the old Greek system of dream interpretation. The latter was introduced into Islam during the third/ninth century, mainly by Hunayn Ibn Ishaq's (d. 260/873) translation into Arabic of the book of dreams of Artemidorus (see Mavroudi for the relationships between five medieval Arabic dream books, Artemidorus' work, and the *Oneirocriticon of Achmet*).

Dream narrations (manamat) have nothing in common with ta'bir manuals. The former are not concerned with oneirocriticism, they rarely use symbols, and they belong to works that impart verbal communication and bear self-explanatory messages. As a result of their explicit nature, these dreams naturally release the dreamer from the need to consult a dream interpreter. They are distributed in various genres of the classical Islamic literature, either in separate chapters within general works (each of the canonical hadith collections has a chapter dedicated to dreams) or as separate narrations scattered among traditions that do not use the medium of dreams (mainly biographical dictionaries). The only extant exception is the book of dreams, *Kitab al-Manam,* by Ibn Abi al-Dunya (d. 281/894); this is a collection of more than three hundred dream narratives that are mostly short and that follow a set of basic patterns (Kinberg 1994). The introductory part of the book addresses the relationship between the dead and the living and illuminates the general purpose of the work: to supply the inhabitants of the present world with moral advice that has originated in the other world and been delivered through dreams.

Function

From the earliest days of Islam, dreams have been treated as the bearers of transcendental knowledge, and they have consequently functioned as a reliable source of guidance. A widely circulated prophetic hadith regards dreams as the continuation of the Prophet's preaching, as part of prophecy, and as a compensation for prophetic guidance that has come to an end (Wensinck, 1/181, *b.sh.r.*). This notion is confirmed in another well-known hadith that declares that a vision of the Prophet in a dream is deemed equal to his actual appearance (Wensinck, 7/53, *n.w.m.*). In other words, it is not merely the actual meeting or the physical hearing of the Prophet that instructs people about how to behave; prophetic words heard in dreams may have the same impact. Since the vision of the Prophet in a dream is equal to actually meeting with him, Muslims who lived after the Prophet's death (10/632) may nevertheless "consult" with the Prophet in a dream. The ability to see the Prophet in dreams conveys a comforting notion of guidance that accompanies the righteous Muslims of all generations in their sleep.

It would be a major misunderstanding of the nature of the Islamic dream literature to assume that authorization through dreams was possible only with the Prophet's appearance. A saying ascribed to one of the leading dream interpreters, Muhammad Ibn Sirin (d. 110/728; see http://www.ibnsereen.com), states the following: "Whatever the deceased tells you in sleep is truth, for he stays in the world of truth" (*Ithaf al-Sada al-Muttaqin* 10/431). This saying is not focused on the Prophet's appearance but rather recognizes the authority of any dead person who appears in dreams. Here it is the medium of the dream—and not the presence of the Prophet—that creates authenticity. This idea underlies the hundreds—even thousands—of dreams found in classical Islamic literature in which a dead person appears in a living person's dream advising, instructing, preaching, or just telling about his or her own experience in the afterlife. The dreamer takes the advice or analyzes the implications of the condition of the deceased and acts accordingly. These dreams are based on the idea that the dead know (ya'lamun) but cannot perform, whereas the living can act (ya'malun) but do not know (Kinberg 2000, 425–444). The living are able to carry out deeds, yet they are not aware of their future significance; for this they need the special insight of the dead.

Guiding dreams, in most cases, are good dreams (manamat salihah) sent from God, whereas bad dreams (hulm, pl. ahlam) originate from the Devil (Wensinck, 1/504, *h.l.m.*; 2/205, *r.'.y.*). Having good dreams is considered a divine grace that is bestowed only on pious people; thus, when a righteous Muslim has a dream, it definitely contains trustworthy advice to be adopted and followed in daily life.

The large variety of dream-supporting statements created confidence in dreams and encouraged people

to use this medium to promote their ideas. At the same time, however, it may have encouraged the misuse of dreams. It may be assumed that various trends and tendencies in Islamic society were furthered by groups using this medium and making up dreams to legitimize their ideas and goals. This means that, when examining dream material, one should not inquire about its authenticity but rather about the time and place in which it was told (Kinberg 1993, 279–300). Dreams of the manamat kind, therefore, should be evaluated as historical pieces of evidence. Like hadith, they should be treated as products of given circumstances that prevailed at a given time and place, made to answer certain questions or to approve of existing phenomena; like hadith, they should be considered as a mirror of their environment.

LEAH KINBERG

See also Adab; Death and Dying; Greek; Hadith; Hunayn Ibn Ishaq; Ibn Qutayba; Muhammad, the Prophet; Qur'an; Translation; Shi'i Thought; Sufism and Sufis

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DRUZE

Druze historical origins are often traced to eleventh-century Fatimi Egypt, particularly to the year 1017 CE, when the propagation of Druzism began. The term *Druzism* is nearly one hundred years old and refers to the Druze religious doctrine, which advocates a strict form of Unitarianism (tawhid). Like other esoteric traditions, Druzism began covertly, and the Druze manuscripts speak of a twenty-one-year period of secret missionary activities between 996 and 1017. Both the historical accounts and the Druze manuscripts agree that the propagation of Druzism continued until the year 1043. Three leading figures—al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah, Hamza ibn 'Ali al-Zawzani, and Baha' al-Din al-Samuqi—were important during the initial years of the movement (996–1043).

From what little is known about the connection between al-Hakim and Druzes, it can be concluded that, between 996 and 1021, al-Hakim did not ban the Druze missionaries but rather permitted their activities, protected their followers, and approved their epistles. In 1021, al-Hakim left on one of his routine trips to the hills of al-Muqattam east of Cairo and mysteriously never returned. Unlike al-Hakim, his successor, al-Zahir, did not protect members of the Druze movement and instead ordered their persecution, because they recognized him as caliph and not as imam. This instigated a period of hardship that lasted several years.

Hamza Ibn 'Ali, the second leading figure, came to Cairo from eastern Iran in December 1016. A few months later, in May 1017, al-Hakim granted him the title of imam and the freedom to preach his reform doctrine openly. However, public resistance to Hamza's teachings increased as he spoke against corruption, the practice of polygamy, the remarriage of one's divorcee, and other social customs. During this external resistance, an internal rivalry arose between Hamza and one of his subordinates, al-Darazi. Darazi deviated from the essence of the movement's

message and falsified the writings and teachings of Hamza to present al-Hakim as divine. He had hoped that al-Hakim would favor him over Hamza, but instead public opposition to Darazi's teachings increased. Darazi then redirected the public's resistance by declaring that he had acted on Hamza's instructions. Consequently, instead of attacking Darazi, the crowd turned against Hamza and his associates, who were in the Ridan Mosque at the time. Although Darazi was eventually killed and his teachings repudiated, many early and later observers, ironically, attribute the Druze doctrine to Darazi and do not mention Hamza at all. To date, Druzes and the Druze manuscripts consider Darazi the most heretical apostate. More importantly, Hamza is considered to be the actual founder of Druzism and the primary author of the Druze manuscripts.

During the same year that al-Hakim disappeared, 1021, Hamza went into retreat and delegated the affairs of the community to the third leading figure, Baha' al-Din al-Samuqi. Baha' al-Din continued public preaching with the approval of Hamza, who was in an undisclosed location known only to Baha' al-Din and a few other missionaries. He wrote epistles to both prospective members in new destinations and to those followers who had seceded from the teachings of the movement. He also sent missionaries to strengthen the believers and to provide further spiritual direction. Baha' al-Din continued his activity until the closing of Druzism in 1043; from that year to the present, no one has been permitted to join the Druze movement. During the same year, Hamza Ibn 'Ali, Baha' al-Din, and the other leading figures left Egypt. Druzes believe that these individuals will return on the Day of Judgment.

After this establishment period of the Druze movement, the Druze princes of the Buhturi (1040s–1507) and then the Ma'ni (1507–1697) families provided leadership to the Druze masses and protected the continuity of the religious reforms issued by Hamza Ibn 'Ali. Prince Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'ni II (r. 1590–1635) is often mentioned by some Lebanese historians as the early founder of Lebanon and as the source of Lebanese nationalism. Druze history itself was not, of course, devoid of both internal and external tribal rivalries. For example, to guarantee their survival, Druzes and their allies often fought against or cooperated with different Muslim regimes, including Mamluks, Ayyubids, and Ottomans.

Today there are approximately one million Druzes in the world, the majority of them living in four Middle Eastern countries: Lebanon, Syria, Israel, and Jordan. In addition to these larger concentrations of Druzes, smaller diaspora communities can be found in Australia, Canada, Europe, the Persian Gulf nations, the Philippines, South America, West Africa, and the United States.

Samy Swayd

See also al-Hakim; Isma'ilis; Fatimids

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E

EARTHQUAKES

Vast regions of the Islamic world frequently experienced earthquakes during both medieval and modern times. The main zones of high seismicity within the Islamic heartlands have been areas such as the Red Sea, the valley of the Jordan, and the Anatolian fault zone, which are situated on the borders between the Eurasian plates to the north and various plates to the south (most importantly the Arabian, the African, the Anatolian, and the West Iranian Plates). These zones display significant differences in their tectonic evolutions: whereas some are characterized by spreading and the formation of new oceanic crust (Red Sea), others are characterized by collision and subduction (Eastern Mediterranean). However, these regions have in common a long-standing history of active tectonic developments, and these have continued through the present. Alternatively, some regions (e.g., the Arabian Peninsula situated on the Arabian shield) belong, with the exception of Yemen and the Hejaz (incorporating Mecca and Medina), to the most seismically stable areas in the world. Although the inland of North Africa (the modern states of Egypt, Libya, and Sudan) is rather aseismic, it has been subject to infrequent earthquakes of considerable size.

In the self-view of the Muslim community, its history itself started with an earthquake: the birth of the Prophet Muhammad was purportedly accompanied by a violent seism felt throughout the known world. The early awareness of living in a seismically active region was also expressed by the fact that year 5 of the Muslim calendar was named the Year of the Earthquake and that the Qur'an contains an Earthquake Chapter (Sura 99, surat al-zalzala).

Reliable quantitative data about the occurrence of earthquakes during medieval times or even their effects are not available, and one has to rely to a large degree on anecdotal evidence. Furthermore, the sources present a highly biased picture, because earthquakes far from urban centers hardly found entrance into the written record. Consequently, knowledge of the geographical distribution of earthquakes during the medieval period reflects at least as much patterns of population density as the occurrence of earthquakes themselves.

Among the most destructive earthquakes in the medieval period were those in northern Persia, which were centered on the town of Qumis in 856 CE and felt throughout the Middle East, with a reported death toll of two hundred thousand; in northern Syria, which centered on the town of Aleppo in 1138; and again in Syria, in 1202, with the epicenter on the Lebanese coast. The effects of these and other earthquakes were similar: high death tolls, the wide-ranging destruction of fortifications and buildings, and the ensuing economic losses for most sections of the population.

The 1202 earthquake, for example, destroyed several towns situated on the Syrian coast, such as Acre, and it also destroyed large numbers of buildings inland, in towns such as Nablus and Damascus. The effects of the shock were felt in distant regions such as Sicily and Iraq, and they caused destruction as far away as Cyprus and Egypt. Sources quote a death

toll of more than one million for the years 1201 and 1202 in Syria and Egypt, the latter also having been ravaged by famine and epidemics. Although such figures were rough estimations with a strong tendency toward exaggeration, they may be used at least as an indicator to show the extent of destruction; the total of thirty thousand casualties for the Nablus region alone for the 1202 earthquake, as quoted by a local source, reinforces this impression.

Such catastrophic events shaped the course of medieval Islamic history in demographic, economic, and military terms. The severe death toll and the material destruction caused by a series of earthquakes that ravaged Syria during the late eleventh century (1050, 1063, 1068, 1069, 1086, and 1091), for example, arguably contributed to the successful Crusader conquests during the following years. Earthquakes (as well as other natural catastrophes) proved to be highly destructive for much medieval building structure, because the traditionally used materials for houses in regions such as Persia—mud walls and adobe bricks—were of very limited stability when it came to withstanding seismic shocks.

For medieval Muslim authors, the occurrence of earthquakes was a phenomenon to be dealt with on many different levels. Chroniclers registered earthquakes and their effects generally quite laconically, without going into too much depth. Nevertheless, some members of the elite wrote about such catastrophes in more detail, such as the twelfth-century military commander and litterateur Usama ibn Munqidh, who composed a lengthy poetic work after he lost most of his relatives in an earthquake that destroyed the clan's stronghold in middle Syria.

A number of scholars wrote treatises that were specifically devoted to this subject, as did medieval scholars about other catastrophes, such as famine and plague. For example, the third-century philosopher al-Kindi dealt with the *Occurrence of Winds under the Earth Which Cause Many Earthquakes and Eclipses,* and Ibn 'Asakir (d. 1176) authored a *Book Of Earthquakes* (both of these have been lost); the Egyptian polymath al-Suyuti (d. 1505) included a detailed list of earthquakes in his treatise about the subject. These authors differed with regard to the explanations that they advanced for earthquakes. Some earlier scholars argued, under the influence of antique pneumatic theories of earthquakes, that they were caused by gases under the surface that could not condensate or escape. According to writers such as al-Kindi, al-Biruni (d. 1050), and Ibn Sina (d. 1037), the increasing pressure led finally to the seismic vibrations of the earth and its crust.

A second group of authors (especially after the eleventh century) ascribed earthquakes to God's immediate will and advanced elaborate cosmological descriptions to explain how He caused them. These descriptions focused either on the Mountain Qaf that, in their view, surrounded the earth and was linked to it by subterranean ramifications, or on the idea that the earth was placed on the horns of a bull that was carried by a fish. According to this group of authors (e.g., al-Suyuti), earthquakes were either the result of deviating behavior (adultery, usury, and consumption of alcohol) or signs of the approaching Last Judgment, an idea that is based on the Qur'anic Earthquake Chapter. In this worldview, God caused the Mountain Qaf or the bull and the fish to move so that the earth was seized by a wave of shocks as a punishment. A third set of explanations was brought forward by chroniclers who treated earthquakes only briefly in their writings; this group of authors suggested that the causes of earthquakes were astrophysical circumstances, such as planetary constellations or comets with long tails.

Konrad Hirschler

See also Floods, Epidemics

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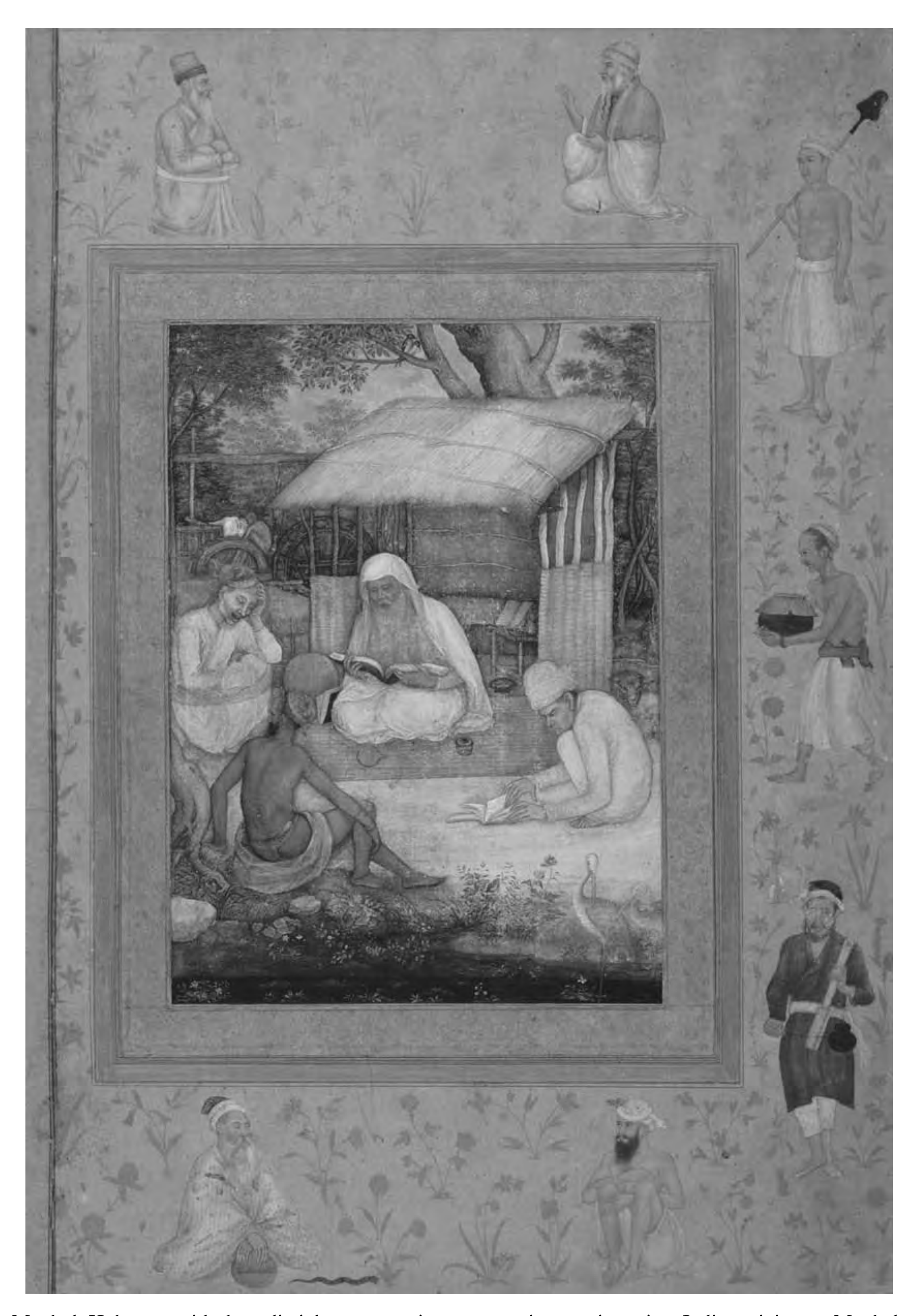
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EDUCATION, ISLAMIC

Education in Islam is understood as nurturing, raising, and teaching knowledge and moral values to improve oneself or somebody else spiritually, intellectually, and morally by following the orders of Allah and learning how to obey His will (Ittihad 1994). In



School, Moghul. Holy man with three disciples commenting on a text in a rustic setting. Indian miniature, Mughal school, early thirteenth century. Credit: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY. Musee des Arts Asiatiques-Guimet, Paris, France.

the Qur'an, God is referred to as *Rabbul-ul Alemeen,* which includes the meaning "the educator of all the worlds," thus showing the importance that Islam gives to education. Education is one of the most important factors of a healthy society; it is a means for a creature to achieve the purpose for which God created it, and, as such, belief and education cannot be separated from each other (Ittihad 1994; Gülen 2003).

Education in Islam is based on Qur'anic concepts. The Qur'an, according to Islamic teachings, is the literal word of God and contains all of the information that is required to lead a fulfilling life in this world and in the hereafter. The Qur'an states the following in verse 16:89: "And We have sent down to thee the Book explaining all things, a Guide, a Mercy and Glad Tidings to Muslims." The first revealed verse of the Qur'an is "Read," which demonstrates the importance that is placed on knowledge and learning.

An understanding of hadith (the teachings of Prophet Muhammad) is necessary to fully understand the Qur'an. This point is expressed in verse 16:44: "And We have sent down unto thee the Message that thou mayest explain clearly to men what is sent for them, and they may give thought" (Abdul-Rahman Salih Abdullah 1982). Prophet Muhammad said, "He who leaves his home in search of knowledge walks in the path of God" (Himiuddin Khan 1967, 2–3). This search for knowledge was the goal of every Muslim man and woman, whose foremost duty was to learn the Qur'an, the rituals of prayer, and the divine revelation (Ahmed 1968, 30).

In Islam, education covers all aspects of life, including knowledge of the Qur'an and the laws of Islam, as well as the customs, knowledge, and skills that people need to function effectively in daily life. The aim of education is to prepare a person for a moral and religious life, thereby creating sincere, practical people who can win spiritual blessings and God's favor in the hereafter (Himiuddin Khan 1967, 171).Whatever action man performs should be linked to God, indicating that God cannot be restricted to a certain period of life or to certain aspects of a person's actions (Abdul-Rahman Salih Abdullah 1982).

During the Medieval Period, education in the Islamic world achieved great success, with immense respect given to scholars. The encouragement in Islamic teachings for education created an environment in which people could freely exchange ideas. During the European Dark Ages, the Islamic world established a golden age of education. During the ninth century, the library of the monastery of St. Gall was the largest in Europe, containing thirty-six volumes. At the same time, most cities in the Islamic world built public and private libraries, with some cities like Cordoba and Baghdad possessing libraries with more than 400 thousand books. The accumulated knowledge in the Islamic world later became the basis for achievements in the European Renaissance (Horace Mann, WP; Himiuddin Khan 1967, 133).

The education of Muslim children began at home around the age of four, when they began the study of the Qur'an (Himiuddin Khan 1967, 172). There were two levels of education: primary and advanced. Primary education was conducted in schools called Kuttab and Maktab (Ahmed 1968, 41). The purpose of these schools was to teach the Qur'an, basic principles of Islam, and reading, writing, and mathematics. Advanced studies were conducted in the Halka systems before the establishment of the Madrasa system (Ahmed 1968, 52). Subjects studied included philology, grammar, syntax, rhetoric, literature, reading and recitation (of the Qur'an), hadith, jurisprudence, Islamic law, theology, logic, tasawwuf, tafsir, scholastics, medicine, genealogy, and astronomy (Ahmed 1968 32–39; Himiuddin Khan 1967, 134). There was also an emphasis on physical education, because Islam gives importance to the training of the body as well as of the mind (Himiuddin Khan 1967, 179). In Islam, as a rule, everyone could participate in classes, regardless of one's ethnicity, social group, age, or gender (Ahmed 1968, 86).

Universities were also established in many cities, such as Cordoba and Malaga in Spain, Istanbul and Konya in Turkey, Cairo in Egypt, Baghdad in Iraq, and Mansura and Delhi in India. These universities included departments of astronomy, mathematics, medicine, theology, law, jurisprudence, chemistry, and philosophy, where the enrollment ran into the thousands (Alavi 1988).

Yetkin Yildirim

See also Madrasa; Primary Schools; Libraries; Childhood

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EDUCATION, JEWISH

The Jewish emphasis on education can be traced directly to the Bible, which enjoins constant meditation on the law or Torah (Joshua 1:8). Already during the time of the Second Temple in Jerusalem (515 BCE–70 CE), Scripture was studied according to an authoritative, interpretive tradition. During the first six centuries CE, leading Jewish scholars (rabbis) in Palestine and Babylonia codified these oral teachings, producing canonical works of law (Mishnah, Talmud) and exegesis (Midrash). Together with the Bible, this rabbinic literature has furnished the Jewish core curriculum for the past millennium and a half. It is analogous in terms of sanctity, authority, and function to the Qur'an and hadith in Sunni Islam. In Islamic lands, however, many Jews also studied general subjects, such as Arabic language, mathematics, astronomy, philosophy, and medicine. In this environment, moreover, Jewish subjects were often pursued from a rationalistic perspective.

In his code, *Mishneh Torah,* Moses Maimonides describes the religious obligation of a father to teach his son Torah and the obligation of a community to support a school. From the age of six or seven, children learned the Hebrew alphabet and the Bible, which they were taught to gloss in Aramaic and Arabic. Like a Muslim maktab, the Jewish school house stressed the memorization and proper recitation of Scripture. Girls attended separate schools, which taught these subjects as well; rabbinic literature was introduced later and taught only to boys. Unlike elementary-school teachers, who were remunerated, Talmud instructors were not supposed to receive payment. For advanced Talmudic studies, young men attended a yeshiva (academy). Dating back to antiquity, this institution was dedicated to teaching and promulgating the rabbinic tradition. Similar in purpose to the madrasa, which only developed during the tenth and eleventh centuries, the yeshiva combined the functions of a college and a court. Supported by communal donations, it funded both faculty and students, who were trained as legal experts. The oldest yeshivot were based in the Land of Israel and in Babylonia. Each was headed by a gaon (president) and was organized hierarchically. During the ʻAbbasid period, the academies of Sura and Pumbedita moved to Baghdad, where they attained preeminence as centers of Jewish legal scholarship, issuing responses to queries from distant communities and sponsoring month-long terms of study for visitors from abroad. However, with the migration of Jews westward, independent colleges were established in Egypt, North Africa, and Andalusia during the late tenth century. Those in Qayrawan and Lucena (near Cordoba) became quite famous; during the eleventh century, the former was headed by Hananel ben Hushiel and Nissim ben Jacob Ibn Shahin.

Outside the yeshivot, secular subjects formed an important part of the curriculum. The ability to read a Bible also meant literacy in Arabic, whereas Jews customarily read and wrote in Hebrew characters. Letters from the Cairo geniza attest to widespread Jewish literacy in the Mediterranean and also to the effort expended in securing a good education. Geniza documents and letters reveal that some parents engaged Arabic tutors for their children. Although the language and literary quality of Judeo-Arabic documents vary considerably, many Middle Eastern and North African Jews could write effectively and fluently. Some of the leading scholars, such as Saʻadyah Gaon, Samuel ben Hophni Gaon (d. 1113), and the Karaite Yaʻqub al-Qirqisani (d. after 938), read widely from non-Jewish sources.

As early as the ninth century, North African and Andalusian Jews cultivated a broad education, which enabled the best scholars to attain influential positions at court. Hasday Ibn Shaprut (c. 915–970) served two Umayyad Caliphs of Cordoba as a physician, translator, and diplomat. Samuel Ibn Naghrela (993–1055/1056), vizier to two Kings of Granada, achieved fame as a Hebrew poet and talmudic scholar; according to the Muslim historian Ibn Hayyan (987–1076), Ibn Naghrela wrote both Arabic and Hebrew with equal facility. Both Hasday and Ibn Naghrela mastered a dual curriculum of sacred and secular subjects that was reminiscent of the one prescribed by the Andalusian Muslim Ibn Hazm (994–1064) in his *Maratib al-ʻUlum (Categories of the Sciences)*. The *Tibb al-Nufus (Hygiene of the Souls)* by Joseph ben Judah Ibn ʻAqnin (late thirteenth century) outlines a detailed course of study: reading and writing Hebrew characters precedes the study of the Bible, Mishnah, Hebrew grammar, and Hebrew poetry; at fifteen, boys begin Talmud; subsequently, they learn some speculative theology. Philosophy and the sciences follow: logic, mathematics, arithmetic, geometry, optics, astronomy, music, mechanics, natural sciences, medicine, and, finally, metaphysics. Moses Maimonides dedicated his *Guide to the Perplexed* to a favorite disciple who had been trained in precisely this kind of curriculum. During the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries, Jewish émigrés from Andalusia, such as Judah Ibn Tibbon, championed these education ideals in Christian Spain and Provence, where they were instrumental in maintaining the rationalistic, literate, and cultured outlook of the Greco-Arabic tradition.

Daniel Frank

See also Baghdad; Hebrew; Judeo-Arabic; Kalam; Karaites; Scriptural Exegesis, Jewish; Translation, Arabic to Hebrew; Education

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EGYPT

From the Arab Conquest until the end of the Umayyad Period, the Arab army commanded by ʻAmr ibn al-ʻAs entered Egypt in late 639 or early 640 CE, initially laying siege to the Byzantine fortress at Babylon at the meeting place between Lower and Upper Egypt. The Arabs proceeded to conquer Upper Egypt before marching on Alexandria. Faced with numerous internal problems, the Byzantines eventually surrendered the city by treaty. As was the case elsewhere in the conquered lands, the Arabs did not take up residence among the conquered people—the Egyptian Christians (Copts)—but rather settled in a garrison city (misr) known as al-Fustat. There they established their administration and institutions, including a mosque that was named for ʻAmr and a diwan to record the financial and military affairs of the new territory. The Arab tribesmen proved to be difficult to govern, and this task, along with the collection of taxes and the provision of revenues to the Caliph, were the responsibility of the governor (wali).

ʻAmr took control of the province on behalf of Mu'awiya during the First Civil War (656–661) and was thus on the side of the victor. During the Second Civil War, Marwan ibn al-Hakam seized control of the province to keep it loyal to the Umayyads. Perhaps the best known governor of Egypt during the Umayyad period is Qurra ibn Sharik (709–715); this is because the survival of numerous documents on papyrus provides more knowledge about his administration than is available for any other governor of early Islamic Egypt. The classical tax system of land tax (kharaj) and poll tax (jizya) was not solidified until the middle of the eighth century, and the Umayyads frequently experimented with their revenue collection system. One attempt to raise taxes in 725 or 726 resulted in a major uprising by Coptic peasants. As the Umayyad Caliphate weakened, the Arab rulers of Egypt fought among themselves for control of this wealthy province.

An ʻAbbasid Province

After the ʻAbbasid occupation in the summer of 750, Egypt was governed by a series of men who originated in the Khurasani units that had overthrown the Umayyads. From 775 to 785, the governor was the Caliph al-Mansur's son, al-Mahdi (the Umayyad governors had also frequently been members of the ruling family). In 784, attempts to raise taxes led to a major revolt by Arab tribesmen that had to be suppressed. The period from 809 to 826 was characterized by instability, and it must have become clear to the ʻAbbasids that the status quo was unworkable. Eventually, the rise of Turkish slave soldiers provided a solution, albeit a disastrous one from the point of view of the Caliphs. In 831, the Turkish general Afshin put down a joint Arab–Coptic rebellion, and the Arab families of Egypt lost power for good.

In 868, Ahmad ibn Tulun, the son of a Turkish slave soldier, was appointed governor of Egypt. His arrival began a process whereby governors of Egypt, although never renouncing their allegiance to the ʻAbbasids, nonetheless ruled Egypt in an autonomous manner. In fact, Ibn Tulun ruled on behalf of his stepfather and then of his father-in-law; this aided in the establishment of a mini dynasty. Furthermore, because Ibn Tulun could dispose of the significant resources of Egypt, he was in a position to solidify his control over the province. He raised an army of Turkish, Greek, and Black soldiers, which immediately caused disquiet in Baghdad. Because the ʻAbbasids were unable to defend Syria and Cilicia from the Byzantines, they were obliged to delegate this authority to Ibn Tulun, demonstrating the degree to which Baghdad had become dependent on Egypt. A rebellion by his son al-ʻAbbas forced Ibn Tulun to return to Egypt. In 880, Ibn Tulun founded a new town,

al-Qata'i', not far from al-Fustat. Al-Qata'i' later fell into ruin, but Ibn Tulun's mosque was renovated during the thirteenth century by Mamluk Sultan Lajin.

Ibn Tulun died in 884. His descendants lost power in 905, and the Fatimids, who ruled Ifriqya from 909, made several attempts to seize control of Egypt. In 935, Muhammad ibn Tughj, who later received the title "Ikhshid," became governor. He restored some of Egypt's autonomy; this policy was continued by the eunuch Kafur, who seized power after the Ikhshid's death in 946. After Kafur's death in 968, there was little to stop the Fatimid conquest, which occurred the following year.

The Fatimid Caliphate

The Fatimid conquest and the establishment of the city of Cairo as its capital turned Egypt into a regional power, a status it would not surrender until the Ottoman conquest of 1517. Egypt was at its height as an economic power under the Fatimids, producing more food than it could usually consume and boasting a robust textile industry. Thanks to the survival of the Geniza documents, it is known that Fustat's Jewish community had trade relations with co-religionists throughout the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean worlds as well as with rural Egypt. The Fatimid Caliphate employed men of talent of a variety of ethnicities and religious persuasions. In addition to the Fatimids themselves, Ismaili Shi'is who claimed descent from the Prophet Muhammad through his daughter Fatima, Arabs, Berbers, Turks, Armenians, Copts, Jews, and others served in the Fatimid army and administration.

Unlike his predecessors in Egypt, the Fatimid Caliph al-Mu'izz was a determined opponent of the 'Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad. Egypt now became the base for a campaign to unseat the 'Abbasids and establish Fatimid rule over the Muslim world. Although this campaign was ultimately unsuccessful, the Fatimid state was not merely concerned with consolidating its rule but also with spreading its Ismaili doctrine. To this end, Caliph al-Mu'izz established al-Azhar as the center of the Ismaili mission (da'wa). Fatimid missionaries traveled throughout the Muslim world, enjoying some success in Yemen, Syria, and Iran. They were unable, however, to prevent the fall of Baghdad to the Seljuks, an event that greatly reduced Shi'i influence in the 'Abbasid capital.

In 1094, the Fatimids underwent a fundamental schism, which resulted in the victory of the Caliph al-Musta'li and the death of his rival Nizar. Nizar's supporters fled to the Ismaili communities outside of Fatimid territory and established the "new mission," which survived the dissolution of the Fatimid Caliphate in 1171. As time went, on, however, the influence of the Fatimid caliphs waned. Their army was torn by ethnic divisions, and this led to a major conflict between black and Turkish soldiers in 1060, which was only resolved by the arrival of an Armenian force. Increasingly, it was the wazir who held real power in the Fatimid state, exercising control over an impressive centralized bureaucracy. Many wazirs were also military men. By 1169, when Nur al-Din Mahmud sent his Kurdish retainers—Asad al-Din Shirkuh and his nephew Salah al-Din Yusuf (Saladin)—to Egypt, the Fatimids had been reduced to paying tribute to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

The Ayyubid Sultanate

After the death of his uncle, Shirkuh, Salah al-Din initially served as the wazir to the Fatimid Caliph. After the latter's death in 1171, Salah al-Din ordered the 'Abbasid Caliph's name to be mentioned in the Friday sermon, thus abolishing the Fatimid Caliphate. For some time, it looked as if relations might break down between Salah al-Din and Nur al-Din, but Nur al-Din's death in 1174 presented a golden opportunity for Salah al-Din to add Syria to his holdings, as well as parts of Iraq, the Hijaz, and Yemen. By 1183, he was in a position to turn against the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and his famous victory at Hittin in 1187 allowed him to recover Jerusalem for Islam.

Salah al-Din and his successors, known as the Ayyubids (after Salah al-Din's father), built on the Fatimid state, but they also made significant changes. The Fatimid chancery and tax administration were quite sophisticated, and the Ayyubids and Mamluks regarded the Fatimid precedent as the basis for their own bureaucracies. At the same time, the Ayyubids introduced some elements of Seljuk bureaucratic practice, including military iqta', whereby amirs were rewarded for their service by being assigned the tax revenues of a certain area or areas. This new system, which was preceded by a cadastral survey of Egypt, gave increased administrative responsibilities to the military, a trend that continued through the Mamluk period. As a result of their concern for gaining support from the religious scholars and promoting Sunnism, the Ayyubids built a series of law schools (madrasas) and Sufi convents (khanqahs).

The Mamluk Sultanate

The Mamluk Sultanate, a government of Turkish (and later Circassian) soldiers of slave origin, was born of crisis. In the wake of the Ayyubid victory over Louis IX at al-Mansura in 1250, a group of Mamluks belonging to the deceased Sultan al-Malik al-Salih Ayyub overthrew and murdered his successor, Turanshah; they apparently feared being marginalized or eliminated in favor of the new Sultan's entourage. A period of instability followed, only coming to an end after the Mamluk defeat of the Mongols at ʻAyn al-Jalut in 1260. After the battle, the amir Baybars assassinated Sultan Qutuz and took control of the state.

Baybars (r. 1260–1277) can be seen as the founder of the Mamluk Sultanate. He waged a series of campaigns against the Crusaders and Mongols that left Cairo the capital of a large empire that included Syria and the Hijaz. To bolster his authority, he installed ʻAbbasid survivors of the Mongol sack of Baghdad as "shadow caliphs" in Cairo; he also gave official recognition to all four of the Sunni schools of law, which gave the increasingly centralized Mamluk state greater flexibility.

Although every Mamluk sultan attempted to establish a dynasty, they had very limited success. Baybars's descendants were overthrown by another powerful amir, Qalawun (r. 1279–1290). Qalawun's descendants ruled—although often in name only—until 1382. His son al-Ashraf Khalil (r. 1290–1293) captured Acre, the last Crusader possession in the Levant, in 1291.

Another son, al-Nasir Muhammad (r. 1294–1295, 1299–1309, 1309–1340) presided over what was perhaps the greatest period of prosperity in medieval Egypt. The Mongol threat had receded, commerce between Egypt and Syria and between the Mamluks and the Europeans was booming, and the political system was stable for three decades. Al-Nasir used this opportunity to increase the authority of the sultan by redistributing iqtaʻs in his favor and by becoming increasingly involved with commerce, which provoked accusations of monopolization. He also seized much of the property of the Coptic Church, and the Copts were subjected to a period of persecution that led to large numbers of conversions to Islam.

Unfortunately, if al-Nasir Muhammad's intention was to shore up the position of the sultan, he failed. In 1347, the Black Death arrived in Egypt and brought about a demographic crisis of unprecedented proportions. By the 1370s, famine became increasingly common, leading to the crisis of 1403 through 1405, when famine and disease struck together. The result of these events and of subsequent outbreaks of plague is that Egypt's population remained low until at least the mid-sixteenth century, thus reducing the possibilities for economic recovery. Agricultural production was reduced, and the sultans attempted to compensate for the loss in tax revenues by intervention in commerce and the establishment of monopolies of certain commodities. European merchants who wished to buy goods imported from the Indian Ocean were obliged to purchase them from the sultan in Alexandria.

The collapse of the Qalawunid "dynasty" in 1382 led to the rise of a series of sultans who ruled as strongmen. Increasingly these new rulers were Circassians rather than Turks, and they had little success passing on their powers to their sons. Although al-Nasir Faraj (r. 1399–1405, 1405–1412) succeeded his father al-Zahir Barquq, he failed to respond to the crisis of 1403 through 1405 or to prevent Timur Lenk from seizing Aleppo and Damascus in 1399. Although these cities were recovered in 1402, Faraj was remembered as a Mamluk Nero. The reign of Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbay (1422–1438) was more successful. Barsbay established a monopoly on the trade in spices, reducing the Karimi merchants who had controlled this commerce to his agents. He used his improved financial situation to launch successful raids on Cyprus in 1425 and 1426, avenging the sack of Alexandria by Peter I of Cyprus in 1365.

The longest-reigning sultan of the fifteenth century was al-Ashraf Qaytbay (r. 1468–1496), who has been described as a conservative who was concerned with maintaining the traditions of the sultanate. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, change was clearly in order. The Ottoman sultans were a growing threat, and the rise of the Shi'i Safavids in Iran changed the political map of the region. In 1498, Vasco de Gama reached the Indian Ocean, and Portuguese attacks on ships and ports brought about a sudden reduction in the revenues of the Mamluk state. Sultan al-Ashraf Qansuh al-Ghuri (r. 1501–1516) made an alliance with the Ottomans and tried to reorganize his army to face the new threat, but this was in vain. When Ottoman Sultan Selim I turned against the Mamluks, he must have sensed an opportunity. Syria fell to the Ottomans in the summer of 1516, and Egypt fell in January through April of 1517.

With the end of the Mamluk Sultanate, an era came to an end. For much of the Middle Ages, Egypt had been the greatest power of the Middle East; now it became a province in a great empire, with a center of gravity that was elsewhere. In many ways, Mamluk Egypt was the most successful medieval state (excluding the Ottomans, who represented a break with many aspects of medieval Islamic

statecraft). The Mamluks reigned for more than 250 years. Despite the competitive character of the sultanate, Mamluk rule was generally peaceful. Egypt was the center of a flowering culture in areas such as historical writing, Islamic legal scholarship, Sufism, and even Arabic literature. A new international style came into being in Mamluk architecture, and Mamluk textiles, glasswork, and metalwork were of a high quality until the late-medieval depression. During the fifteenth century, Egypt became more dependent on European imports, but this dependence was not as total as has sometimes been claimed. Mamluk rule came to an end as the result of the rise of a new power—the Ottomans—and not as the result of any inevitable decline. Indeed, one legacy of the Mamluk Sultanate was the incorporation of some aspects of its administration into the Ottoman state.

Adam Sabra

See also Alexandria; Assassins (Ismaili); 'Ayn Jalut; Ayyubids; Al-Azhar; Badr al-Jamali; Baybars I; Black Death; Cairo; Cairo Geniza; Caliphate and Imamate; Copts; Coptic; Fatimids; Fustat; Al-Hakim; Ibn Taghribirdi; Ibn Tulun; Ismailis; Mamluks; Al-Maqrizi; Mosque of Ibn Tulun (Cairo); Nur al-Din ibn Zanki; Nile; Qadi Numan; Saladin (Salah al-Din); Shajar al-Durr; Sultan; Tamerlane (Timur); Tulunids

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ELEGY

The elegy (*marthiyeh* in Persian) exists in two forms in Persian poetry: as a section of a longer narrative work and as a discrete poem. Because narratives are always in the mathnawi (couplet) form in Persian, elegies of the former kind are invariably in couplets; notable examples are to be found in Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh* and in various medieval romances. The elegies in the *Shahnameh* are very often spoken by women (examples are Gordyeh's elegy for her brother Bahram Chubineh, Roshanak's for her husband Sekandar, and Rudabeh's for her son Rostam), and this corresponds with the relatively public role undertaken by women during mourning ceremonies in many Middle Eastern cultures, including Persian. Ferdowsi's elegiac passages use the ubi sunt topos extensively, and typically many successive lines begin with the evocation "Where now is...?" as the dead subject's virtues and glories are listed. Ferdowsi also inserts into the *Shahnameh* an elegy spoken *in propria persona*; this is a lament on the death of his own son, in which he reproaches his child for leaving him alone in the world; this trope became standard.

As a discrete poem, the elegy usually took the form of a qasideh (a praise poem in monorhyme). One of the earliest and most famous examples of the genre is that by Farrokhi (early eleventh century) for the Ghaznavid King Mahmoud (d. 1030). The poem evokes the monarch's past pleasures and glories and describes the desolate state of the land and its populace now that Mahmoud has departed; its diction and imagery were widely imitated by later writers of elegies for the politically powerful. Court poets were expected to produce elegies after the death of a prominent member of the ruling family, and they were remunerated for doing so. However, not all elegies were written for such practical motives. For example, for Sa'di to write his fine elegy about the last 'Abbasid Caliph, who was murdered by the Mongols in 1258,

was a politically risky move that could well have provoked retribution. Although the form was primarily associated with the court and traditionally invoked an atmosphere of formal, public mourning, elegies were also written for dead friends, presumably with little hope of remuneration; an example of a more personal elegy of this kind is that by Atai Razi (early twelfth century) about the death of his fellow poet at the Ghaznavid court, Mas'ud Sa'd. After the triumph of Shi'ism in Iran, with the accession to power of the Safavid dynasty in 1501, elegies for the significant martyrs of Shi'i Islam were widely written. In these poems, the emphasis is generally on the innocence and sufferings of the elegy's subject rather than on past pleasures or glories. Some of these religious elegies have achieved the status of widely-diffused folk poetry, and a number of them have retained great popularity among the more pious sections of Iranian society.

RICHARD DAVIS

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EMIGRATION, OR HIJRA

The emigration, or hijra (Latinized as hegira), of Muhammad ibn 'Abdallah (d. 632 CE), the Arab Prophet of Islam, from his place of birth (Mecca) to the town that was to become his adopted home (Yathrib; later renamed Madinat al-Nabi, the city of the Prophet, al-Medina, in short) took place circa September 622 CE. Muhammad had, despite political and social opposition to his teachings, achieved a considerable reputation as fair-minded, wise, and trustworthy, even in Mecca. The people of Yathrib, therefore, invited him to come and live with them and act as a mediator when quarrels arose between the major tribes of the region, the Aws and the Khazraj.

The emigration was seen as an important event for Islam, because it marked the beginning of a new life for Muhammad, who, from then on, was able to live amidst his followers in security. A few years after the death of the Prophet, when the then-leader of the Muslims, 'Umar ibn al-Khattab (d. 642), who succeeded Abu Bakr (d. 634) as "The Commander of the Faithful," was to establish an Islamic calendar, it was this event that he chose to mark as its beginning.

The actual emigration of Muhammad from Mecca to Yathrib was arranged at 'Aqaba several months before it actually occurred. The Prophet's teachings were not welcome to the elite of Mecca, who were mostly polytheists by religion and who did not recognize the possibility of a life after death; their opposition led to aggression against the Muslims. Soon, a group of Muslims was forced to leave Mecca for Abyssinia, where, fortunately, a Christian king saw fit to welcome them. Muhammad himself turned to Hira, a town not far from Mecca, only to be rebuffed. The invitation to Yathrib from its inhabitants was therefore most welcome, but it had to be dealt with secretly, because the hostility toward Muhammad in Mecca was now considerable; his life there was possible only because tribal ties forced his relatives to protect him. However, when both his uncle, Abu Talib, and his wife, Khadija, died around 621, it was clear that he was no longer safe. Indeed, Muhammad barely escaped a plot by the Meccans to jointly murder him. He left 'Ali, his nephew, in his bed, to fool his enemies, and then he quietly departed with the help of his dear friend, Abu Bakr, who was able to provide him with a camel. Some traditions paint his departure as a miracle, describing Muhammad as becoming invisible and then leaving right before the eyes of the Meccan polytheists who had come to attack him. When the Meccans discovered that it was 'Ali who lay in Muhammad's bed, they immediately followed Muhammad's tracks. Again, however, by God's grace, Muhammad and Abu Bakr were saved: they had taken shelter in a cave on Mount Thaur, over the mouth of which a spider had built its web. The Meccans—believing that such a web would have been broken if Muhammad had entered—did not think to look within (Qur'an verse 9:40).

Muhammad's entry into Yathrib is described as a joyful event. The people of Yathrib—mainly Arabs as well as significant Jewish tribes—saw him as a uniting force who would end the divisiveness and the destruction that came with it. Tradition holds that there were many agreements made between the Meccan Muslims (who were known as the *Muhajirun,* or emigrants) and the several new converts to Islam among the residents, who, because of their generosity, came to be known as the *Ansar,* or helpers. Indeed, Ibn Ishaq mentions a "Constitution of Medina" that was designed by Muhammad in which both Arab and Jewish tribes of Yathrib participate, essentially laying down the terms by which Muhammad hoped to achieve a single monotheistic community.

Muhammad's resort to emigration as a means of avoiding hostility to his beliefs is recommended by Islam. According to the Qur'an, "The sins of the emigrants, of those driven from home, are forgiven" (3:195). "He who emigrates, finds a home on this

earth, and when he dies, God will reward him" (Q4:101). According to tradition, those who remained in Mecca and feared to migrate—although the earth was large enough to afford them shelter—are censured. Thus, the term *emigrant* became a title of honor among Muslims. In the recent past, it was used in South Asia to encourage those who left modern India for Pakistan.

RIZWI FAIZER

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EPIC POETRY

Very few long poems remain of the Jahiliyya and the Umayyad poetry that narrate the deeds of a hero. Selected verses of heroic poems were collected in anthologies during the ʿAbbasid period by famous poets such as Abu Tammam (d. 849), al-Buhturi (d. 897), and others (until the thirteenth century). These collections were entitled *Hamasa* (bravery, fervor in war); their first and main chapters contain a short poem about pre-Islamic battles of the Arabs that praises their heroism. The subsequent chapters are selections from other funun al-shi'r (genres of poetry): elegy (rithaʿ), eulogy (madiÎ), chaste erotic opening line (nasib), morality (adab), description (wasf), and others. In *Rasa'il Ikhwan al-Safa* (tenth-eleventh centuries), some verses that are quoted by Abu Tammam are called al-mushajji' (the favoring or the encouraging verses); they are used during battles and wars and sung with heroic melodies (*Rasaʿil Ikhwan al-Ñafa*, Cairo, 1928:132–36).

In his translation of Aristotle's *Poetica* from Syriac into Arabic, Matta b. Yunis used the Greek term *Epi* (in Arabic, *Afi*), whereas the editor ʿAbd al-Rahman Badwi himself used, in his modern translation, the term *malhama* (see *Fann al-Shi'r*, ed. ʿA.-R. Badawi, 143). Ibn Sina (Avicenna) (980–1037), in his attempt to survey Greek science and philosophy for the benefit of the Muslim culture, also used the term *Afi* (Ibid., 194–5). Although Ibn Sina was aware that Homer, in his epics, used blank (unrhymed) verse, he confirmed that "We [in Arabic culture] almost do not call that which is unrhymed, poetry" (Ibn Sina, *Jawami' 'ilm al-Musiqa*, ed. Z. Yusuf, Cairo, 1956, 122–3). Hazim al-Qartajanni (1211–1285), in his *Minhaj al-Bulaghaʿ wa-Siraj al-Udabaʿ (The Program of Rhetoric and the Lamp of Men of Letters)* (Tunis 1966), explained why the Arabs did not translate Greek literature: "The Greek poets would invent things upon which they would set their poetic imagination and they made this an aspect of their speech. They presumed things which did not happen at all and used them as a model for what happens, and they built upon them legends such as those old women relate to their grandchildren at night, fables of things which cannot possibly happen." Al-Qartajanni concluded his argument by saying, "Avicenna condemned this kind of poetry and said: 'There is no need for poetic imagination of the simple fables which are but invented narratives.'" He also said, ". . . this (type of poetry) does not suit all temperaments." Moreover, even during the thirteenth century, Âiyaʿ al-Din Ibn al-Athir (d. 1239), in his *al-Mathal al-Saʿir,* noticed that the Arabs—unlike the Persians—like long poetic genres, as the *Shahnama*.

The use of end-stop monorhyme in Arabic poetry limits the length of the heroic ode (qasida). Arab poets used in their narrative poetry a simple form of urjuza muzdawija (a couplet in rajaz meter); this form helped them, during the ʿAbbasid period, to get rid of the burden of monorhyme, which dictates the content of the verse. In such couplets, many didactic fables, narrative poems, and chronicles were versified. The most famous work is *Kalila wa-Dimna,* which was versified by Aban al-Lahiqi (d. ca. 815); the work was imitated in *al-ÑadiÎ wa-'l-Baghim (The Singing Birds and the Gazelles)* by Ibn al-Habbariyya (d. ca. 1111). The history of some Islamic dynasties was also versified, mainly in Andalus. However, the talented poet Ibn al-Farid (d. 1235) was able to write his epic about Sufism, *Nazm al-Suluk (Poem of the [Sufi] Way)*, known as *al-Taʿiyya al-Kubra,* in about 730 verses rhyming with the letter *taʿ.* Such long poems were called *mutwwalat* (long poems).

Arab scholars wrote in classical Arabic, the sacred language of the Qur'an, in religious and serious literature. They expressed their contempt toward popular narrative literature and used colloquial or semi-literary style in their popular oral literature, such as shadow plays (khayal al-zill), popular entertainment, and narrative genres of *Siyar.* This was evident as in the romances *Sirat ʿAntar* (thirty-two parts), *Sirat ʿAli al-Zibaq, Qissat Bni Hilal, Qissat al-Zir Salim, Sirat al-Amira Dhat al-Himma* (seventy parts), *Sirat* (or *Qissat*), and *Sayf ibn Dhi Yazan* (nineteen parts). These heroic, romantic, and chivalrous romances were recited in cafés, at assemblies, and during feasts and festivals, and they were accompanied by rababa or rabab esh-sha'er (poet's one string viol) and chanted by the storytellers (hakawati) of the romance of *Aboo-Zeyd.* The chanting narrator of such poetry is called *sha'ir*

(Lane 1954, 370–71, 397, 406.) This term must be an old one, because Pedro de Alcala, in his dictionary *Vocabulista Arabigo en Leta Castellana,* defined the Arabic term *sha'ir* as "representador de comedias/ tragedias." Arab scholars considered these romances, which are composed in rhymed prose (saj') in a semi-literary style that shifts into verse when tense emotional situations are depicted, to be popular epics.

In their attempt to keep pace with European literature from the second half of the nineteenth century onward, Arab critics adopted the Western classification of poetry, based on Plato's theory that poetry is divided into the lyrical, the epic, and the dramatic (see Sulayman al-Bustani 1904, 163–64, 171–72). To their amazement, they found that the bulk of Arabic poetry written throughout its long history was mainly lyrical (ghina'i) and that it did not deal with the narrative (qasasi), dramatic (masrahi), or epic (malhami) genres. They argued that the reason for this phenomenon in Arabic poetry is the rigid tradition of using monorhyme whereas, among other nations, rhyme is not essential, and it can be used to change simple patterns of rhyme schemes.

Among the first Arab scholars who tried to give the Arabs a model of Greek epic poetry and its history in European literature was Sulayman al-Bustani (1856–1925). Unlike Ibn Sina and al-Qartajanni, who based their arguments against Greek literature on taste, al-Bustani argued that it was a religious factor (i.e., the *Iliad* contains pagan elements, whereas Greek philosophy, logic, and medicine were useful to the Arabs [Bustani 1904, 65–7]). He added that the Arabs wrote epics by combining poetry and rhymed prose (Bustani 1904, 171–72). He took the formidable task of versifying the *Iliad* into more than ten thousand Arabic verses using various patterns of rhyme schemes and conventional Arabic meters, such as monorhyme and couplets; Arabic and European stanza forms of quatrain and quintet; and forms of Andalusian muwashshah. His pioneering translation encouraged other poets to write epics (malahim or mutawwalat) in modern Arabic literature.

By introducing dramatic, narrative, and epic poetry, the modernist poets considered the monorhyme in Arabic poetry the main obstacle in their attempts to enrich Arabic literature with the new genres. They were astonished to note that lyric, dramatic, and epic poetry are the main genres in Western poetry. The problems that attracted the attention of Arab poets and critics at the end of the nineteenth century were the questions of why the Arabs translated Greek writing about philosophy, logic, and medicine while ignoring Greek literature and why the Arabs did not write epic poetry. (Other Eastern peoples, such as the Indians, Persians, ancient Egyptians, and Turks, wrote epics, and the Indians, Persians, and Syrians translated the *Iliad* into their own languages [see al-Bustani 1904, 61–3, 165–7, 265]).

Encouraged by al-Bustani's translation of and introduction to the *Iliad*, Arab poets such as al-Zahawi (1864–1946), A.Z. Abu Shadi (1892–1955), Muhammad 'Abd al-Muttalib (1871–1931), and M.F. Abu Hadid (d. 1967) wrote articles about and experimented with epic poetry. Other poets, such as Ahmad Muharram, Bulus Salama, and Fawzi Ma'luf, tried to compose historical and philosophical epics in conventional Arabic meters. However, not all of them were successful. To be able to compose or translate epic poetry, Arab critics and poets defended the use of blank verse (shi'r mursal). Most of their attempts were doomed to failure, because they used connotative diction with end-stop rhyme and were unaware of the technique of enjambment used in European blank verse. However, using *vers irregulier* (which they called *shi'r hurr* [free verse]) with an irregular number of feet and an irregular rhyme scheme with enjambment, they were successful in writing mutawwalat. The Iraqi poet Badr Shakir al-Sayyab (1926–1964) is the leading Arab poet in this modern genre of Arabic poetry; his works include *Haffar al-Qubur* (1952), *al-Muwmis al-'Amya'* (1954), and *al-Asliha wa-'l-Atfal*, (1954), which was later included in his anthology *Unshudat al-Matar.*

Shmuel Moreh

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EPICS, ARABIC

If by the word *epic* is meant a lengthy poetic narration with the aim of exalting a hero or the ancient endeavors of a nation (e.g., Homer's *Iliad*), it must be recognized that classical Arab literature has not cultivated this genre. The medieval translators of Aristotle's *Poetics* found themselves seriously embarrassed at being unable to translate the very term *epic.*

The tales of the tribal wars of the Jahiliyya (pre-Islamic era), the life of the Prophet Muhammad, the heroic deeds of the champions of Islam, and the epos of the Muslim conquests—all the material that could have become the subject matter of Arabic epics—have in fact developed in a specific fashion. These stories, on the one hand, have not undergone any mythic elaboration, having been accepted as historical fact—or presumed to be so—in the great works of historiography, such as al-Tabari's *Annals;* on the other hand, they have taken on the dimension of popular narrative through the work of the storytellers, who have been subject to the censure of the elitist, turban-wearing ʻulema, the jealous custodians of orthodoxy. Thus, the Arab epic tradition has developed in the form of chivalrous romances, and, because of its semi-classical language (middle Arabic) and its unpretentious style, it has not found its place within the restricted canons of Arabic literature.

Popular Arab epics have found their expression in a longstanding oral tradition in which generations of storytellers have operated and in a written tradition that is comparable, in certain respects, with the romances of the European Middle Ages. The epic cycle is called sira (course of life, biography) or, more generically, qissa (story), whereas single episodes can take the name diwan (collection of poems). The most important sources from which this oral-written corpus has spread are Syria and Egypt. A number of ancient cycles—albeit in their primitive form—are part of the repertoire of the storytellers, such as the story of ʻAntara ibn Shaddād, the pre-Islamic Black hero of the Banu ʻAbs and of his beloved ʻAbla, whose adventures are extended right up to the era of the Crusades; the story of al-Zir Salim, which re-evokes in the form of a legend the war of al-Basus; or the heroic deeds of the Banu Hilal warriors. Other narrative cycles are from the Mamluk era (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, especially), such as the story of the Yemeni prince Sayf ibn Dhi Yazan; of princess Dhat al-Himma and her son ʻAbd al-Wahhāb, in the context of the tribal battles between the Banu Kilab and the Sulaym and Arab expeditions against Byzantium; and of al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars, the Mamluk king of Egypt and Syria whose reign was the backdrop to a whole series of picaresque adventures. These works present an alternation of parts in rhyming prose, in which the singer–narrator describes the scenes and introduces the characters, and parts in poetry, which include the dialogues of the heroes boasting about their achievements and the description of the duel, perhaps the primitive core around which the romances have developed. Their pseudohistorical perspective, however, reveals itself to be fragile, particularly when it re-evokes the intertribal wars of the Ayyam al-Arab (the pre-Islamic "battle days of the Arabs" [al-Zir Salim]), the campaigns for the expansion of Islam (Antara, Dhat al-Himma) or Sayf's struggle to thwart the Abyssinian plans to control the course of the Nile (whereas the historical Himyarite Sayf liberated the Yemen from the yoke of the Abyssinians in the sixth century). The atmosphere is that of the medieval furusiyya, the chivalrous spirit of the Arab hero exalted by the art of the storyteller into a series of astonishing deeds.

The epic cycles became most widespread during Mamluk rule, but it is important to state that each story has its own particular origin and literary development. Whereas for the *Sirat Bani Hilal,* it is the oral tradition that prevails (even if a later parallel written tradition did exist), for the other epic cycles the problem is a more complex one in that the manuscript tradition would seem to have a more determining importance. One particular concern for scholars is determining whether a textual version is the result of collective creation successively brought together by a rawi (collector–transmitter, possibly the storyteller himself) or whether it is the creation of one or more humble writers interpreting the tastes of the greater public, imitating the art of the storytellers. The circular nature of the relationship between oral and written narrations should not be underestimated, although the multiplicity of versions could be explained by the necessity on the part of the storytellers to invent new plots. This heterogeneous material proves interesting as a documentation of the worldview of the medieval Arab populace. In terms of strictly literary aspects, historians of classical Arabic literature have shown reservations because of the modest tone of these popular narratives, the use of middle Arabic, the continuous repetitions, the disordered accumulation of episodes, and the disarming prolixity (the current printed edition of the story of ʻAntara covers 5,600 pages). It should nonetheless be emphasized that these works were intended for public performances rather than to be read.

The *Sirat Bani Hilal,* which was already cited by Ibn Khaldun during the fourteenth century, constitutes the continuation of the ancient Bedouin poetic tradition and is probably the only one to possess the characteristics of a true epic. Unfortunately, only fragments of it remain. It narrates the exploits of the Banu Hilal, a Bedouin tribe that abandoned the Arabian Peninsula and eventually succeeded, after various vicissitudes, in conquering North Africa (tenth and eleventh centuries). There are four cycles: (1) the Sira, the ancient story of the Hilali princes in the Arabian Najd and in Yemen; (2) the Riyada, the mission of exploration after the tribe had been

decimated by a long famine; (3) the Taghriba, the emigration toward the Maghreb; and (4) the intense wars after the conquest of North Africa. The main characters are the Black hero Abu Zayd, the fierce Diyab, princess Jaziyya, and the king of Tunis, Zanati Khalifa. Their adventures are narrated by a professional "singer of tales" who, in Egypt, where the oral tradition has been particularly strong (as attested to by nineteenth-century writer E.W. Lane's report), is called sha'ir (poet) par excellence. He is a wandering minstrel who has specialized in the exploits of the Banu Hilal. He is often an outcast of gypsy origin whose craft continues a family tradition, and he sings his verses accompanying himself with a stringed instrument (rababa) or a tambourine. The art of the storyteller, called muhaddit in Egypt and hakawati in Syria, is quite different: he reads the story of 'Antara or of Baybars aloud in the cafés of Cairo or Damascus, from manuscripts. Nonetheless, even in this case, his performance is characterized by a dramatization that aims to captivate the public.

Research on Arabic oral epic poetry (on both its actual performance and its context), on the social position of the storyteller, and on the rhetorical peculiarities of the narrations contained in the handwritten texts (mostly from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) has increased considerably after a long period of stagnation. The scholar of comparative literatures will greatly take advantage of the painstaking analysis of M.C. Lyons's *Arabian Epic,* which offers a synthesis of the content of each sira, a survey of their narrative motifs, and a comparison with similar motifs in other medieval epic traditions.

GIOVANNI CANOVA

See also Chivalry; Epic Poetry; Heroes and Heroism; Musical Instruments; Poets; Popular Literature; Stories and Storytelling; Storytellers

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EPICS, PERSIAN

Medieval Persian literature has a long and rich epic tradition, reaching back for its major sources to the pre-Islamic era and continuing in a weakened form into the Safavid (sixteenth through eighteenth centuries) and even early Qajar (nineteenth century) periods. Persian epics may be divided into three kinds, according to their subject matter: (1) those that deal with pre-Islamic material; (2) those that take historical or contemporary rulers as their protagonists and that become essentially panegyrics in narrative form; and (3) religious epics that focus on significant Islamic figures. The epics about pre-Islamic material are the most significant of the three categories; epics in the other two styles were written in imitation of them.

There are strong indications that an oral epic tradition existed in pre-Islamic Iran and that the medieval epics dealing with pre-Islamic narratives are ultimately based on the stories preserved and elaborated on by this tradition. The *Shahnameh (Book of Kings)* of Ferdowsi (940–ca.1020) overshadows all other works in this category; it was preceded by a now-lost (apart from a few fragments) *Shahnameh* by the tenth-century poet Marvazi and also by the incomplete *Goshtaspnameh* of Daqiqi (d. 978). Ferdowsi incorporated approximately one thousand lines of Daqiqi's poem (those dealing with the advent of the prophet Zoroaster) into his *Shahnameh*.

The *Shahnameh* begins with a Zoroastrian cosmogony and ignores the Qur'anic account of the creation of the world and man. The earliest myths treated

clearly go back to prehistory; they have parallels with Indo-European myths in other traditions, and they must in origin predate the arrival from central Asia of the Iranians in Iran toward the end of the second millennium BCE. Evil at the poem's opening is the work of malevolent supernatural beings called *divs;* it has been plausibly suggested that these represent the conquered indigenous peoples of the Iranian plateau. Much of the poem is taken up with fairly constant warfare between central Asian Turks and Persians with the River Oxus as their border, although other antagonists are also present, including China (whose people are often treated as Turks by Ferdowsi), Rum (Greece, Rome, Byzantium) and, as the poem draws to a close, the Arabs. The poem is structured as a royal chronicle, and the reigns of fifty monarchs (including three queens) are recorded. Two separate cycles of heroic tales—those dealing with the kings of Iran and those dealing with the house of Nariman, which rules in Sistan (southeastern Iran and western Afghanistan, south of the River Helmand)—are interwoven; the most famous hero of the poem, Rostam, belongs to the Sistani cycle. The common Indo-European epic theme of king–champion rivalry generates a number of the legendary tales, and to this is added a recurrent father-son rivalry, which lies at the heart of the poem's best-known narratives. The *Shahnameh* is notable for its frequent foregrounding of ethical preoccupations, and the moral dilemmas of a good man ruled by an evil or incompetent monarch are explored in a number of its narratives. The work's closing section, which opens with the conquest of Alexander the Great and ends with the mid-seventh-century overthrow of the Sasanian dynasty by Arab invaders, is largely a romanticized history of the Sasanian monarchy.

The rhetoric of Ferdowsi's poem was extensively imitated by other poets, and the motaqareb meter that he and Daqiqi used (Marvazi's *Shahnameh* was in the hazaj meter) became standard for epics. The best-known examples of epics about pre-Islamic material after Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh*—and written within a hundred years of his poem—are the *Garshaspnameh* of Asadi (ca.1010–1073) and the *Faramarznameh*, the *Borzunameh,* the *Azarbarzinnameh*, the *Banugoshaspname*h, and the *Shahryarnameh*, all of unknown authorship; these poems are concerned, respectively, with an ancestor, a son, a grandson, another grandson, a daughter, and a great-grandson of Rostam. Another epic, the *Bahmannameh,* treats of the son of a prince (Esfandyar) killed by Rostam and ends shortly after a report of Rostam's death. That all these epics relate somehow to Rostam suggests that this hero and his family were at the center of the Persian pre-Islamic tradition of heroic narratives, although some epics (e.g., the *Kushnameh*, the *Bizhannameh*) about pre-Islamic legendary figures unrelated to Rostam also exist. Throughout the medieval period and beyond, in addition to being imitated, Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh* was subject to considerable expansion—from approximately forty thousand lines in the earliest manuscript to more than sixty thousand—and was clearly never regarded as a canonical, fixed text. These later interpolations to Ferdowsi's poem often add magical or bizarre events to the relatively sober original chronicle; these types of changes are also apparent in epics written after the *Shahnameh,* most notably Asadi's *Garshaspnameh*.

The tradition of writing epics about pre-Islamic legendary material lasted until the end of the thirteenth century (the date of the *Samnameh,* which was concerned with Rostam's grandfather), but it was meanwhile gradually replaced by two derivative traditions: historical and religious epics. Nezami's *Sekandarnameh* (ca. 1200) treats the life and conquests of Alexander, considerably expanding on Ferdowsi's account; the *Zafarnameh* by Hamdallah Mowstafi (d. 1349) continues Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh*, which ended with the coming of Islam to Iran, up to the author's own time. Tabrizi's *Shahanshahnameh* picks up where the *Zafarnameh* leaves off; it was written in praise of Jenghiz Khan and his family. Subsequent historical epics tended to praise living rulers or their ancestors and were in effect a form of panegyric.

The first significant religious epic involving a protagonist from Islamic history is the Shi'i-oriented *Khavarannameh* (1427) of Ebn Hesam, which deals with Ali, the central figure of Shi'ism, and his legendary conquests in eastern Iran and central Asia. The Shi'i triumph in Iran, with the establishment of the Safavid dynasty in 1501, meant that epics on approved Shi'i themes received court encouragement; typical of them is Heirati's *Shahnameh* (1546), which was dedicated to Shah Tahmasp and concerned with the battles fought by the Prophet Mohammad. Heirati calls his poem a "Shahnameh of righteousness"; his use of the name of Ferdowsi's poem makes explicit the replacement of pre-Islamic concerns by the values of Shi'i Islam.

RICHARD DAVIS

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EPICS, TURKISH

The Turkic epic (destan, dessan, dasitan, jir, boy) tradition in its pure epic form (épopée) has not survived in the Oguz Turkish-speaking area. A Turkish epic similar to the Kirgiz *Manas* is yet to be discovered, although scholarship by Mehmet Fuat Köprülü and Pertev Naili Boratav suggests the existence of "pure" Turkish epics that did not survive in either oral tradition or manuscript form. The closest counterpart to this genre would be the *Kitab-ı Dede Korkut,* which includes a prologue and twelve legends (boys), composed predominantly in prose. These legends were passed down through two manuscripts written toward the end of the fifteenth century. It is not easy to come up with definitive conclusions about the historical facts and settings of this text. All of the epic protagonists of these legends demonstrate a mixture of cultural and historical characteristics; elements from shamanism, Islam, and other traditions manifest themselves in a single character. What was important for the epic composer was to turn these characters into die-hard fighters of the Oguz. One cannot speak of single authorship when it comes to a work like this; however, there are strong suggestions that the epic-teller of the book was Dede Korkut, who was the shaman of the Oguz, a Muslim saint, and an epic composer and teller with his musical instrument, the kopuz.

What has been predominant and abundant in the Oguz tradition are those works that derived directly from the pre-Islamic epic form, such as the *Dâstân-ı Tevârîh-i Mülûk-i Âl-i 'Osmân*s (Ottoman chronicles), folk hikâyes (romantic epics told by âşıks (troubadours) with the accompaniment of the musical instrument the saz, which is most likely the replacement of the ancient kopuz), menâkibnâmes (hagiographic legends), and gazavâtnâmes and jihâdnâmes (heroic/religious epics, holy war epics). These works may be classified as transitional genres of the historical development from the ancient epic to the modern novel.

Although the Turkish âşık poetry has gone through tremendous structural and thematic transformations over the centuries, it is still a living part of Turkey's cultural prosperity. Traditionally, there was an indispensable ritual attached to becoming an âşık: a dream was always involved in the birth of a troubadour. A holy man or sometimes a maiden would offer one or three cups of wine to the hero in his dream. İlhan Başgöz mentions that, despite the variety of holy persons in this so-called dream motif, their role was almost always the same: they would (1) act as cup bearers, (2) introduce a beautiful maiden to the âşık, (3) bestow a pseudonym upon the hero to be used in his poetry, and (4) offer their help whenever the hero was in trouble. There were also physical ritualistic effects of the holy wine or love potion upon the hero. After drinking the wine, a flame would consume the body of the hero. He would faint, blood would come out of his mouth, and he would remain in this condition for three to seven days. After that, an old woman would appear to the hero, bringing him the traditional stringed instrument, the saz; the hero would then take the instrument and begin playing it. He would immediately start singing, composing poetry orally, and revealing his newly bestowed poetic name. Başgöz argues that the Turkish dream motif complex containing the above-mentioned characteristics occurs *only* in Turkish romantic epics collected from oral tradition (see Silay 1998). Indeed, such rituals in oral tradition are often seen as acting as a bridge between the pre-Islamic Turkic nomadic cultures and the sedentary Islamic Anatolia. As Başgöz argues, there is little or no doubt that the dream motif complex has strong shamanistic elements (this is one of the religious practices of the Turkic peoples). After accepting the precepts of Islam, which are based on sedentary cultural values, Turkish society began mixing elements from both cultures. In an unconscious and natural manner, numerous pre-Islamic cultural rudiments were carried over to the newly Islamized Anatolia.

After the 1960s, the Turkish romantic epic tradition went through a major transformation and gradually became more urban and highly political. A Marxist–Leninist discourse against the Republican regime became the dominant quality of this once most-celebrated form of literary entertainment in rural Anatolia. Especially during the decade before the 1980 military coup, the Turkish romantic epic poetry became the political weapon of both the Turkish left and the conservative and often ultra-nationalist right. Currently this tradition is going through another fascinating social stage in the overpopulated urban centers of Turkey. It now has a brand new house of performance: the Türkü bars. Usually located next to or near the other bars of these cities, the Türkü bars have become an alternative form of entertainment for the educated population, and the performers are no longer the holy-man–inspired âşıks of Anatolia. Wine, beer, and other alcoholic beverages are served in these places, not in a traditional or religious ceremonial sense but in an effort to compete financially with the more established places of night-life entertainment in the neon-lit cities of modern Turkey.

Kemal Silay

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EPIDEMICS

Medieval Arabic sources use the term *wabā'* (or its variant *waba'*) to designate pestilence, epidemic, and pandemic; the same term is also applied to epizootic disease. From a linguistic standpoint, Ibn Manzūr (d. 1311 or 1312), in his dictionary *Lisān al-'Arab,* equates *wabā'* with *ta'ūn*, a term that appears in medieval chronicles to specifically denote the plague. This confusion is likely the result of the common perception that the plague was the most visible epidemic endured by the populace. The common view among medieval historians is that *ta'ūn* is a *wabā'* but that the occurrence of *wabā'* does not necessarily mean that of *ta'ūn*. In other words, the plague is an epidemic or a pandemic, but epidemics vary and are not limited to the plague.

The Concept of Contagion

The issue of contagion *('adwā)* is problematic. On the one hand, diseases such as the plague, leprosy, smallpox, and measles are classified as contagious in early medieval medical works, notably those of Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariya al-Razi (better known in the West as Rhazes, d. ca. 925) and al-Majūsi (tenth and eleventh centuries). On the other hand, a hadith (saying) of the Prophet Muhammad is often quoted in support of the denial of the concept of contagion. It is found with many variations in several hadith collections, including (but not limited to) the *Muwatta'* of Malik ibn Anas (d. 795), the *Sahih* of Bukhari (d. 870), and the *Sunan* of Ibn Majah (d. 887). This hadith includes, in all its versions, the invariable statement "*lā 'adwa"* (there is no contagion). Here, the denial of contagion is clear. However, of these sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, one version advises to keep the sick away from the healthy, another to run away from the leper "the same way one runs away from a lion," and a third not to worry about mixing healthy camels with scabby ones. The last version is mentioned by Ibn Majah; in the narrative, a Bedouin tries to draw Muhammad's attention to the fact that a scabby camel may infect a whole herd, to which the Prophet responds: "That is all divine providence *(dhālikumu al-qadar)*. Who caused the first camel to be scabby in the first place? *(fa-man ajraba al-awwala?)*." Another version of this hadith substitutes sheep for camels.

These examples demonstrate an awareness of the existence of contagious and infectious diseases and an empirical way of avoiding them by taking the precaution of not mixing the sick with the healthy. However, the clear statement "there is no contagion *(la 'adwa)*," which is common to this cluster of hadith, has resulted in a general theological attitude that adheres to the text of the hadith and in turn denies the existence of contagion. This is in opposition to the medical texts, in which the concept of contagion (i'da' or 'adwa) is well stated. Despite this, the historical accounts of the recurrence of the plague and its high morbidity contain an implied acceptance of the principle of contagion in explaining the elevated number of casualties. This has led to the introduction of a divine element in the process of contagion as a way to resolve the hadith with the empirical observation. Such is the position of Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani (d. 1449), who maintains in his *Badhl al-Ma'ūn fi Fadl al-Ta'ūn (Offering Kindness in [Explaining] the Virtue of the Plague)* that accepting the thesis that disease is contagious by its own nature is an expression of unbelief. However, the same author recounts, with regard to the plague of AH 833/1430 CE, a huge jump in the morbidity rate in Cairo (from forty a day to one thousand a day in less than a month) after a large gathering held outside of the city for the purpose of prayer to end the plague.

The Etiology of Pestilence

Drawing on the Greek medical tradition, medieval Arabic texts adhere to the miasmic theory in their etiology of pestilence; this is reflected both in medical treatises and in historical works. Pestilence results from the quality of the air and from the physical disposition of one's body; it is then the "corruption" of the air that affects the lungs and leads to epidemics. In his analysis of the decline of dynasties, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) states that "in the later years of dynasties, famines and pestilences become numerous." On the surface, this statement may refer to the appearance of these phenomena as bad omens that foretell the fall of a given dynasty, but, for this author, bloodshed increases during the final years of a dynasty because of unrest; he then draws a causal link between the bloodshed and the plague. In his view, the decomposed bodies corrupt the air and cause

epidemics. He further explains that this is the reason why pestilence is more prevalent in urban areas and less so in rural or less-inhabited areas.

The Plague as Divine Punishment and as Martyrdom

Of all epidemics, the plague has attracted the most attention. Obviously, the concrete and devastating consequences of the recurrence of the plague in the medieval Middle East are the main reason. In general, medieval works give a chronological history of these pandemics together with theological reflections drawn from earlier religious and legal works. This genre has developed mostly after the outbreak of the Black Death, the bubonic plague that swept across the Middle East in 1348 and most of the known world between 1347 and 1349. The devastating demographic and economic effects of the Black Death may have contributed to the rise of this genre of religious and historical literature. Among the religious literature, two assertions tend to be pervasive: (1) the plague is a divine punishment, and (2) death from the plague is martyrdom. The injustice of the rulers, the lack of religiosity, and particularly the spread of adultery are often blamed for the outbreak of the plague. According to Ibn Hajar al-ʻAsqalāni, a group of theologians agreed that the plague that hit Egypt in 833/1430 was a divine punishment for the oppressive measures taken by the sultan and his subordinates. Likewise, the closing of taverns and houses of ill repute are among the measures often decided upon during a plague epidemic, a prolonged drought, or hard times in general; these measures tend to emphasize the adherence to the text of Islamic law. However, how can the plague equate martyrdom when it is actually considered a divine punishment? A hadith defines taʻūn (understood to be the plague) as "the stabbing by your enemies the *Jinn*, and in all cases it is martyrdom (or, in some versions, martyrdom for the Muslim)". Another one states that the plague is an act of divine mercy. Islamic tradition clearly states that martyrdom is rewarded with heaven. Therefore, in the case of the plague, God is punishing Muslims by spreading this epidemic and causing martyrdom that will guarantee the victim of the plague a heavenly abode in the afterlife.

The real question, then, is as follows: Is the plague a punishment or a reward? To begin with, this question becomes irrelevant in the case of non-Muslims, because the Islamic concept of martyrdom does not apply to them. Thus, in the case of non-Muslims, the plague is simply a divine punishment. However, for Muslims, this punishment is also a martyrdom that guarantees heaven for the victim of the plague. Medieval Arabic works about the plague strive to resolve this apparent contradiction and offer various explanations.

Modern Scholarship

The historical investigation of epidemics in the medieval Middle East and of their impact is relatively recent and has focused primarily on the plague. To date, the works of the late Michael W. Dols and of Lawrence I. Conrad are viewed as the pioneering efforts in the field. In the case of the medieval Middle East, the historian is faced with the paucity of demographic and economic data and is compelled to rely heavily on chronicles and other general works; this is true even in the cases of the Black Death and later plagues, both bubonic and pneumonic. There are no specific and detailed data about the demographic impact of these pandemics. In the words of David Ayalon, "At the present state of our knowledge attempts at estimates of population sizes in the countries of medieval Islam should be postponed for quite a long time." By the same token, our knowledge of the economic impact of the plague in the medieval Middle East is still fragmentary. Egyptian chronicles belonging to the post–Black Death era show an awareness of the impact of the recurrence of epidemics (particularly of the plague), but the information that one can cull from them is limited. In his doctoral dissertation, Conrad explores the recurrence of the plague in the Middle East from 541 to 749, a period that corresponds with the first occurrence of the Plague of Justinian until the end of the Umayyad dynasty. With regard to the Black Death, the monograph of Dols is the only work devoted to the question. Finally, with respect to the demographic impact of the Black Death, the estimate of a mortality corresponding to one-fourth to one-third of the population is generally accepted in the case of Egypt, but this is not the result of rigorous calculations. It is predicated on the estimates reached in the case of Europe and on the presumed higher degree of urbanization of Egypt. This assumption is in turn built on the narratives of medieval European travelers to the area and particularly to Egypt.

Adel Allouche

See also Black Death; Ibn Bakr; Al-Majusi; Malik Ibn Anas; Ibn Khadun

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ESCHATOLOGY

In accordance with literary apocalypses present in other monotheistic and dualistic faiths (Judaism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and Manichaeism), Muslim apocalyptic narratives are designed to explain the (usually) difficult circumstances of the present and to overcome them by forging a plausible chain of events that entails the establishment of an ideal messianic society and extends to the very day of judgment. Eschatological narratives appear in both Sunni and Shi'i Islam, but they have greater import in Shi'-ism. Like most Muslim religious ideas, eschatology is primarily based on hadith (tradition), which is believed to present sayings and doings of the Prophet Muhammad; a large number of pertinent texts are to be found in the six Sunni canonical hadith collections and in specialized compilations of apocalyptic materials, whereas the Qur'an's eschatology did not have nearly the same impact.

In Sunni Islam, specifically apocalyptic works began to appear from the middle of the eighth century onward and expanded, within a century, into voluminous collections; thus the rich apocalyptic heritage of Syria is known thanks to Nu'aym ibn Hammad al-Marwazi (d. 844). Ibn al-Munadi (d. ca. 947), who probably had pro-'Alid or Shi'i sympathies, collected a substantial number of Iraqi traditions during the following century, and, subsequently, important works such as those of al-Dani (d. 1052) and al-Qurtubi (d. 1272) were produced in Muslim Spain. The apocalyptic heritage was partially accepted into the six canonical collections, whereas, usually, material that

concerned the messianic figure of the Mahdi or that was critical of, for example, the ʿAbbasids (749–1258), was not. More expressly messianic Shiʿi materials are found in books about the ghayba (occultation) of the Twelfth Imam.

Sunni Muslim eschatological scenarios usually begin with a historical base that is taken from one of three optional time frames. The first and earliest relates to the period of the late seventh and early eighth centuries, is based in Syria-Palestine, and envisions the beginning of the end of the world starting from the wars between the Muslims and the Byzantine Empire. The foremost goal of this scenario is the conquest of the Byzantine capital of Constantinople and, in a larger sense, the entire Mediterranean basin. These traditions often begin with an alliance between the Byzantine Christians and the Syrian Muslims against the Iraqi Muslims. This alliance, however, breaks down at the question of spoils and whether the cross or Allah was responsible for the victory. Both groups then return to their homes, and the Byzantines invade the coastal areas of Syria. Eventually the Muslims prevail and conquer Constantinople. However, the entire cycle of historical narratives includes a great many defeats for the Muslims, some of which involve a temporary Byzantine reconquest of the region of Syria–Palestine. After these events have played out, then the more integrally religious events, such as the appearance of the messianic figure and the antichrist (see below), are added to the story line.

The second historical time frame of Sunni apocalyptic literature relates to the events of the middle of the eighth century, when the ʿAbbasid revolution began in the region of Khurasan (eastern Iran and western Afghanistan). This scenario portrays the appearance of the messianic figure, the Mahdi (see below), during a time of oppressive rule, when he will rise up in revolt and come from this distant land to the center of the Muslim world in Iraq and liberate the Muslims, thereby ushering in the messianic age. The third time frame is more divorced from history and uses the so-called "signs of the Hour" as a prelude. These signs, which can also be attached to the other two base scenarios, are those events that will warn Muslims and non-Muslims of the gravity of the times. The signs include political events such as those described above, moral and social decay, religious corruption, natural disasters (earthquakes, droughts, plagues), and cosmic phenomena (comets, meteorites, eclipses of the sun and the moon). Any number of these events, when known to occur in close proximity to one another, can trigger apocalyptic anticipation, panic, or speculation, and it is most probable that the Muslim apocalyptic books produced throughout this period were either in response to or because of these signs.

After either the historical setting is given or the "signs of the Hour" are listed, then both Sunni and Shiʿi apocalyptic scenarios describe the rise of the Sufyani, a figure who is a descendent of Muʿawiya ibn Abi Sufyan (r. 661–680). In general, he represents the messianic aspirations of the Syrian Muslims, but he is considered to be a negative figure by Sunnis outside of Syria and a malevolently evil one by Shiʿis. He is usually said to rise to power after appearing in the region of the Balqa' south of Damascus, after which he will conquer most of the Muslim world. Many of the accounts describing his reign give detailed descriptions of his cruelty toward the people of Iraq and especially toward the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. In both Sunni and Shiʿi accounts of the Sufyani, he is eventually defeated by the Mahdi, who is the universal messianic figure. The Sufyani is a purely Muslim figure who later appears in eastern Christian apocalypses.

The Mahdi in Sunni Islam is a warlike figure who will conquer non-Muslim regions of the world and eventually establish an ideal peaceable state that will fill the world with justice and righteousness. As stated previously, he will appear in either the Hijaz (Medina or Mecca) or Khurasan. Irrespective of his origin, he proceeds to gather an army, march toward the center of the Muslim world (Syria and Iraq), defeat the Sufyani, and establish his messianic kingdom in Jerusalem. Although the conquest of the Byzantine Empire in some scenarios is accomplished during the historical prelude to the messianic future, in others the Mahdi himself is the conqueror. He is usually said to conquer the entire Mediterranean basin and the difficult-to-conquer regions of Afghanistan and Central Asia.

There are differing opinions as to whether the Mahdi will forcibly convert non-Muslims to Islam. Although, according to some texts, he uses force to convert non-Muslims, according to others he governs each non-Muslim community (e.g., Jews, Christians) according to its own holy book and does not compel its members to accept Islam. The dominant feature of the Mahdi's rule is that it is characterized by absolute justice, peace, and plenty, with the evil characteristics of the world during the time of tribulation having passed completely away. However, his rule only lasts for a very short period of time, usually said to be up to nine years.

In contradistinction to the Sunni Mahdi, the Shiʿi Mahdi (also known as the Qa'im) is more of an absolutely powerful and dominating figure. Shiʿi scenarios usually portray the Mahdi appearing in Medina or Mecca, where he gathers an army of 313 men (the number who fought at the Battle of Badr in 624) to him. These followers, together with the Mahdi, are

more interested in vengeance than are their analogous figures in Sunni scenarios, and most of their conquests are directed against the Sunnis. However, eventually the Shi‘i Mahdi will establish a messianic kingdom in which he will rule throughout the period of his elongated lifetime (usually more than three hundred years). In some accounts, he establishes a dynasty of the Prophet Muhammad's family to rule this kingdom. Other elements of the Shi‘i messianic age are similar to those of the Sunnis.

In many scenarios, the Dajjal—the Muslim antichrist—appears before the time of the Mahdi, whereas in others he follows the Mahdi. In certain scenarios (especially Shi‘i ones), there are a series of messianic figures or even dynasties of Mahdis (or other lesser messianic figures) that are punctuated by the appearance of the Dajjal. The latter is said to be Jewish, and he has a defect in one of his eyes (usually the left one) and the word kafir (infidel) written on his forehead. He will appear in the area of Persia or Iraq, and many accounts specify the city of Isfahan. After his appearance, the Dajjal will travel through the entire world with the objective of tempting every single person—whether Muslim or non-Muslim—to deny Allah and worship the Dajjal himself. Although there are a few groups that will be capable of resisting his temptation, most accounts emphasize that he will be successful in seducing large numbers of people. However, he will be unable to enter the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, where true Muslims will take refuge from him. Another place of refuge will be Jerusalem, where a substantial number of Muslims will be besieged by the Dajjal and his followers. Just when the city is about to fall, Jesus will return from heaven (where he was raised, according to Qur'an 3:55) to kill the Dajjal and disperse his followers. It is very probable that substantial parts of the Dajjal story were influenced by eastern Christian apocalyptic beliefs.

In some traditions, as previously noted, this act then opens the messianic age or allows it to continue. Jesus then prays behind the Mahdi, ensuring that his presence on earth does not come into conflict with the doctrine of khatam al-nubuwwa (the finality of Muhammad's prophethood). Many accounts then describe Jesus' actions with regard to the Christians: breaking the crosses, killing swine, and facilitating their conversion to Islam. After this period, Jesus will live out his life as an ordinary Muslim and be buried in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, together with Muhammad, Abu Bakr, and ‘Umar.

Usually the appearance of the nomadic tribes of Gog and Magog (Ezekiel 38–9, Revelation 20:7–10) follows the death of Jesus. Gog and Magog will appear suddenly after the barrier Dhu 'l-Qarnayn built to restrain them (Qur'an 21:96) is allowed to collapse. These tribes will overcome the entire world and destroy it. They will originate in either the north or to the east of the region of Central Asia and make straight for Jerusalem, which they will not be able to take. God will cause them to die by means of a worm that will invade their bodies. A large part of the Gog and Magog stories owe their provenance to the *Alexander Romance,* which was popular throughout the Middle East. In general, Muslim apocalyptic literature and scenarios do not include a picture of the actual end of the world nor do they bridge between the cataclysmic events of the last days and the resurrection of the dead and the Last Judgment.

After these early apocalyptic scenarios, the genre of the apocalypse continued to be significant for both Sunni and Shi‘i Muslims. New works on the subject were written in the wake of the Crusader and Mongol invasions, most notably by Ibn Kathir (d. 1378); his collection is often seen as the most authoritative one by contemporary Sunnis. It is not always easy to find unity in Muslim apocalyptic or eschatological material, because there are few literary apocalypses that could serve to standardize the tradition as a whole, and there are numerous internal contradictions. However, Muslim scholars, especially those working on hadith criticism and commentary (e.g., al-Nawawi [d. 1277], Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalani [d. ca. 1438]), established a more-or-less accepted timetable.

David Cook

See also ‘Abbasids; Byzantine Empire; Hadith; Jesus; Messianism; Muhammad, the Prophet; Muslim–Byzantine Relations; Shi‘ism

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ESPIONAGE

The earliest accounts of spies, known as ‘uyun (eyes), refer to individuals in the pre-Islamic period who collected intelligence that could be used by the tribes in their continual skirmishes. During the early Islamic

period, the eyes spied on enemies of the state both within and outside of its borders. Under the Rashidun, a system of night watchers (ʻasas) was introduced; this consisted of a network of guards who were responsible for ensuring security after dark. Later, the watchers were used to observe the whereabouts, activities, and opinions of individuals, developing into a web of secret agents that was associated with the office of "Postmaster," which was responsible for supervising the mail and intelligence services during the Umayyad Caliphate.

Muʻawiyya ibn Abi Sufyan was the first to use intelligence for political goals during his war against Ali ibn Abi Talib. This practice contributed greatly to his eventual victory. After assuming the Caliphate, Muʻawiyya focused his attention on his two archenemies, the Shiʻis and the Kharijites.

Spying was used by the Umayyads for a variety of purposes, with each caliph having his own network of spies to gather information about opponents and supporters alike. Others also used spies; for example, the well-known governor Ziyad ibn Abi Sufyan was the first to inflict punishments on the basis of suspicion or intelligence reports. His son ʻUbayd Allah and al-Hajjaj ibn Yusif developed a network of agents to deal with political unrest in Iraq and the eastern provinces of the caliphate. Later, Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan developed the postal system to provide him with regular news, which helped him to outmaneuver his rivals.

The later Umayyads, however, failed to detect the clandestine activities of the ʻAbbasid movement, the members of which managed to build an extensive intelligence network that helped them to topple the Umayyads. Suspicious by nature, al-Mansur, the second ʻAbbasid caliph, developed the existing eyes into a disciplined corps of spies who reported directly to him. This is attested to by the appearance in Arabic of the term *Sahib al-Khabar* to refer to the caliph's secret agents, whose main tasks were to gather information, protect the caliph and his authority, and defame or liquidate opponents.

During his long struggle (749–762 AD) with al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, al-Mansur developed innovative techniques, such as sending letters in his rival's name to opponents in Khurasan and Hijaz, using spies for a single mission only, and recruiting merchants and women to gather information. He also monitored charity groups in Iraq and spread rumors in Hijaz about planned revolts; this forced al-Nafs al-Zakiyya to rebel prematurely.

The ʻAbbasids chose spies for specific missions, selecting only those whose allegiance was unquestioned. Slaves were sometimes used for delicate missions: by al-Mansur, for example, when he had Abi Muslim killed, and by Harun al-Rashid in his dealings with the Baramkids. The ʻAbbasids also used women to compromise high-ranking statesmen, eyes to monitor merchants and strangers in markets, travelers to investigate distant provinces, and beggars to monitor the leaders of religious sects.

Opposition movements, such as the Shiʻis and the Ibadis, developed elaborate strategies to deceive the authorities and their spies, most notably by adopting the religious principle of taqiyya (concealing their true religious and political inclinations). They met secretly and dispatched more than one messenger on every mission to guarantee delivery of the message; they also used codes in case messages were intercepted. Their success can be seen in the establishment of states in areas that were remote from the center of caliphal power, such as those of the Idrisids in Morocco, the Fatimids in Egypt, and the Ibadi imams in Oman.

During the later ʻAbbasid era, almost everyone fell under suspicion, and spying was frequently used for political purposes, with allegations of treason or atheism used as the pretext to liquidate opponents. As a result, the secret service sharply deteriorated in quality, while plots and conspiracies flourished. The practice of espionage itself became dangerous as a result of the emergence of rival authorities to the ʻAbbasid state in Baghdad. If caught, spies faced torture or death. Some became turncoats or double agents.

Many opposition movements emerged, the most important of which was the hashashin (assassins), who relied on a widespread network of spies to assassinate statesmen and other powerful figures. After the fall of Baghdad to the Mongols in 1256 AD, the institutions of the ʻAbbasid state collapsed. The Mamluks, who eventually took power in parts of the former ʻAbbasid state, had to rebuild the intelligence services from scratch, and they eventually came to rely on these services to consolidate their power.

Hasan M. al-Naboodah

See also Police; Post (Barid)

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ETHICS

Ethics can be an elusive subject, because the term in English refers to both (1) the variety of moral principles that help define cultures and individual behavior and (2) systematic inquiry into the universal nature and necessity of morality. In the medieval Islamic tradition, the first of these connotations was discussed primarily as adab (proper conduct and manners; also, belles-lettres) and the second as akhlaq (sing. khulq; the innate disposition from which human acts emanate). Although differences between adab and akhlaq were often obscured in practice—because both aimed to cultivate virtue in human beings—this article focuses on akhlaq, or ethics as a discipline.

The akhlaq literature of medieval Islam can be characterized as a synthesis of the scriptural sources of Islam (Qur'an and hadith) with elements from different cultures (particularly pre-Islamic Arabian, Greek, Christian, and Iranian) that came under Muslim rule. A form of eudaemonism, which is prominent in Greek philosophy, provided the framework for this synthesis.

The scripture of Islam, however, is not eudaemonistic. The Qur'an is concerned with moral action and religious duty rather than moral theory or individual happiness. It assumes that the goodness and badness of acts are evident to anyone who simply reflects on the circumstances of the act. The Qur'an considers morality to be binding and thus, rather than justifying moral behavior, exhorts it. Nonetheless, the Qur'anic promise of divine reward and punishment presumes a relationship between individuals' behavior and their well-being.

The appropriation of eudaemonistic philosophy in Muslim ethics was not so much a rejection of the Qur'anic worldview as it was an attempt to resolve apparent moral ambiguities embedded in the monotheism of the Qur'an. According to the Qur'an, God is the sole omnipotent, omniscient Creator. As such, God predestines everything in creation, including human action (57:2–3 and 76:30). The Qur'an, however, also obligates human beings to be righteous and warns that they will be held accountable for their actions on Judgment Day (18:28–29 and 20:84). The Mu'tazilites, who are regarded as the first systematic theologians of Islam, sought to resolve this problem by arguing that it would be unjust for God to punish humans for acts for which they were not responsible. They developed a deontological ethics in which they maintained human free will and argued that the goodness or badness of acts was innately known by humans to be praiseworthy or blameworthy because of their ontological status as such. This knowledge and ability obligated humans to do good and held them morally accountable to God. Although Mu'tazilism influenced Zaydi, Imami Shi'i, and early Hanafi theology (kalām), it was deemed heretical by Ash'aris, Ma'turidis, and Traditionalists (ahl al-hadith) for limiting God's will and power on the basis of human conceptions of what is just. Ash'aris, whose theoretical defense of Traditionalism eventually dominated Sunni kalām, argued for divine volunteerism, defining goodness and badness solely in terms of divine commands and prohibitions.

Because inquiry into what is commanded and prohibited by God fell under the purview of Muslim jurists, Ash'arism helped remove ethical inquiry in Islamic intellectual history from the realm of theology, which was concerned with theories of goodness, into the realm of fiqh (law and jurisprudence), which was concerned with defining right action on the basis of divine law (sharī'a). This move is evidenced in discussions of the Qur'anic duty of commanding good and forbidding evil (3:104). Although this injunction was a major theological concern for Mu'tazilites, Ash'aris and Traditionalists did not discuss it much outside of their jurisprudential works.

The literature about akhlaq, however, was not concerned with morality solely as obedience to divine law. The ethical works of such thinkers as al-Farabi (d. 950 CE), Ibn Sina (d. 1037), and Miskawayh (d. 1030)—whose monumental *Tahdhib al-Akhlaq (Refinement of Character)* heavily influenced the field as evidenced in the works of such Persian authors as Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (d. 1274) and Jalal al-Din al-Dawwani (d. 1501)—aimed to justify the sources and the need for moral principles. Their ethical theories sought to synthesize social customs, revelation, and philosophy by arguing that, when properly understood and practiced, they all worked to fulfill the purpose of human existence and effect real happiness.

Despite the differences in the works of individual moral thinkers, several Neoplatonic (see Plato and [Neo-]Platonism) themes shaped the contours of their discourse. In their anthropology, humans were a composite of base matter and a spiritual soul and as such represented a microcosm of the material and spiritual dimensions of existence; it was claimed that this was the reason for the Qur'an's declaration of humans as viceregents of God on Earth (2:30).

In their psychology, they followed the threefold Platonic division of the soul into a rational, irascible, and concupiscent soul or faculty, which corresponded

with the Qur'anic quiescent (mutma'innah), blaming (lawwāmah), and commanding (ammārah) souls, respectively (89:27, 75:2, 12:53). After Aristotle, the telos of humanity was defined by its distinctive ability to reason, and as such the ultimate superiority of the rational soul was asserted. Practical philosophy or ethics aimed to cultivate virtues in humanity that would bring the demands of their bodies and different souls into balance with one another under the rule of the rational soul. To achieve this state was to realize one's divine purpose, eternal bliss, and union with the divine.

With regard to social customs, it was argued that, as inherently social beings, humans could not realize their lofty end alone. Division of labor, contracts, and cultural conventions all helped create the social cohesion necessary for individuals to fulfill their potential and attain happiness. Political rulers were needed to create and maintain a social order aimed at maximizing the potential of individuals in accord with their aptitude; this was also seen as the aim of religious practice. Religion specified moral principles and duties for the vast majority of humans who did not have the acumen to reason for themselves the means by which they could cultivate virtues and attain their divinely ordained purpose.

Although philosophy, as an end in itself, was not central to Islamic education (because of the mystical implications of such concepts as ascending to the divine through self-refinement), many philosophical ethical theories were appropriated by mystics such as al-Ghazali (d. 1111) and popularized through Sufi teachings.

Kambiz GhaneaBassiri

See also Adab; Theology; Laws and Jurisprudence; Commanding Good and Forbidding Evil; Al-Farabi; Ibn Sina; Aristotle; Plato and (Neo-)Platonism; Nasir al-Din al-Tusi; al-Ghazali

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EUNUCHS

Eunuchs were emasculated guardians of political, sacred, and sexual boundaries in the medieval Islamic world. The term *khasi* (eunuch) refers to a man who went through the ablation of testicles, whereas a man deprived of all sexual organs is called a *majbub;* use of the latter term is less frequent in the narrative sources. From the tenth century CE on, the term *khadim* (servant) becomes the term that is most commonly used to refer to eunuchs.

Eunuchs were the (obviously) male servants in the women's quarters in the dwellings of the upper classes and in the royal palaces. In the context of Islamic sexual morality, other than one's husband, only certain adult males are allowed to see a woman unveiled, such as her father and brothers. These males are referred to as *mahrams,* or the forbidden ones, because they are, by virtue of their kinship, forbidden sexually. Eunuchs thus enter the world of the women in the same category as mahrams, not because of a kinship relationship but by virtue of their emasculation. It must be added, however, that few eunuchs had direct contact with their master's wives or concubines; there were female servants who acted as intermediaries between the two parties. Depending on one's wealth, the number of servants and eunuchs could well multiply.

The use of eunuchs at private homes is well attested to in medieval narrative sources. These sources suggest that the role of the eunuchs was not limited to serving the women of the house. The medieval scholar al-Subki describes the duties of the eunuch supervisor employed in the interior part of a dwelling as follows: "He is the one who is concerned with women. It is his duty and his right to cast his eyes upon their affairs and to advise the master of the house [concerning them]. He must inform him [the master] of any suspicion which he himself is unable to clear, and he must prevent agents of debauchery such as old women and others from gaining access to the women [of the household]." A fourteenth-century author places the eunuch in the vestibule of the dwelling and not in the residential quarter, where one would expect to find the women of the household. It seems that the entire home, rather than simply the residential

quarters where women live, was considered a sacred, forbidden space, with the vestibule forming its boundary. Even one's closest friend would be expected to ask for permission to enter the inner part of the dwelling (Marmon 1995, 6–7); the vestibule in which the eunuch is located would be the place where this permission would be issued or denied.

When one moves up to the ultimate dwelling—that of the sultan—it is found that the eunuchs were the guardians of spaces that were political as well as sacred. Eunuchs have been employed at the courts of Muslim rulers since the Umayyad era. During the ʿAbbasid age, the institution of elite slavery (mamluk) was developed, which creates new functions for eunuchs throughout the remainder of medieval Islamic history. The mamluks, who were enslaved at a relatively young age, had to be educated and introduced to the ways of imperial rule; this important political function came to be played by the eunuchs. There were eunuchs who served both the women and the mamluks, thereby establishing connections between the royal women and the administrators and generals of the future.

During the long reign of the Ottomans, there developed a differentiation within the body of the eunuchs employed at the court that seems to have followed the lines drawn by skin color. That the Ottoman court included eunuchs from the fourteenth century on is well attested to by documents referring to *tawashis* (a Turko-Arabic term denoting a servant) during the early fourteenth century. During the fifteenth century, reference is made to Ottoman eunuchs who were appointed to commanding positions outside of the court, such as a vizierate. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there are several Ottoman grand viziers and governors of Egypt who had been eunuchs at the palace. Available evidence suggests that these eunuchs and others who had administrative functions at the court were "white," whereas the eunuchs who served the women of the residential quarters were "black." What complicates this neat picture, which is suggestive of a division of labor between the two contingents of eunuchs at the Ottoman palace, is that the chief of all eunuchs was an African one from the late sixteenth century on.

BAKI TEZCAN

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EUROPEAN LITERATURE, PERCEPTION OF ISLAM

Faced with the expansion of Islam, the crises of power over Jerusalem, the proximity of a thriving Islamic civilization in parts of Spain and Italy, and the uneasy transmission of knowledge (especially in the realm of science), medieval Christians imagined and recorded Muslim identity in diverse ways. Those who traveled to Muslim lands also provided accounts of their experiences. In the world of non-fiction, Christian Europeans produced propaganda, travel accounts, chronicles, and theological treatises in which they addressed Islam, often from an adversarial stance that aimed at disqualifying Islam's claims to the status of a revealed religion. Christian theologians in particular generated much debate about Islam, challenging it in terms of doctrine in a variety of tones ranging from pacifist invitations to conversion to obvious belligerence.

Fiction, which is the subject to be addressed in this entry, also portrayed Islam and the Muslim, often referring to the religion and its practitioners in terms that in contemporary English would translate as "Mohammedan," "Saracen," "Moor," or "pagan." When Islam and the Muslim were portrayed in medieval European fiction, the representation was not only informed by the contextual concerns outlined above but also by each author's own creativity and engagement with literary tradition.

On the most visible level, throughout the European Middle Ages, the Saracen or Mohammedan fulfilled a basically propagandistic role in both fiction and non-fiction, driven by the spirit of the Crusades. This is particularly true of epic poetry; for example, the French *La Chanson de Roland* (ca. 1100 CE), the English romances of Troy and Alexander (14 CE), and the Italian *Orlando Furioso* (1532 CE) contain references to the Saracen as the enemy, highlighting the courage and faith of the Christian warrior through the deserved defeat or ill-gained success of the Muslims. The long Arthurian tradition highlights the Christian knight's perfection against a vast range of foils, among them the Muslim. *Gerusalemme Liberata (Jerusalem Liberated)* by Torquato Tasso (1544–1595 CE) portrays Muslims as sorcerers and pagans, celebrating the liberation of Jerusalem during the first Crusade circa 1099 CE. The crusading spirit thus permeates much of the literature that features knights and kings.

In his monumental poem the *Inferno*, the Italian poet Dante Alighieri (1265–1321 CE) does not devote much space to Muslims; however, his depictions do merit attention because of his tremendous impact on Western literature. He places Mohammad and Ali in

the ninth valley, alongside a number of Christian heretics and sinners, which suggests that he sees the Prophet and his nephew as apostates; indeed, scholars have argued that this shows Dante's and the general medieval European public's notion that Islam was not a religion in and of itself but rather a horrific schism in Christianity and therefore a heresy. Interestingly, Dante places Saladin, Averroes (Ibn Rushd), and Avicenna (Ibn Sina) in limbo, possibly because of the general (although ambivalent) respect with which these men were held by erudite medieval Europeans. Scholarship is divided regarding whether Dante's depiction of Muslims is a calculated propagandistic move or if he is too unaware of the facts about the religion to go beyond a generally vague condemnation of it (the latter is more in line with the common wariness of Islam in Medieval Europe). Saints' lives provided a vehicle for a suspicious portrayal of Islam as well; the basic conviction that Islam is a heresy to be mistrusted is reflected in *The Canterbury Tales* by Geoffrey Chaucer (d. 1400 CE), specifically in the "Man of Law's Tale," in which the King of Syria converts to Christianity to be able to marry a Christian princess. This man's mother, who is depicted as unequivocally evil, thwarts his plans because she is against the conversion. Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1353 CE) also contains a few stories about Saracens, often against the backdrop of the Crusades. The French Alexandre du Pont's *Roman de Mahomet* (1258 CE) discusses the life of Mohammad as prophet with apocalyptic and crusading zeal.

The case of Christian Spain is quite different from the rest of Europe. Despite the anti-Muslim spirit of Reconquest, portrayals of Muslims in Spanish literature suggest a more textured and subtle poetics of representation than, say, French *chansons de geste.* Thus, for example, in the epic of El Cid (c. 1100 CE), the Christian hero counts the Muslim Abengalbón among his closest friends; the playful *Libro de Buen Amor*, written around 1330 CE by a Christian archpriest and filled with references to Christian ritual, displays profound sensitivity to its own Islamo-Hispanic context and demonstrates coexistence with Spanish Muslims to have permeated life to the extent that the boundary between enemy and friend is no longer as clear as a zealous theologian would have it be. This complexity is to be expected given that Muslims were not distant and unfamiliar to Iberian Christians but rather were counted for centuries as their own countrymen—albeit uneasily so—because of the Islamic settlements in Spain.

Some caution must be exercised against the temptation to consider all medieval European literature as simply anti-Muslim, with no room left for tolerance. The enduring works of a Dante or a Chaucer, as well as the vibrant traditions of epic poetry and the prose narratives of Boccaccio, are too poetically intricate to allow for the prevalence of obvious moral judgment over all other types of interpretation. Thus, even if the depiction of Muslims displays the largely antagonistic spirit of the times, one could still justify the search for ambiguity and paradox in some of the representations, largely because of the sophisticated narrative strategies employed by the prominent authors of the European Middle Ages.

LEYLA ROUHI

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EXCELLENCES LITERATURE

During roughly the last quarter of the AH first/seventh CE century, reports are said to have been circulated that extolled the merits (fada'il or manaqib) of, for example, reciting the Qur'an; of the Companions of the Prophets; of holy cities such as Jerusalem, Mecca, and Medina; and of the performance of particular religious duties such as the hajj and jihad. These fada'il reports were initially a part of the burgeoning hadith corpus, and the fada'il al-Qur'an traditions appear to be the oldest strand in this literature. Discrete treatises about the excellences of the Qur'an, cities, regions, and people began to make their appearance during the eighth century CE. The composition of fada'il works about countries

is understood to have preceded that of fada'il compositions about people. An early example of the latter kind is *Fada'il al-Ansar (The Merits of the Helpers [of Madina])* by Wahb ibn Wahb (d. 200/815).

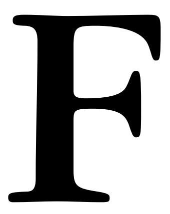
The obvious anachronisms contained in the texts of a number of these reports and their vaunting nature make clear that a significant number of the manaqib/fada'il traditions came into existence well after the death of the Prophet and, as a consequence, encode the doctrinal sympathies of their propagators and the political climate of their times. It is possible, therefore, to suggest with judicial circumspection tentative links between the texts of various manaqib traditions and the sociopolitical milieu that may have instigated their circulation. It should be pointed out that medieval Muslim scholars were fully aware of the tendentious nature of many of the manaqib/fada'il reports. The hadith scholar Ibn al-Jawzi (d. 597/1200), for example, lists many manaqib traditions in his *Kitab al-Mawdu^cat (The Book of Spurious Reports)*, which he dismisses as blatant fabrications. Other kinds of adiths, which were traditions that greatly exaggerated the merits of particular cities, such as Jerusalem, of certain Qur'anic chapters, and of the early caliphs, were regarded with suspicion and often rejected. The qussas (sing. qass; preacher; literally, "storyteller") played a significant role in the dissemination of a significant number of these praise traditions.

The manaqib/fada'il literature is a rich source of sociohistorical information about the Muslim polity that may be regarded as charting the checkered terrain of the growing political and communal consciousness of the early Muslims. As such, they remain a valuable source for reconstructing the formative period of Islam.

Asma Afsaruddin

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FARABI, AL- (ALFARABIUS OR AVENNASAR)

Despite uncertainty about Alfarabi's place of birth and the early years of his life, there is general agreement that he was born in approximately 870 CE, beyond the Oxus River—either in Farab, Kazakhstan, or Faryb, Turkestan. In the course of his life, AbuNasr Muchamad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Tarkh n Ibn Awzalagh al-Farabi resided in Bukhara, Marv, Haran, Baghdad, Constantinople, Aleppo, Cairo, and Damascus, where he died in 950. He studied Islamic jurisprudence and music in Bukhara then moved to Marv, where he began to study logic with a Nestorian Christian monk, Yuhanna Ibn Hayln. While in his early 20s, Alfarabi went to Baghdad and continued to study logic and philosophy with Hayln.

At the same time, he improved his grasp of Arabic by studying with the prominent philologist Ibn al-Sarraj, and followed the courses of the famous Nestorian Christian translator and student of Aristotle Matta Ibn Yunus.

Around the year 905 or 910, Alfarabi left Baghdad for Constantinople, where he remained for approximately eight years studying Greek sciences and philosophy. On his return to Baghdad, he busied himself with teaching and writing. In about 942, political upheavals forced him to seek refuge in Damascus. Political turmoil in Damascus drove him to Egypt two or three years later, where he stayed until returning to Damascus in 948 or 949, a little over a year before his death.

Generally known as "the second teacher," that is, second after Aristotle, Alfarabi must be accounted the most important philosopher within the Arabic–Islamic tradition. His writings, charming yet deceptively subtle, use simple language and straightforward sentences. Most often, he expounds what resembles a narrative, a story about natural and conventional things that is simply unobjectionable. As the exposition unfolds, the reader discovers that Alfarabi has accounted for the natural order, political leadership, prophecy, moral virtue, civic order, the order of the sciences, and even the philosophic pursuits of Plato or Aristotle—in short, all the major subjects of interest to humans—in an unprecedented and seemingly unobjectionable manner. Often, it sets forth the reasons that human beings live in civic association, how it can best be ordered to meet the highest human needs, the way most actual regimes differ from this best order, and why philosophy and religion deem this order best.

These writings, extraordinary in their breadth and deep learning, extend through all the sciences and embrace every part of philosophy. Alfarabi's interest in mathematics is evidenced in commentaries on the *Elements* of Euclid and *Almagest* of Ptolemy, as well as in several writings on the history and theory of music. Indeed, his *Large Book on Music* may well be the most significant work in Arabic on that subject. He also wrote numerous commentaries on Aristotle's logical writings, was knowledgeable about the Stagirite's physical writings, and is credited with an extensive commentary in *Nicomachean Ethics,* which has not survived. In addition to accounts of Plato's and Aristotle's philosophy, he composed a commentary

on Plato's *Laws*. Alfarabi's distinction as the founder of Arabic–Islamic political philosophy is due to his being the first philosopher within Islam to explore the challenge to traditional philosophy presented by revealed religion, especially in its claims that the Creator provides for human well-being by means of an inspired prophet legislator. Those who now contest that distinction turn a blind eye to the way he sets forth two accounts of the old political science in the last chapter of a popular writing, *Enumeration of the Sciences*. Both presuppose the validity of the traditional separation between practical and theoretical science, but neither is adequate for the radically new situation created by the appearance of revealed religion. The two accounts explain in detail the actions and ways of life needed for sound political rule to flourish but are silent about opinions—especially the kind of theoretical opinions set forth in religion—and thus are unable to point to the kind of rulership needed now that religion holds sway. Nor can either speak about the opinions or actions addressed by the jurisprudence and theology of revealed religion. These tasks require a political science that combines theoretical and practical science, along with prudence, and shows how they are to be ordered in the soul of the ruler.

In other writings—most notably in his *Book of Religion* and *Aphorisms of the Statesman*—Alfarabi outlines this broader political science. It speaks of religious beliefs as opinions and of acts of worship as actions, noting that both are prescribed for a community by a supreme ruler or prophet. The new political science views religion as centered in a political community whose supreme ruler is distinct in no way from the founder of a religion. Indeed, the goals and prescriptions of the supreme ruler are identical to those of the prophet lawgiver. Everything said or done by this supreme ruler finds constant justification in philosophy, and religion thus appears to depend on philosophy—theoretical and practical. Similarly, by presenting the art of jurisprudence as a means to identify particular details the supreme ruler did not regulate before his death, Alfarabi makes it depend on practical philosophy and thus be part of this broader political science. In sum, his new political science offers a comprehensive view of the universe and indicates what kind of practical acumen permits the one who possesses this understanding, either the supreme ruler or a successor endowed with all of his qualities, to rule wisely. Able to explain the various ranks of all the beings, this political science also stresses the importance of religion for uniting the citizens and for helping them attain the virtues that prolong decent political life. Then, in *Political Regime* and *Principles of the Opinions of the Inhabitants of the Virtuous City*, he illustrates how this new political science might work. A general overview of this whole undertaking is provided in *Attainment of Happiness*—the first part of his famous trilogy *Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle*—where he declares that "the idea of the philosopher, supreme ruler, prince, legislator, and imam is but a single idea."

CHARLES E. BUTTERWORTH

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FATIMA (AL-ZAHRA') BINT MUHAMMAD (CA. 12 BEFORE HIJRA–11/CA. 610–632)

Fatima was the youngest daughter of the Prophet Muhammad and Khad'ja. She was born in Mecca, probably soon after the beginning of the Prophet's mission in 609–610; according to some sources, a few years earlier. Little is known of her childhood. In the first or second year after the Hijra to Medina in 622, after refusing the suit of Abu Bakr and 'Umar, Muhammad gave her in marriage to his cousin 'Ali ibn Abi Talib; 'Ali was to become the fourth Rightly Guided Sunni Caliph and, according to the Shi'i, Muhammad's divinely appointed successor. Most of the historical reports on Fatima's life are about the details of her marriage. 'Ali did not take another wife in Fatima's lifetime. They had four children, all of whom had important roles in the political and religious life of the first Islamic century: Hasan, the first Shi'i imam; Husayn, the second Shi'i imam and the martyr of Karbala; and Zaynab and Umm Kulthum, who both intrepidly confronted Umayyad authority.

When Muhammad died, Fatima maintained with 'Ali his superior right as the Prophet's successor. She

disputed the caliphate of Abu Bakr and had several fierce altercations with him and his supporter and successor-to-be, 'Umar. Alarmed by her forceful opposition, 'Umar threatened to burn her house down, along with its inhabitants, if her husband did not acknowledge Abu Bakr as caliph; under threat of execution, 'Ali eventually capitulated—according to some reports, only after Fatima died. Fatima also argued with Abu Bakr for her own right to inherit the lands of Fadak; Abu Bakr had denied her Fadak, declaring that he had heard Muhammad say prophets have no heirs. On one occasion of dispute, Fatima is reported to have delivered an eloquent oration (text in *Balaghat al-nisa'*, 54–69) to the assembly of Companions gathered around Abu Bakr. She died at the young age of 23, just two and a half months (six, according to some sources) after Muhammad's death in AH 11/632 CE, and was buried in the Baqi' cemetery in Medina.

The sources attribute several verses of poetry to her in grief-filled elegy of her father, which have been collected in modern times in a slim *Diwan*. Some hadith are also related on her authority, many of which were collected by the historian al-Suyuti in a book titled *Musnad Fatima al-Zahra'*.

Muhammad's line continued solely through Fatima and her children. In particular, the Hasanid and Husaynid lines were religiously and politically important. Shi'i imams of all denominations trace their lineage to the Prophet through Fatima, mostly through her son Husayn, and several ruling dynasties have claimed special status because of ancestry from her. Among them is the Fatimid dynasty of Isma'li caliph-imams who ruled North Africa and Egypt from the ninth through the twelfth centuries; their genealogy was a key factor in legitimizing their claim to the caliphate and the imamate.

Although Sunnis honor Fatima as the beloved daughter of the Prophet and the ideal of gentle Muslim womanhood, the Shi'is venerate her further as one of the "Five Pure Ones" (*Panj-tan Pak* in Persian and Urdu; *al-Khamsat al-Athar* in Arabic), namely, Muhammad, 'Ali, Fatima, Hasan, and Husayn. The Shi'is consider her one of the *ahl al-bayt* (people of the Prophet's house) from whom God "removed all impurity" (Q 33:33). They believe that Fatima, although not an Imam, possessed the infallibility *('isma)* and the power of intercession *(shafa'a)* of the Imams. They attribute several miracles to her, such as the miracle of her divinely luminous veil, which caused an entire Jewish clan to convert to Islam.

Fatima is known by several titles, the best known of which is "al-Zahra'" (the luminous one); the Fatimids named their famed Al-Azhar University after her. She is also known as "Batul" (the virgin), referring to purity and piety rather than celibacy. Enigmatically, she is also called "Umm abiha" (the mother of her father), a title interpreted in various historical or esoteric ways. Finally, both Shi'is and Sunnis believe—the latter following hadith considered sound by authors of their canonical collections, Bukhari and Muslim—that Muhammad designated her "mistress of the women of Paradise" *(sayyidat nisa' al-janna)* and "mistress of all the women in the world" *(sayyidat nisa' al-'alamin)*.

TAHERA QUTBUDDIN

See also Shi'ism

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FATIMIDS

The Fatimids were a major Isma'ili Shi'i dynasty that ruled over different parts of the Islamic world, originally from Ifriqiyya and later Egypt, from AH 297/909 CE until 567/1171. Comprised of the following fourteen caliphs, the Fatimids were also acknowledged as Isma'ili imams:

1. al-Mahdi (297–322/909–934)
2. al-Qa'im (322–334/934–946)
3. al-Mansur (334–341/946–953)
4. al-Mu'izz (341–365/953–975)
5. al-'Aziz (365–386/975–996)
6. al-Hakim (386–411/996–1021)
7. al-Zahir (411–427/1021–1036)
8. al-Mustansir (427–487/1036–1094)
9. al-Musta'li (487–495/1094–1101)
10. al-Amir (495–524/1101–1130)
11. al-Hafiz

    As regent (524–526/1130–1132)
    As caliph (526–544/1132–1149)

12. al-Zafir (544–549/1149–1154)
13. al-Fa'iz (549–555/1154–1160)
14. al-'Adid (555–567/1160–1171)

The Fatimids traced their ancestry, through the early Shi'i imam Ja'far al-Sadiq (d. 148/765), to 'Ali ibn Abi Talib and his wife Fatima, the Prophet Muhammad's daughter and the eponym of the dynasty.

Foundation and North African Phase

By the middle of the third/ninth century, the Isma'ilis had organized a dynamic, revolutionary movement, designated as *al-da'wa al-hadiya*, the rightly guiding mission, or simply as *al-da'wa*. The aim of this movement, led secretly from Salamiyya in Syria, was to install the Isma'ili imam to a new caliphate, in rivalry with the 'Abbasids. The Isma'ili imams claimed to possess sole legitimate religious authority as the divinely appointed and infallible spiritual guides of Muslims; hence they regarded the 'Abbasids, like the Umayyads before them, as usurpers who had deprived the rightful 'Alid imams of their claims to leadership. The message of the Isma'ili *da'wa* was spread in different parts of the Muslim world, from Transoxiana and Sind to North Africa, by a network of *da'i*s, religiopolitical propagandists.

The early Isma'ili *da'wa* achieved particular success in North Africa due to the efforts of Abu 'Abdullah al-Shi'i, who was active as a *da'i* among the Kutama Berbers of the Lesser Kabylia, in present-day eastern Algeria, since 280/893. He converted the bulk of the Kutama Berbers and transformed them into a disciplined army, which later served as the backbone of the Fatimid forces. By 290/903, Abu 'Abdullah had commenced his conquest of Ifriqiyya, covering today's Tunisia and eastern Algeria. The Sunni Aghlabids had ruled over this part of the Maghrib, and Sicily, since 184/800 as vassals of the 'Abbasids. By Rajab 296/March 909, when Abu 'Abdullah entered Qayrawan, the Aghlabid capital, Aghlabid rule was ended. Meanwhile, the Isma'ili imam, 'Abdullah al-Mahdi, had embarked on a long and historic journey. He left Salamiyya in 289/902, avoiding capture by the 'Abbasids, and after brief stays in Palestine and Egypt, he had been living in Sijilmasa, today's Rissani in southeastern Morocco, since 292/905. 'Abdullah continued to hide his identity while maintaining contact with the *da'i* Abu 'Abdullah. In Ramadan 296/June 909, Abu 'Abdullah set off at the head of his army to Sijilmasa, to hand over the reins of power to 'Abdullah al-Mahdi. 'Abdullah al-Mahdi entered Qayrawan on 20 Rabi' II 297/4 January 910, and was immediately acclaimed as caliph. This represented a great achievement for the Isma'ilis whose *da'wa* had finally led to the establishment of a *dawla,* or state, headed by the Isma'ili imam.

In line with their universal claims, the Fatimid caliph–imams did not abandon their *da'wa* activities on assuming power. Aiming to extend their authority and rule over the entire Muslim community *(umma)* and others, they retained their network of *da'i*s, operating both within and outside Fatimid dominions. However, the *da'wa* was reinvigorated only after the Fatimids transferred the seat of their state to Egypt. The first four Fatimid caliph–imams, ruling from Ifriqiyya, encountered numerous difficulties while consolidating their power. In addition to the continued hostility of the 'Abbasids, and the Umayyads of

Spain, who as rival claimants to the caliphate had their own designs for North Africa, the early Fatimids had numerous military encounters with the Byzantines in Sicily and elsewhere. The Fatimids were also obliged to devote much of their energy during their North African period to subduing the rebellions of the Khariji Berbers, especially those belonging to the Zanata confederation, and the hostilities of the Sunni inhabitants of Qayrawan and other cities of Ifriqiyya led by their Maliki jurists. As a result, the Fatimids could not control any region of the Maghrib, beyond Ifriqiyya, for any extended period. The Fatimids were city builders and founded Mahdiyya and Mansuriyya, which served as their new capitals in Ifriqiya. As successors to the Aghlabids, the Fatimids inherited their fleet and the island of Sicily (Siqilliyya). Thus, from early on, the Fatimid state was also a sea power with Mahdiyya serving as a naval base.

Fatimid rule was firmly established in north Africa only during the reign of al-Mu'izz, who was able to pursue successful policies of war and diplomacy, resulting in territorial expansion. He contributed significantly to the development of the state's political, administrative, and financial institutions, in addition to concerning himself with the *da'wa* activities. Indeed, al-Mu'izz succeeded in transforming the Fatimid caliphate from a regional power into a great empire. He made detailed plans for the conquest of Egypt, then ruled by the Ikhshidids on behalf of the 'Abbasids, a hitherto perennial objective of the Fatimids as the first phase in their eastern strategy of conquest. Jawhar, a commander of long services to the dynasty, led the Fatimid expedition to Egypt in 358/969. Jawhar's campsite outside of Fustat rapidly developed into a city, Cairo (al-Qahira). Al-Mu'izz had supervised the plan of the new royal city, with its palaces, gates, and the mosque of al-Azhar and special buildings for government departments and the Fatimid armies. Al-Mu'izz arrived in his new capital in 362/973, marking the end of the North African phase of the Fatimid caliphate (292–362/909–973).

Egyptian Phase

The rule of al-Mu'izz in Egypt lasted just more than two years, during which he entrusted Ibn Killis with the task of reorganizing the state's finances. The consolidation and extension of Fatimid power in Syria, at the expense of the 'Abbasids and the Byzantines, was the primary foreign policy objective of al-Mu'izz's son and successor, al-'Aziz, the first Fatimid caliph–imam to begin his rule in Egypt in 365/975. In spite of al-'Aziz's hard-won victory in Syria, however, Damascus remained only nominally in Fatimid hands for some time and the Fatimids failed to seize Aleppo in northern Syria. In North Africa, the Zirids who ruled on behalf of the Fatimids had already begun to detach themselves from the Fatimid state. Despite these setbacks, by the end of al-'Aziz's reign in 386/996 the Fatimid empire attained its greatest extent, at least nominally, with the Fatimid sovereignty recognized from the Atlantic and the western Mediterranean to the Red Sea, the Hijaz, Syria, and Palestine. At the same time, *da'i*s acting as secret agents of the Fatimid state had continued to preach the Isma'ili *da'wa* in many eastern regions, notably Persia and Iraq. Al-'Aziz was the first member of his dynasty to use the Turks in the Fatimid armies, to the strong dissatisfaction of the Berber officers, and with catastrophic consequences. Al-'Aziz adopted a tolerant policy toward non-Muslims, also utilizing the services of capable men irrespective of their ethnicities or religious persuasions. The assignment of numerous high administrative and juridical positions to Sunni Muslims, as well as Christians and Jews, in a Shi'i state, in fact, was a distinctive practice of the Fatimids. Ibn Killis (d. 380/991), a convert from Judaism, became the first Fatimid vizier under al-'Aziz in 367/977. The credit for utilizing al-Azhar as a university also belongs to Ibn Killis. The last of al-'Aziz's viziers was a coptic Christian, 'Isa ibn Nasturus (385–386/995–996).

Al-'Aziz's son and successor, al-Hakim, faced numerous difficulties during his long and controversial reign, including factional conflicts within the Fatimid armies and confrontations with different religious groups. One of his most important acts was, however, the foundation of the Dar al-'Ilm (the House of Knowledge) in 395/1005. This became an institution of learning with a fine library, where Shi'is and Sunnis studied a variety of sciences. The Isma'ili *da'i*s also received part of their training there. In al-Hakim's time, the Isma'ili *da'wa* spread successfully in Iraq and Persia through the efforts of Hamid al-Din al-Kirmani and other learned *da'i*s. It was also in his reign that certain *da'i*s began to preach extremist ideas, culminating in the proclamation of al-Hakim's divinity and the formation of the Druze movement, which met with the opposition of the Fatimid state and the *da'wa* organization in Cairo.

Fueled by factional fighting within the Fatimid armies, the Fatimid caliphate embarked on its decline during the long reign of al-Mustansir, who was eventually obliged to call on Badr al-Jamali for help. In 466/1074, Badr arrived in Cairo with his Armenian troops and quickly succeeded in subduing the unruly

Turkish troops and restoring relative peace and stability to the Fatimid state. Badr became the commander of the armies *(amir al-juyush)*, also acquiring all the highest positions of the Fatimid state. Badr (d. 487/1094) ensured that his son, al-Afdal (d. 515/1121), would succeed him in due course as the real master of the Fatimid state. Hence, the viziers, rather than caliphs, exercised effective power in the Fatimid state. Territorially, too, the overall extent of the Fatimid empire began to decline in al-Mustansir's reign. The Fatimids lost parts of Syria and, in North Africa their dominions were practically reduced to Egypt. On the other hand, the Isma'ili *da'wa* activities outside of Fatimid dominions reached their peak in al-Mustansir's time, with much success in Yaman, Persia, and Transoxiana. The *da'wa* was organized hierarchically, with the Fatimid caliph–imam as its supreme leader. A chief *da'i (da'i al-du'at)* acted as the executive head of the *da'wa* organization centered in Cairo. The regions outside the Fatimid state were divided into twelve islands *(jaziras)* for *da'wa* purposes, each one placed under the charge of a high-ranking officer, called *hujja* (proof, guarantor), who headed a hierarchy of subordinate *da'i*s and assistants.

The organization of the Fatimid state remained rather simple during its North African phase, when the caliph–imams acted as the supreme heads of the government administration and commanders of the armies, and the highly centralized administration was normally situated at the Fatimid palace. From the early years in Egypt, the organizational structure of administration and finance introduced by Jawhar and Ibn Killis provided the basis of a complex system of institutions. The Fatimid system of administration in Egypt remained centralized, with the caliph and his vizier at its head, while the provincial organs of government were under the strict control of central authorities in Cairo. The central administration of the Fatimids was carried on through various ministries and departments, known as *diwan*s. Foremost among these units were the *diwan al-insha*, or chancery of state, responsible for issuing and handling various types of official documents; the *diwan al-jaysh*, the department of the army; and the *diwan al-amwal*, the ministry of finance. The officials of the Fatimid state, both civil and military, were organized in terms of strict hierarchies. The Fatimids also developed an elaborate system of rituals and ceremonials. They established a vast network of trade and commerce after settling down in Egypt, providing the state with a significant economic base. In Egypt, the Fatimids patronized intellectual activities, transforming Cairo into a flourishing center of Islamic scholarship, sciences, art, and culture.

On the death of al-Mustansir in 487/1094, the Isma'ilis permanently subdivided into Nizari and Musta'li factions, named after al-Mustansir's sons who claimed his heritage. Hence, the Nizari and Musta'li Isma'ilis recognized different lines of imams. The Musta'lis of Egypt and elsewhere acknowledged al-Musta'li, al-Mustansir's son and successor to the Fatimid throne, as their imam. By 526/1132, in the aftermath of al-Amir's assassination and the irregular succession of his cousin al-Hafiz, the Musta'li Isma'ilis were split into the Tayyibi and Hafizi branches. Only the Hafizi Musta'lis, situated mainly in Fatimid Egypt, recognized al-Hafiz and the later Fatimids as their imams.

The final phase of the Fatimid caliphate, 487–567/1094–1171, was a turbulent one. Reduced to Egypt proper, the Fatimid state was now almost continuously beset by political and economic crises worsened by intense disorders within the Fatimid armies and the arrival of the invading Crusaders. The later Fatimids all died prematurely, and they remained puppets in the hands of their powerful viziers, who controlled the armies. The last Fatimid caliph–imam, al-'Adid, was only nine years old at the time of his succession and his nominal reign represented the most confusing period in Fatimid history. Power remained in the hands of several short-lived viziers, who continuously intrigued against one another. The crusading Franks also had almost succeeded in establishing a virtual protectorate over Fatimid Egypt, while the Zangids of Syria had resumed their own invasions. Ironically, it was left to the last Fatimid vizier, Salah al-Din (Saladin) to terminate Fatimid rule on 7 Muharram 567/10 September 1171, when he had the *khutba* read in Cairo in the name of the reigning 'Abbasid caliph, symbolizing the return of Egypt to the fold of Sunni Islam. A few days later, al-'Adid, the fourteenth and final Fatimid caliph–imam, died after a brief illness while the Isma'ilis, who had always remained a minority in Egypt, began to be severely persecuted. The Fatimid state had thus come to a close after 262 years. Subsequently, Egypt was incorporated into the Sunni Ayyubid state founded in 569/1174 by Salah al-Din.

Farhad Daftary

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FERDOWSI

Ferdowsi, the major epic poet of Persian civilization, was born in 940 CE near the town of Tus in Khorasan, where he apparently spent most of his life. The date of his death is unknown, but it is traditionally given as ca. 1020. His epic *Shahnameh*, a retelling of the pre-Islamic myths, legends, and history of Iran, is one of Persian literature's most significant works.

Ferdowsi began *Shahnameh* when Khorasan was still ruled by the Samanids, who fostered an interest in Iran's pre-Islamic past and were the first significant patrons, after the Islamic conquest, of literature in Persian. The Samanid domains were overrun by the Ghaznavid Turks under Mahmud of Ghazni during Ferdowsi's lifetime—a number of anecdotes recounted by medieval writers concerning Ferdowsi's bad relations with Mahmud are probably apocryphal.

The epic *Shahnameh* is in the *masnavi* (couplet) form and uses the *motaqareb* meter (one of only two medieval Persian meters that do not derive from an Arabic model; *motaqareb* may derive from a pre-Islamic Persian meter). Manuscripts of the poem differ widely in length, with the longest containing up to sixty thousand couplets; earlier and more reliable manuscripts tend to have approximately forty thousand couplets. After relatively conventional introductory matter, the poem divides into three unequal sections: a short mythical section, a legendary section, and a quasihistorical section. Ferdowsi cites both written and oral sources; it is clear that he relied heavily on written sources for the quasihistorical section, but the earlier sections seem to owe much to oral tradition.

In contrast to other contemporary authors concerned with Iran's pre-Islamic past, Ferdowsi's cosmogony is wholly Persian, and he makes no attempt to integrate Persian creation myths, or Persian legendary material, with Qur'anic accounts of the world's early history. Evil is present at the opening of the poem in the form of supernatural beings *(div)*; the first evil person in the poem is the demon king Zahhak, identified as an Arab, and at the poem's end a commander who has foreseen Persia's defeat in the seventh-century Arab invasion prophesies the moral and political disasters that will come to Iran at the Arabs' hands. The poem is thus framed by a fairly overt hostility to Arab culture.

Shahnameh is structured as a king list, and the reigns of fifty monarchs are described, some very briefly, others at considerable length (for example, the reign of the legendary king Kavus covers three of the nine volumes of the standard edition). The earliest stories of the mythical and legendary sections go back to a prehistoric Indo-European past and have some parallels in other Indo-European mythologies (such as Hindu and Greek). The legendary section incorporates into the narrative a separate cycle of tales concerned with the rulers of Sistan (southeastern Iran, Afghanistan south of the River Helmand), the most famous of whom is Rostam, who was in all probability a Parthian hero whose tales of exploits had survived in oral form. The prophet Zoroaster enters the narrative (in the one section of the poem not written by Ferdowsi, but by his predecessor Daqiqi) during the reign of the legendary king, Goshtasp (possibly to be identified with the Achaemenid Hystaspes), and the religious milieu of the poem is generally Zoroastrian, although Ferdowsi shows little detailed knowledge of Zoroastrian beliefs and makes frequent anachronistic references to the religion. The emphatically ethical orientation of many of the tales of the legendary section (such as those of Kaveh, Iraj, Seyavash, and Kay Khosrow) may be considered in part as a legacy of pre-Islamic Zoroastrianism.

The quasihistorical section begins approximately with Alexander the Great's conquest of Iran. From this point on, rulers mentioned in the poem correspond with historical personages, but often in a romanticized or garbled way (for example, Alexander is given a Persian father; Ferdowsi confuses the reigns of the Sasanian kings Shapur I and Shapur II). This section is much less smoothly constructed than the poem's earlier portions, and the narrative contains frequent self-contradictions (for example, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty is given two differing genealogies). The Parthians, who in reality ruled Iran longer than any other dynasty, are very summarily dealt with (their almost five hundred-year reign is compressed into a couple of generations), and this is certainly due to the Sasanian attempt to obliterate the Parthians from the historical record. The legendary grandeur of the poem's opening half gives way to tales of royal hedonism (such as during the reign of

Bahram Gur) and detailed accounts of court intrigues, rebellions, and palace revolutions.

RICHARD DAVIS

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FESTIVALS AND CELEBRATIONS

The 'Id al-Fitr (Festival of Breaking the Fast) and the 'Id al-Adha (Festival of Sacrifice), although not mentioned in the Qur'an and hadith and usually referred to by legal literature only marginally, have been considered the only two canonical festivals that the Prophet prescribed. This meagerness of religious feasts in Islam is difficult to explain, although it may be connected with the constant struggle against pagan phenomena and remnants of the past. Thus, festivals were relegated to the background, at least by theologians and jurists. Not surprisingly, however, the ordinary folk satisfied their need for celebration by adopting and reviving alien and pre-Islamic festivals, such as Nawruz, Nile festivals, and the Night of the Middle of Sha'ban. In the following paragraphs, only a few of the better-documented festivals and celebrations will be discussed.

Calendaric Festivals

Also called the Minor Feast *(al-'Id al-Saghir)* to distinguish it from the "major" Festival of Sacrifice, 'Id al-Fitr occurs immediately after the Ramadan fast, on the first day of Shawwal. A special prayer led by an imam is mandatory, and one is enjoined to give alms known as *zakat al-fitr*. It was the custom of 'Abbasid viziers and the military commanders to march in processions through Baghdad at dawn, dressed in gorgeous attire, with hundreds of torchbearers, as well as a large number of naphtha throwers. The caliph used to attend the prayer at Baghdad's main mosque. The palaces were illuminated, and dining places were laid out. Decorated boats of the caliph and dignitaries were displayed on the Tigris and lit with lamps. The festival usually lasted three days. In Fatimid Egypt the main celebrations took place at the open praying ground outside Cairo. The caliph went there in a splendid procession to perform prayers and to deliver a sermon. On his return to the palace, a meal was served, which members of the ruling elite attended. Around AH 437/1045 CE, the traveler Nasir-i Khusraw was dazzled by dishes in the form of trees and palaces made of sugar that were prepared for the occasion. In Mamluk times, a special procession of the vizier from the citadel to his residence concluded the day. A detailed description dating from 1515 CE tells, among other details, of a stage erected by the mansion of the Mamluk sultan's son, with trees and bushes of leather, and fountains spraying water.

The celebration of the Muslim New Year at the beginning of Muharram is best known from Fatimid Egypt. It was largely an exclusive court ceremony, which, besides the caliphal display of pomp, included banquets and the presentation of annual reports by officials. We first learn of a caliphal procession in 517/1123. Following ceremonies in the palace, the Fatimid ruler went riding with his insignia (parasol, sword, and inkstand), accompanied by the vizier and his own insignia, emirs and their sons, and mixed units of elite soldiers wearing their distinctive uniforms and carrying parade arms. As soon as the procession became visible to the inhabitants, trumpets were sounded and the caliphal parasol was opened. The procession left Cairo from one of its main gates and re-entered through another one. Merchants decorated the route with their goods, and the gates of the quarters next to the city wall were decorated with drapes and curtains. Alms to the poor and pensions to the high-ranking officials were distributed.

A supererogatory fast on the tenth of Muharram, which had been replaced by Ramadan in order to efface Jewish influence, 'Ashura' has been mainly associated with the Shi'i commemoration of the martyrdom of Husayn in Karbala' in 60/680. However, the Sunnis, possibly the Ayyubid dynasty, reintroduced it as a joyous festival to counteract the Shi'is. Popular practices seem to have developed especially in Egypt and North Africa. Special dishes, rites of fire, visiting of graves, application of henna by women, and almsgiving and spending are customs mentioned by medieval scholars, who largely condemned these innovations.

The night of the fifteenth of Sha'ban was one of the *Layali al-wuqud* (Nights of Bonfires) celebrated in the 'Abbasid and Fatimid states. It was believed that on that night, deeds were examined and destinies determined. The tree of life, on which the name of every human being is written, was believed to be shaken, with the leaves of those divinely sentenced to die in the course of the year thus to fall off. Inhabitants of Baghdad used to flock to the banks of the Tigris

River, illuminate boats, dance and sing, and put up banquets. The barges of the caliphs and the elite were decorated and illuminated. Dressed in their best attire, the rulers were drawn in the barges along the river, a splendid procession of boats, followed by ordinary people. Many spent the whole night rejoicing and playing around bonfires. Customs included fumigating houses to ward off misfortune, and driving wild animals into fire. A special report is of the festival at the time of the Daylamite Mirdawij, who celebrated it in 323/935 with unusual splendor. He collected faggots, set up large candles, and stationed a number of naphtha throwers near the Persian town of Isfahan. Near each elevated place in the town a "castle" made of tree trunks was erected. Wax figures were made to increase the effect of illumination. Lit birds were released into the dark night to create a spectacle.

Islamicized Festivals

Of festivals adopted from pre-Islamic cultures, one should mention Mihrjan, after the Persian Mihragan, an originally Mazdean festival dedicated to the Vedic divinity Mithra/Mihr and celebrated around the autumn equinox. Together with Nawruz, it assumed great importance with the rise of local dynasties in medieval Iran in the latter part of the ninth century to the time of the Mongol invasion. It was the custom to change dress, add extra coverings to beds, and prepare for the cold season. There was an exchange of gifts, and people sent perfumed cards of congratulations.

Shi'i Festivals

Celebrated on the eighteenth of Dhu 'l-Hijja to mark the designation of 'Ali as the Prophet's successor, Ghadir Khum was initiated in Baghdad by the Buyid Mu'izz al-Dawla in 352/963. In Egypt it was institutionalized under the Fatimids approximately 10 years later. Initially it was primarily a popular celebration. However, under the Fatimid al-'Amir (495–524/1101–1130), it was orchestrated by the regime and modeled on the Festival of Sacrifice that immediately preceded it, hence deemphasizing the Shi'i aspects and attempting a universal Muslim appeal. Under al-Hafiz (525–544/1131–1149), due to political inner struggles, Ghadir Khum once again became a thoroughly Shi'i-Isma'ili affair. In a detailed description from ca. 549/1154, we find its high point in the reading of the supposed text of 'Ali's investiture *(nass)* before a royal assembly.

Celebrations

Festive occasions in Baghdad were the installation of a new caliph or a birth of a caliph's son, royal circumcision, and marriage. In the circumcision festival of Mu'tazz, son of al-Mutawakkil (232–247/847–861), a thousand robes of honor were distributed to the guests, and the same number of mounts to depart on, each clad in gold and silver trappings. Also, a thousand slaves were manumitted. It was the custom of 'Abbasid caliphs to invite orphans and boys of poor families into the palace to be circumcised with the royal prince. Gifts were bestowed on their parents and alms were distributed. The wedding of al-Ma'mun to Buran, daughter of his vizier, was celebrated in 210/825–826 in Wasit for more than forty days. Thousands of pearls of unique size were showered from a golden tray upon the couple, sitting on a golden mat. Balls of musk, each containing the name of an estate, slave-girls, or other gifts, fell on the guests, who thereafter received the promised gifts.

Mawlid

Perhaps the most significant development in the history of medieval Islamic festivals is the emergence of the *mawlid al-nabi*, namely, the celebration of the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad on the twelfth Rabi' al-Awwal. It possibly was first celebrated in Fatimid Egypt in the eleventh century. During the celebration in Cairo in 517/1123, the earliest for which a description is available, the Fatimid caliph distributed alms, bread, and dishes and held a reception. From descriptions derived from the Fatimid period, we learn of the participation of the Chief Judge *(qadi al-qudat)* and other high officials, who rode in a procession to the major square known as Bayn al-Qasrayn. Sermons were given and the Qur'an was recited. The oldest celebrations among the Sunnis were under Nur al-Din ibn Zanki (511–569/1118–1174). The mawlid was celebrated at night, fires were lit, a banquet was held, and poems were recited. Ibn Khallikan's description of the mawlid in his hometown of Irbil, southeast of Mosul, at the beginning of the thirteenth century is probably an eyewitness account and emphasizes the large number of participants who came from Mosul, Baghdad, and other

large cities. Due to differences of opinion regarding the Prophet's date of birth, the festival was celebrated alternately on the eighth and twelfth of Rabi' al-Awwal. In another report of the Irbil festival, we learn of the banquet, the robes distributed by the ruler to scholars and Sufis, a concert *(sama')* given to the Sufis, and alms donated. Twenty wooden decorated pavilions were erected along the road leading from the citadel to the Sufi lodge *(khanqah)*, to accommodate visitors, musical bands, and shadow-players. Masses of sheep, camels, and cows were slaughtered. On the Night of the Nativity, a candlelight procession, each candle fastened to the back of a mule and supported by an attendant, moved from the citadel to the *khanqah*. Next morning, notables and others assembled around a wooden tower, where the ruler watched a military parade in the hippodrome *(maydan)* and listened to the preachers clustered around the pulpit, all the while summoning guests to him to present them with robes of honor. Two elements in the Irbil festival are noteworthy: the prominent role of the Sufis and the candlelight procession.

In Mamluk Egypt, Sufi shaykhs performed nocturnal celebrations of the mawlid at their *zawiya*s in the presence of large crowds. On occasion, and not without criticism, wine was consumed and women were present, making one wonder how much of the religious aspect remained. The mawlid was introduced to the Maghrib via Ceuta sometime in the thirteenth century, possibly as a countermeasure to Muslims' participation in Christmas. It was not before 690/1291, however, that the Marinid sultan made it official in Morocco. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, at the latest, the observance of certain mawlid rites seems to have become the concern of the Moroccan commoners as well. Leo Africanus reports that schoolchildren in Fez were expected to present their teachers with colored and decorated candles, some of which were exceptionally heavy, with assorted fruit and flowers in wax. In the second half of the fourteenth century, Abu Hammu Musa of the 'Abd al-Wadid dynasty at Tlemsen bestowed special splendor on the mawlid celebration. The central feature was the nightly recital of poems in praise of the Prophet, followed by pious exhortations. People of all ranks were admitted to the ceremony at the palace's decorated courtyard. Celebration lasted till daybreak and was concluded by a banquet. In Andalus, the mawlid was introduced around the mid-thirteenth century. As for Mecca, early detailed descriptions derive from the mid-sixteenth century, yet celebrations probably antedate them. We learn of processions of the qadis to the Prophet's birthplace, the illumination of streets, musical performances and large crowds.

Not proscribed by law, the mawlid was opposed by certain Orthodox theologians, such as the Hanbali Ibn Taymiyya and the Maliki Ibn al-Hajj al-'Abdari and their supporters. However, a legal opinion *(fatwa)* written ca. 890/1485 by al-Suyuti, the Egyptian scholar, considers the mawlid a "good innovation" *(bid'a hasana)* as long as it just consisted of a gathering, Qur'an recitation, the recounting of the Prophet's biography, and the miracles associated with his birth, and a banquet.

In Fatimid times there were five other mawlid celebrations of 'Ali, Fatima, Hasan, Husayn, and the reigning caliph. In later periods in Egypt, mawlids emerged to honor various Sufi saints. Such was the commemoration at Tanta of Ahmad al-Badawi, the most popular Egyptian saint. In late Mamluk and early Ottoman times it is reported to have attracted more people than the Prophet's mawlid or even the Pilgrimage. Another famous mawlid was in honor of Shaykh Isma'il (d. 790/1388) at Inbaba, west of Cairo, which possibly absorbed elements of the ancient festival of Isis. Also, in historical accounts of these sorts of mawlids, "scandalous" behavior is occasionally condemned, as is the replacement of Qur'an recitals by songs and music, and even the performance of shadow plays.

In conclusion, one should note that despite objections to the participation of Muslims in non-Muslim festivals, reality was different. In Egypt, for example, there appears to have been significant participation by Muslims in the Festival of Immersion and in Epiphany.

Boaz Shoshan

See also Nawruz; Nile

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FEZ

The city of Fez (Fas in Arabic) was founded by the Idrisid dynasty at the end of the AH second/eighth CE century, in the north of Morocco. It was composed of two cities separated by the Wadi Fas. It had considerable strategic significance in the fight between the Umayyads of al-Andalus and the Fatimids of Ifriqiyya. At the beginning of the eleventh century, Fez was taken by the Berber tribe of the Zanata, and at the end of the same century, it fell into the hands of the Almoravids. Fez then became the Almoravids' main military base in Morocco. It is also in this period that the Qarawiyyin mosque began to acquire increasing significance as a center of learning. Many of the *'ulama'* representatives of Western Malikism were trained in this center. During the Almohad period, the old city of Fez grew to its present proportions. In the thirteenth century, Fez became part of the Marinids' territories, who made it their capital and under whose government it reached its highest economic development. The Marinids built a new urban center, Fas al-Jadid, to the west of the old city. Fas al-Jadid came to be the administrative and military center, whereas Fas al-Bali (old Fez), also known as *al-Madina*, remained the center for commercial activities. In the aftermath of the Christians' conquest of Cordova and Seville, important Andalusi, families learned men and landowners migrated to Fez and other cities in Morocco. When the Sa'dids took Fez in 955/1459, the city became the center of Sharifism, radiating its influence out to the rest of Morocco. The success of this movement is linked to the personality of Idris II (d. 828), considered to be a direct descendant of the Prophet Muhammad. He was the founder of the city and "sultan" of its saints. What was principally indicative of the beginning of the veneration of Idris was the discovery of his tomb in 1438, in the Shurafa' mosque. By the middle of the sixteenth



Mosque of Qarawyin, Fez, Morocco. View from the main entrance into the courtyard with ablution basin. Last enlargement under Almoravid sultans (1062–1147 CE). Credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.

century the situation in Fez had deteriorated while retaining certain prosperity. Many Hispanic Jews found refuge in Fez after the expulsion of 1492.

DELFINA SERRANO RUANO

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FLOODS

Any assessment of economic life in the Islamic world in the Middle Ages, whether rural or urban, is incomplete without considering numerous natural disasters occurring throughout the region and the period. With the exception of work on plague epidemics and the writings of professors N.N. Ambraseys and Charles Melville about earthquakes in the Middle East, there is a dearth of literature about disasters in Islamic/Middle East history. This article is a modest attempt to fill at least one gap in the historiography of the Near East and Islamic Spain in the era prior to 1700. The purpose of the present study is to indicate the nature and impact of floods in Muslim lands between 600 and ca. 1600 CE, to address the consequences, both direct and indirect, of these floods, and to assess their role in the lives of the affected areas. The focus will be on floods as disasters rather than, for example, the benign effects of the annual Nile flood, with its attendant benefits of water for irrigation and alluvial soil.

The first and obvious point is that floods occurred primarily in the two great river valley systems of the Near East. Hence, most floods were associated with the areas of the Tigris and Euphrates and with the Nile Valley. It should be understood, however, that floods were not confined to these regions. Damaging floods occurred in other places, such as Arabia and Iran. An overwhelming number, however, were centered in Iraq and Syria. When unusually heavy rain came, the result was often devastation for cities or villages on or near rivers or streams.

Floods were an equal menace to people and property. In 960, Egyptian pilgrims drowned in a flood. In

the city of Samarra (Iraq), many people perished in the terrible flood of 841. A flood in Jubba, Khuzistan in 902 also killed many people. Examples could be multiplied. Suffice it to say that, like famines, epidemics, and earthquakes, floods were lethal. Again, that one is dealing with a life-threatening event must be recalled when analyzing demographic trends or patterns in the early Islamic period. The sources provide virtually no mortality statistics for floods, but it is evident that losses could be severe and, as a result, flood mortality must be factored into systematic discussions of mortality patterns.

The economic historian must also consider the destruction of property and animals occasioned by especially severe floods. One reads of numerous examples of destroyed shops and houses, livestock killed, and crops devastated. In 43/742, shops were ruined and houses damaged along the Tigris in northern Iraq. In 46/845, similarly, Mosul experienced a terrible flood that ravaged market areas and residences. Sources also record instances of destruction of goods in the shops, for example, in Hamah, Syria, in 44/1343. Frequently, cultivation was disrupted or wiped out by floods. Destruction might result from the inundation of fields or demolition of irrigation works or dams. In 1104, the Tigris flooded, with crops, houses, and other property damaged. A flood hit Andalusia in Islamic Spain in 848–849, devastating dams, barrages, and mills. Frequently, animals perished, confronting affected societies with a loss of power, food, and transportation. Also, populations were deprived of revenues from the sale of the animals.

Communications systems were disrupted at times with the inundation of roads and destruction or damaging of bridges. This impeded the movement of travelers and negatively affected the movement of goods to market. Coupled with the actual loss of crops, this no doubt had an impact on supplies and prices in contiguous market areas, as reflected, for example, in the price rises associated with the Baghdad flood of 1325.

Floods also disrupted normal educational and religious life. On any number of occasions, mosques and madrasas were damaged or demolished. The Baghdad flood of 1159 damaged mosques, whereas a flood of 1242–1243, in the same city, damaged the Nizamiyya Madrasa, a main center of learning in the Islamic East. Madrasas in Damascus were destroyed in the flood of 1316. Obviously, the normal functioning of religious and educational institutions was hampered or nullified by these events.

Ultimately the worst damage was personal loss suffered by citizens of various regions. Chronicles are replete with statements of private dwellings being destroyed or damaged. One reads of the destruction of gardens or trees and other personal property that could be used to supplement diet or, at the very least, to make life more pleasant. Furthermore, survivors of floods were prey to fears and stress associated with the catastrophe. In the Tigris flood of 1207–1208, one reads of the fright experienced by the people affected. When the Nile flooded in 1371–1372 people went to the Mosque of ʻAmr and prayed that God would cause the waters to recede. Floods caused trauma and disease. Cemeteries were inundated and damaged. Floods overwhelmed sewers and plumbing in Baghdad, with serious disease outbreaks or epidemics ensuing. The Baghdad flood of 1495 caused the spread of throat disease, fever, and even typhoid fever. In this way, floods sparked another major disaster touching the Muslim world: epidemic disease. Here, again, one sees evidence that one catastrophe could contribute to or reinforce others.

In the final analysis, floods served as another source of disruption and loss for those living in the medieval Islamic regions. Earthquakes, epidemics, famines, and other disasters caused a great deal of suffering and trauma between 600 and 1500. Floods, although not as devastating as outbreaks of bubonic plague or particularly powerful earthquakes, took their share of lives and destroyed property in a serious fashion. Revenues for private individuals, landlords, governments, and military establishments fell prey to this catastrophe, as they did to others. Suffering exceeded a simple loss of revenue. Floods, like other disasters, affected lives in the most fundamental emotional and psychological ways. Chronicles cannot help us quantify this, if such a thing was possible, but they show us the existence of deeper effects.

William F. Tucker

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FOLK LITERATURE, ARABIC

Muslim Arabs revered the language that enshrined their poetic heritage, and in which the Qur'an had been revealed. This conservativeness gave their high culture remarkable continuity, but it also almost eclipsed their folk literature.

Regional uninflected vernaculars soon replaced classical Arabic as the medium of everyday spoken communication, yet most of the learned saw no merit in any text that did not conform to classical grammar, and they resisted its preservation. It may, however, be assumed that the masses had some stake in the belief-system of the elite, and with it in much that is found in early standard texts. Some pre-Islamic notions, such as that each poet had an identifiable demon inspiring him, were used fancifully by established writers, but close to folk perceptions were accounts of encounters with such creatures metamorphosed into animals in Ab*u* Zayd al-Qurash's (late ninth/early tenth century) *Jamharat Ash'ar al-'Arab (The Gathering of Arabs' Verses')* and in *Kitab al-Hayawan ('The Book of Animals')* by 'Amr ibn Bahr al-Jahiz (ca. 775–868/869 CE). Fables were also embedded in such books by al-Jahiz.

As still happens, the Qur'an gave scope for embroideries on its narratives and on the interventions of jinns and sorcerers. Heroic exploits by early defenders of the faith were no doubt inspiring, as were later the deeds of holy men recorded in Sufi literature. A less conjectural picture of what Arab folk literature was may be sought in the genres shunned by the learned. These were the "idle" tale (that is, the one serving no purpose other than entertainment), the epic, and the theatrical representation.

The richest treasury of Arab folk narratives is *The Thousand and One Nights,* bringing together fables, fairy tales, romances, and humorous anecdotes whose folk origin is unquestioned. Some spontaneity was lost when the material went through the hands of scribes who found it necessary to bring the language into conformity with classical grammar, but the marks of oral delivery are there, not least in the artful nesting of stories that served the performer well by enticing his audience to attend yet another session.

Ironically, scholars once debated why there was no Arab epic, although at the folk level, they could have found a dozen extensive cycles of stories full of martial deeds, which some call epics but others call romances (see Epics, Arabic).

The record of premodern dramatic literature consists solely of three shadow plays by Shams al-Din Ibn Daniyal (1248–1310). These are only partly in the vernacular, so their status in the literary canon is uncertain; but testimonies abound to the popularity of shadow plays and of puppet shows and peep shows both before and after Ibn Daniyal. Live performers appeared in the passion play performed in Kerbela every year, commemorating the martyrdom of the Prophet's grandson al-Husayn. Dressed-up characters also took part in religious processions. But actors of reliably professional status are mentioned only in the later centuries, performing in a kind of monologue or dialogue, usually characterizing some trade or occupation. None of these activities, however, appears to have involved the unfolding of a play with a many-sided self-consistent plot.

Echoes of other forms of folk literary activity may be discerned in the work of Abu 'l-Hasan Ibn Sudun (1407–1464), a learned man who nevertheless made a name for himself, mainly as an entertainer, using both the classical and vernacular idioms in prose and in verse.

It is in Islamic Spain, where Arabized Muslims and Romance speakers interacted extensively, that folk literature made its clearest mark in literary history. Here narratives, which must have been popular elsewhere, survived in Romance translation, if not in their Arabic originals. One example is the *Legend of Alexander,* which was widely disseminated from the third century on, and in its Arabic version was tenuously linked with the Qur'anic Dhu 'l-Qarnayn. Here also, stanzaic verse in the vernacular, known as *zajal,* had its first celebrated exponent by Abu Bakr Ibn Quzman (ca. 1086–1160), who mentions several forerunners. Once this door had been opened, a number of learned treatises on nonclassical verse forms

appeared in many Arab lands, beginning with Safiyy al-Din al-Hilli's work (ca. 1278–1349), in which he described the so-called Seven Arts, including meters used in folk compositions. Al-Hilli's illustrations are mostly compositions of his own, but some that he quotes as belonging to different regions may be close to genuine folk items. Thereafter it became common for established poets to use these forms, but only for occasional witticisms. Worthy of closer attention is 'Abd Allah al-Ghubari (second half of fourteenth century), whose compositions in the vernacular are extensive and varied. Like Ibn Sudun, he may yield clues to the tastes and practices of folk poets. Yet the record of genuine premodern folk poems and songs remains scanty.

PIERRE CACHIA

See also Epics

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FOLK LITERATURE, PERSIAN

The folk literature in Persia is rich and varied; its interactions with the polite literature, commonly considered canonical, have historically been complex and more intimate than has been recognized. In form and style, as well as in ideas and worldview, this tradition generally reveals the urge on the part of the common people to compensate and complement, reiterate, and respond to writings produced and supported by the intellectual elites and the ruling classes. At its inception in the early centuries of the Islamic period, the polite literature, born and bred in Eastern Iranian courts, drew heavily on the extant oral materials and changed their language and style, as well as their basic ideological thrust, to make them suitable for courtly presentations articulating the vision and aspirations of its makers and supporters. This tendency becomes most visible when we examine the portrayal of heroes in the two aesthetic systems. Whereas in the early folk tradition strong preference is given to social mobility through native intelligence, cunning conduct, or good fortune, the polite literature tends to emphasize an illustrious lineage and nobility of spirit as determinants of success.

In matters of language, style, and substance, interactions between folk and polite literature reveal important differences from European literary traditions. In the Persian tradition, the wall between the two parallel developments is far more porous, with folk materials providing the basic matter of much polite literature and the latter being recast in diction, in presentation style, as well as in ideology, to satisfy the tastes of the lower classes. Thus the great tenth-century Persian epic known as *Shahnameh (Book of Kings)*, undoubtedly inspired at least in part by oral narratives related to Persian mythical and pre-Islamic Iranian history, in turn gives rise to countless retellings and dramatic coffeehouse performances in subsequent centuries, at times intermingled with Islamic tales designed to ensure the cohabitation of the national and religious components of Iranian identity.

Ethnic, cultural, and religious considerations have added new dimensions to the interactions—and the difference—between the two. By and large, while polite literature, insofar as it reflects official ideologies advanced by the Persian elites facing and fighting Arab and Turkic domination, have aimed at registering a Persian sense of identity distinct from that of the Arabs and the Turks, with whom the Persians have been mixed over the centuries, the folk literature presents little evidence of ethnic pride, sense of separateness or superiority, or much resistance to Arabization and Turkicization. In recent centuries, this is exemplified most vividly by the immense popularity of the Ashiq traditions and the Hikayas they present in the regions of Iran inhabited by Turkish-speaking Iranians.

Historically, Persian folk literature thrived in times when royal courts or Sufi lodges proved less capable of supporting the production and dissemination of popular ideas through literature. Thus, while the tenth through thirteenth centuries were dominated by courtly works of diverse generic divisions, inclusive of epics, romances, and lyrical expressions, with the Mongol and Tartar invasions of the early thirteenth and late fourteenth centuries, folk traditions began to dominate, particularly in prose narratives. These were not only sanctioned but also taken over and strengthened by official efforts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to propagate the religious ideology of Shi'i Islam through various religious epics. Such developments are seldom reflected in either the premodern Tazkerehs or the official histories of Persian literature; they have begun to come to light only in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, first through the works of Soviet and Eastern European scholars such as Aleksander Chodzko and Jiri Cejpek and later by amateur native folklorists such as Hedayat and Enjavi. Most recently, fieldwork by Iranian

anthropologists and ethnographers has shed additional light on this dark corner of the Persian literary past.

With the advent of modernity and the cultural realignment that it gave rise to, old and established categorizations that favored polite literature over folk literature began slowly to be moderated. Modern scholars, particularly in Central Asia, continue to unearth new storehouses of Persian folktales in Central Asia, Afghanistan, and Iran, much of which still awaits scholarly attention.

AHMAD KARIMI-HAKKAK

See also Epics

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FOLK LITERATURE, TURKISH

Turkish folk (or oral) literature includes, but is not limited, to folk poetry *('halk şiiri', 'âşik şiiri')*, tales *('masal')*, jokes *('fikra')*, legends *('efsane')*, hagiographic legends *('menakibnames')*, riddles *('bilmece')*, proverbs *('atalarsözü')*, epics *('destan')* and romantic epics *('hikâye')*, and folk theater *('seyirlik oyunlar')*. The most significant aspect of all these genres is the fact that they are produced predominately in the oral mode and have survived and been (re)created through oral transmission for centuries.

Riddles constitute a significant portion of Turkish folk literature. Riddling has indispensable social and cultural functions, especially in the rural communities of Anatolia. In Turkish, generally the term *bilmece* is used for riddle. However, in some local dialects, we observe the usage of *tapmaca* for the same concept. In addition, in many areas of Anatolia, the term *matal* (or *metel*, *metal*, *masal*, *mesel*) is commonly employed (see Başgöz and Tietze 1973). Başgöz and Tietze have provided us with more than twelve thousand Turkish riddles in a single volume.

Turkish *menakibname*s are composed of hagiographic folk legends surrounding the lives of famous religious figures. In these legends, we find the representation of the extraordinary powers and events associated with Islamic saints and their miracles. Such common motifs as "resuscitation," "killing a dragon," "curing the sick," "transformation," "foreseeing the future," "total control over natural forces," "feeding the entire population of a community with a single fruit tree," "praying on a rug on the water," "communicating with animals," "incarnation," and the like constitute the basic thematic content of these stories. Even though the corpus of surviving Turkish *menakibname* literature seems to have been produced in written form, different levels of orality can be observed in almost all of them. The figures and geographical settings of these manuscripts can be local and culture–specific, but their motifs and structure show similarities to other traditions.

If we were to illustrate only one representative form of folk theater from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey, it would be the Turkish shadow theater called *Karagöz*. The name of this performance comes from one of the two main characters: Karagöz (the other being Hajivat). It is a comedy form performed by a single puppeteer using entirely handmade, two-dimensional colorful puppets, reflecting their shadows through a transparent screen. Continuously changing his voice from one character to another, the puppeteer becomes the voice and life of many social, cultural, and political entities of the Ottoman state. He mimics, for instance, the voice, appearance, and manners of an Arab, an Albanian, an Armenian, a Greek, an Iranian, a drunk, an opium addict, or sometimes even an animal such as a dog or a cat, in order to make his audience laugh. Usually what creates the comical element for the audience is the stereotypical representation of the many different peoples of the Ottoman Empire, and this includes a Turkish character as well, called Baba Himmet, undoubtedly one of the most idiotic characters of the play. Legend has it that the *Karagöz* theater was born in the city of Bursa during the time of Orhan Gazi (1326–1362 CE). Two men, Hajivat (a mason) and Karagöz (a blacksmith), were workers in the construction of a mosque in Bursa. They were so funny that the other workers would listen to them and laugh all day, thus delaying the construction process of the mosque. Informed about this serious problem, the Ottoman Sultan gave the order for their execution. According to Ilhan Basgoz, this performance art appeared in Istanbul right after the 1517

Egypt campaign of Sultan Selim I (1512–1520), who had watched a similar shadow theater performance in Egypt, seeing an Arab puppeteer making fun of the enemy of the victorious sultan. Pleased with this mockery, the Ottoman sultan invited the puppeteer to Istanbul to repeat the same performance to his sons (Silay 1998). Karagöz performances remained one of the major sources of entertainment for the people until the introduction of Western-style theater and modern Turkish cinema later in the nineteenth century. Obviously, the birth of the modern performing arts and media, such as radio and television, contributed greatly to the demise of this traditional performance, although numerous fruitless attempts were made to give it a new lease on life during the Republican period.

The two most fundamental Turkish folk poetry forms are: (1) *mâni*, and (2) *türkü*. *Mâni* is the shortest poetic form and is compromised of four seven-syllable lines. Its rhyme scheme is the following: a a x a. *Türkü* is an orally composed and generally speaking an anonymous poetic form, even though a significant number of *türkü*s were composed by known individuals. The themes of *türkü*s can vary from love to natural disasters to everyday life events. There seems to be no limit as to what can constitute the "appropriate" theme of a *türkü*. From this point of view alone, *türkü*s make up the most important and perhaps richest literary form of Turkish folk literature. *Türkü*s are usually composed either in three-line stanzas, four-line stanzas, or in couplets, and some of the most widely used *türkü* rhyme schemes are the following: a a x a/b b x b/c c x c/d d x d...; b b b a/c c c a/d d d a/e e e a...; a a a/b b b/c c c/d d d...; and a a/b b/c c/d d....

KEMAL SILAY

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FOLK MEDICINE

Various types of medical practices, none of which had absolute authority over the others, were recognized in society. Doctors and apothecaries well versed in the Greek–Islamic medical theories mixed their potions and treated people in accordance with humoral principles. Greek–Islamic medicine was at its best in advising healthy diets and moderate habits and stressing the prevention of illnesses. However, the humoral theory was not sufficient to detect the actual causes of illnesses, and when it came to treating a disease, therapies did not necessarily cure the patient. Thus at times, alternative views prevailed and people chose not to ask a doctor's advice but trusted well-tested household remedies, bought protective amulets, or sought the help of the spiritual world by visiting tombs of saints or other holy places.

One of the available medical systems was the so-called medicine of the Prophet, which was derived from alleged sayings of the Prophet Muhammad. Some of these sayings reflect medical practices and beliefs popular among pre-Islamic Arabs: "There is health in three things: drinking of honey, incision made by the cupper's knife and cautery with fire; I forbid my people to cauterize," and, "Fever is of fire, cool it with cold water." These types of sayings were included in the major hadith collections, and some scholars subjected them to closer analysis with reference to the Greek–Islamic medical system.

Humoral physiology and pathology were widely accepted by the authors of "prophetic medicine"; they did not question that illness, caused by humoral imbalance, was to be cured by correcting such imbalance. Scholars in this field accepted dietary cures administered by medical practitioners, and in many cases they just repeated the physicians' recommendations; in some instances, however, they were able to point out shortcomings of medical theory and to introduce their own healing methods.

Although the Prophet's medicine in many ways reflected popular views on disease and cures, it did not approve of all aspects of folk medicine. The authors accepted some traditional cures and etiological concepts, but they considered folk medicine in many ways inefficient. In the hierarchy of medical systems, the authors ranked the Prophet's medicine at the top and folk medicine at the bottom, asserting that the Prophet's medicine related to Greek–Islamic medicine as the latter did to the medicine of roadside practitioners and old women.

The ordinary people did not necessarily agree with this view but considered the various forms of therapy as more or less equal alternatives. The choices people made in deciding how to cure a particular illness varied according to their understanding of the causes of the illness and their experience in the effects of the various treatments offered. The choice of therapy depended also on social and financial status. Those who could afford the fees called a doctor to treat their ailments, whereas others resorted to the services of apothecaries and herbalists and bought the ingredients for traditional household remedies. Medicaments could be chosen on the basis of their temperamental qualities, but they might also be herbs known by

experience to be efficient against ordinary aches and pains.

Popular views on the etiology of illnesses sometimes differed from the views of the physicians. They held that the plague was caused by putrid air *(miasma)* and that in turn, *miasma* was caused by agents such as stagnant water, drought, or rotting cadavers. The theory did not explain why putrid air did not always make people ill and when it did, why not everybody was affected. Many people rejected the medical opinion and instead considered spirits *(jinn)* the cause of plague. The spirits pierced the victims with poisonous arrows, which explained why they could afflict a person with the disease and leave the neighbor healthy. The way to avoid plague was not to purify the air by incense, as the doctors recommended, but to protect oneself from the spirits by wearing amulets.

The authors of the Prophet's medicine disapproved of the widespread use of amulets as a protection against illnesses, considering them a form of idolatry. The scholars accepted that spirits caused illnesses, but the evil influence had to be combated with carefully chosen means that were compatible with Islam. It was far better to strengthen one's own faith and turn to God for protection against evil. Amulets as such were not forbidden as long as they did not contain magic symbols, but consisted of Qur'anic verses or other pious words. The scholars also stressed that the amulet did not in itself protect, but it was God who protected and who cured or prevented illness.

Epilepsy was another serious disease in which medical and popular etiologies differed decisively. According to Greek–Islamic theory, epilepsy was caused by either phlegm or black bile and could be treated by a dietary regimen aided by herbal drugs. In many instances the treatment proved inefficient, which lessened the credibility of the humoral explanation. In popular opinion, epilepsy was caused by demonic possession and the only cure was to exorcise the spirit. The Prophet's medicine offered a compromise, accepting the popular idea of spirits as a mere alternative to the humoral etiology. If a patient did not respond to the doctor's therapy, his or her epilepsy was obviously not caused by an imbalance of humors but by spirits that had to be exorcised.

None of the various medical systems could put an end to suffering and cure all illness. If no cure was found for a disease, the Prophet's medicine gave people the consolation that an illness, if endured patiently, strengthened the patient's faith and brought him closer to God. This gave meaning to the suffering and made it bearable.

Irmeli Perho

See also Baraka; Disease; Epidemics; Food and Diet; Health and Hygiene; Saints and Sainthood

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FOOD AND DIET

Medieval Islamic culinary culture mirrored the territorial expansion of the Islamic empire. Before AH 132/ 750 CE, the diet of the peoples of the Arabian Peninsula generally consisted of local, simply prepared foods. Pastoral staples such as dates, milk and dairy products, and some meats (particularly mutton, but also camel, goat, rabbit) predominated, along with grains and vegetables cultivated by the sedentary populations in the southern part of the Peninsula.

After 132/750, the sociopolitical unification of a vast geographical territory led to the dissemination of crops across the Islamic lands whose consumption had formerly been confined to limited areas. Rice and sugar cane, originally cultivated in India, are two examples of a variety of food crops that moved westward across the empire as far as the western Mediterranean.

With the expansion of the Islamic empire after the mid-eighth century, a variety of regional cooking traditions were absorbed, notably that of the pre-Islamic Sasanian empire of Persia. The combination of traditional Arab dishes with the refined Persian culinary tradition and many other regional cooking practices characterized the "high" cuisine of courts and urban centers. This cuisine is reflected in surviving works of medieval Islamic culinary literature: cookbooks, treatises on dietetics, agriculture, handbooks of etiquette, and other literary works that celebrated food as one of life's pleasures.

Food was prepared both in private households and in public markets. Rulers and other wealthy elites



Sufavid mural, 1640s. Female courtier of Abbas I during a picnic. Chihil Sutun (Pavilion of Forty Columns), Isfahan, Iran. Credit: SEF/Art Resource.

enjoyed specialized kitchens furnished with ovens, fireplaces, a variety of cooking implements, and a dedicated kitchen staff, whereas others made do with simple areas for food preparation in the home, supplemented by the services of public ovens and the offerings of public food markets.

The main grains consumed were wheat, barley, and rice, as well as chickpeas, lentils, and mungo beans. Wheat was a major commodity, and bread was a staple throughout the Islamic lands, though the wealthy enjoyed loaves made from fine wheat flour while the poor made do with loaves made from coarser flours. Mutton and lamb were the most favored types of meat, but goat, fowl, fish, and a variety of game animals were also eaten. The great variety of fruits, nuts, vegetables, and herbs available to consumers is reflected in cookbooks and in agricultural treatises, particularly those of the Islamic Iberian Peninsula.

Food served as a luxury product for the wealthy, and status was displayed at feasts. Culinary manuals created by and for the wealthy reflect a concern that food appeal to all the senses. Dishes were served with a variety of condiments and were often decorated with other foodstuffs arranged in decorative patterns or chosen to lend color to the dish. Saffron was especially favored for the golden color (and the implication of wealth) that it provided finished dishes. In addition to their appearance, medieval Islamic cooks and diners were also attuned to the fragrance of dishes. Finished dishes and drinks were often perfumed with fragrant substances like rosewater, or for the very wealthy, musk and camphor, which were also believed to function medicinally.

Drinks were generally consumed after meals, and were made from a variety of fruits. A tenth-century ʻAbbasid text mentions wine made from grapes, raisins, honey, and dates, while an Andalusi agricultural calendar of the same period refers to the juices of green grapes, blackberries, and pomegranates. The consumption of intoxicating beverages was generally frowned upon for religious reasons. Despite injunctions against it, however, members of all social classes throughout the Islamic lands consumed wine. Toleration of the consumption of intoxicating substances varied according to specific segments of the population, as well as with time and place, and jurists devoted a great deal of attention to the subject.

Food was popularly believed to affect the human body and temperament, and opinions on the

relationship between substances consumed and the one who consumed them circulated in popular culture, as well as in scientific literature. For example, eating the heart or liver of a sheep was popularly believed to strengthen one's heart and liver, whereas consuming the sheep's brain was believed to lead to the mental weakness associated with the animal. Dietetics was considered a branch of medicine, and medical treatises approached food from a scientific standpoint, detailing the positive and negative effects of specific foods on the physical, mental, and spiritual health of the consumer.

Glaire D. Anderson

See also Agriculture; Animal Husbandry; Beverages; Cash Crops; Desserts and Confections; Medicine, Diet and Dietetics; Nomadism and Pastoralism; Sedentarism; Spices; Wine

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FOREIGNERS

Unlike Greco–Roman civilization, Islam did not see the use or the need to confer legal status to the foreigner. Even if we were to comb through all Muslim law texts, we would not find a single judicial definition of the foreigner. This person, however, does appear in Muslim historico-literary sources. Foreigners even led to the creation in the tenth century of a unique literary genre practiced by both religious and profane scholars. In one exemplary tale, a few witty words, or a graffiti, this genre restored the otherness experienced by all who embarked on the adventure of faraway countries and who left vestiges worth saving in books. The *Book of Foreigners* from Pseudo-Abû'l-Faraj of Isfahan is a good representative of the genre, presenting itself as a collection of graffiti with nostalgia as a theme.

Close and remote at the same time, the figure of the foreigner fascinated Muslims of the Middle Ages with its fundamental ambiguity, probably because medieval Muslim societies used voluntary exile as one of their great social initiation rites. They expected one who returned home, after having been away for a more or less long time, to be radically, but also positively, transformed by his search. Under such conditions, the ideal was to return basking in the attributes of glory, such as those earned through the conquest of knowledge and of riches—unless one returned with narrative results noteworthy enough to make a successful book. It is understandable then that the foreigners most often depicted in the sources were young peoples from all social backgrounds who found in the experience of becoming someone else a way to extend, under socially and culturally acceptable conditions, one stage of their lives: that of youth. An entire generation had to cut their social ties to lead, for many years, a life at times lofty but often economically fruitless and socially risky.

Ghârib is the word used by the medieval Arabic language to signify the foreigner. One of the many anecdotes found in the literary genre of the "books of foreigners" can help reveal its meanings. The mystical theologian Qushayrî (d. AH 465/1073 CE) was invited to a session of religious exhortation upon his arrival in Baghdad, where he was greeted by a compact mass of listeners who were for the most part foreigners like him, a fact he did not know beforehand. No doubt suffering from the pains of exile, he began his exhortation session with a famous *hadith* in which the founder of Islam said, "Travel is a part of suffering." An audience member interrupted him, wanting to know why the prophet would say such a thing, to which the master answered, "Because of the separation from loved ones!" This answer so strongly moved the many foreign listeners that no one in the audience could repress their pain. Tears flowed and emotions rose. The exhortation session became a psychodrama. The scholar, who could not go on, stopped it amid cries and emotional confusion. This touching anecdote explains one of the conditions of the foreigner. Another one, noted since the ninth century, was the emphasis on the distance from one's homeland. In either case, moving away from relations and country was made to be seen as an individual motion (even when done collectively, it was assumed individually), socially disassociating and psychologically and emotionally destabilizing. Upon leaving his or her familiar space, the foreigner entered another world. This break with what was known caused in him or her a psycho-affective instability that often led to comparing him or her with a sick man. Thus a medieval treatise on the art of traveling stated that, according to Galen, the foreigner who became ill would be cured upon seeing his or her homeland: his or her heart would then be freed from pain "as the earth is relieved from drought by an abounding rainfall." That is why, the same source also revealed, Hippocrates—the other great name in Greek medicine—recommended that a sick person be healed only by using plants indigenous to his or her homeland. This explains why those who were to be absent too long from their country, far from their nearest and dearest ones, were advised to carry some clay from their country, to purify the water they

would drink and perhaps also heal the burns from the nostalgia that would consume them.

Yet one did not need to leave one's land or to separate from one's relations to become a stranger. Individuals, in their own country and amidst their compatriots, were "foreign," in fact, and right to any lineage that was not their own. In this case, *ajnabî* was the term used; it might belong more specifically to the judicial vocabulary. When used less technically, it referred to any foreigner to a country, a community, or a language. In this latter sense, it was synonymous to *ajnab*, which seemed to have first been used to indicate the "intractable," the "disobedient," and the "recalcitrant" before referring to the "one who does not belong to a community or a company." The figure of the foreigner took on a new consistence with these two terms, compared with that of the *gharîb,* which medieval Arabic seems to have used exclusively for Arabs and Muslims. The terms designated indistinctively all foreigners, no matter their ethnic, cultural, or religious origins.

What about foreigners from non-Muslim countries? Oddly, they did not have the status of foreigner, at least not from a legal point of view. Otherwise, the image of neutrality would have been projected on them, neutrality that the Muslim law did not grant them because it subdivided the oikoumene in two distinct and irreconcilable categories: one Islamic, the other non-Islamic. The first was called "territory of peace"; the second, "enemy territory." As a result of this antagonistic opposition, foreigners coming from infidel countries were "belligerents" even when they were not professional soldiers nor felt any particular hostility toward Islam and Muslims. Since they were considered enemies, however, they had to be pacified when they traveled through Muslim land. How? By obtaining a safe-conduct *(amân)* from the legal authorities, who thus temporarily eliminated their status of enemy, replacing it with the one—no less temporary—of *musta'min*.

It is different from a sociological point of view. Any person far from his country or community was foreign. Thus, in his *History of India,* Biruni used the plural *ajânib* to refer to those whom the Indians saw as foreigners. The obstacle was first of all religious: Indians, who called all foreigners "impure," were forbidden to have any contact with them, such as getting married, sitting beside them, or eating or drinking with them. They went as far as to refuse the company of those who wished to convert to the faith. Biruni, who noted that "this is what hinders any closeness, what builds a fence between them and us" (p. 47), added "political reasons" to the "obstacles between Hindus and (Muslim) foreigners" who came to conquer their country and eradicate their religion.

This plural word, *ajânib*, linked to the singular *ajnabî* that defined the condition of one who was foreign to the lineage, would be ultimately used in the nineteenth century to designate the non-Arabs, before encompassing all foreigners. Thus the Egyptian became the foreigner of the Syrian, who became the one of the Algerian or the Moroccan. The word *ajnabî/ajânib* would suffer another semantic surgery dictated to the Arabs—under the rule of colonization in particular and of westernization in general—when they restructured their living together within a new European political frame: that of the nation.

HOUARI TOUATI

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FRANKS, OR IFRANJ

Frank is a term used by the Muslim Middle East to denote the inhabitants of Western Europe generally, rather than specifically, the people of the Holy Roman Empire: Christian descendants of barbarian tribes. However, the term was not normally used of Spanish Christians, who were referred to by Muslim writers as Rum, a name also used for the Byzantines.

The looseness of the designation would seem to reflect the low level of Muslim interest in western Christendom, except on the part of Arab writers in the Iberian Peninsula. Elsewhere in the Muslim world, eastern Christendom commanded more immediate attention, at least at the start of the Islamic era. The victory of the Franks, under their leader Charles Martel at the Battle of Poitiers in western France in AH 114/732 CE, seems to have mattered much less to the defeated Arabs than the latter's failure to take Constantinople from the Byzantines. The Balat

al-Shuhada' (Thoroughfare of the Martyrs), as the Arabs call the setback at Poitiers, is first mentioned in the eleventh century, and then only in Spanish-Arab chronicles.

There are remarkably few reported encounters between Muslims and western Europeans before the Reconquista and the Crusades. The Frankish chronicles mention an exchange of envoys that may have taken place at the beginning of the ninth century between Martel's grandson Charlemagne, king of the Franks and Holy Roman emperor, and the fifth 'Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid. More certainly, one hundred years later, the seventeenth 'Abbasid caliph al-Muktafi received in Baghdad an embassy from the daughter of the Frankish ruler of Lorraine.

For much of this period, any precise knowledge the Arabs had of the peoples, languages, geography, and history of Europe mostly concerned Muslim Andalusia. Information about the rest of Europe is largely fable, with the exception of some geographical data, based largely on Greek sources. The first Arab writer to touch on the history of Western Europe was al-Mas'udi in the middle of the tenth century. In his historical and geographical survey, *Muruj al-dhahab (The Meadows of Gold)*, al-Mas'udi gives a list of Frankish kings from Clovis to Louis IV, based apparently on a Frankish source.

Reinforcing the lack of Muslim interest in medieval Europe was the reluctance of Muslims to travel in Christian lands. It was left to a Spanish Jew, Ibrahim b. Ya'qub, from Tortosa near Barcelona in Arab Spain, to provide the Muslim world with the first detailed eyewitness information about Western Europe. In the middle of the tenth century, Ibrahim travelled, perhaps on official business for the ruler of Andalusia, through France, Holland, northern Germany, Bohemia, Poland, and northern Italy. The account of his travels, which he wrote in Arabic, survives only in fragments that were incorporated into the work of later writers. Ibrahim b. Ya'qub was the source for many subsequent Islamic descriptions of Western Europe.

Toward the end of the eleventh century, there began a period of more direct encounters, beginning with the Reconquista of the Iberian Peninsula and culminating in the Crusades, as a result of which western Europeans occupied parts of the Muslim Near East. Muslim personal impressions of the intruders were added to the written record, notably those of the Syrian belle-lettrist Usama Ibn Munqidh, and the Andalusian traveler Ibn Jubayr. However, the Muslims evinced little interest in the polities of the Crusader states, the differences between the various nationalities, and the places in Europe from which the Crusaders had come. By contrast, the thriving mercantile relationship between East and West, established as a result of the European settlement of the Levant, would continue even after the Muslims had regained the sovereignty of the region.

There is a section on Frankish history in the early fourteenth-century Persian chronicle of Rashid al-Din Tabib, the *Jami' al-tawarikh (The Universal History)*, based on written and oral European sources. Otherwise, the level of Muslim intellectual interest in the West would remain the same until the sixteenth century, when the Ottoman Turks embarked on their pragmatic engagement with Europe.

David Morray

See also Andalus; Crusades; Cultural Exchange; Diplomacy; Interfaith Relations; Muslim–Byzantine Relations; Muslim Conceptions of Past Civilizations; Muslim–Crusader Relations; Syria; Greater Syria

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FREETHINKERS

The term *freethinker* was originally coined in early modern Europe, where it denoted diverse, independent thinkers who shared in a rejection of ecclesiastic authority. According to some modern scholars of Islam, the term has been used to describe various rationalist currents of thought, such as the Mu'tazilites (see Theology) or Aristotelian philosophy. In this entry, it is used to denote those individuals in medieval Islamic society who rejected the belief in divine revelation through prophecy, in the validity of revealed scriptures, and in the authority of the prophets, or indeed in any religious authority.

Among those individuals, the most famous are the ninth-century theologian Ibn al-Rawandi, the tenth-century physician and neoplatonist philosopher Al-Razi (Rhazes), and the eleventh-century ascetic poet Abu 'l-'Ala' al-Ma'arri. In particular, Ibn al-Rawandi and al-Razi are credited with books that explicitly reject both the notion of prophecy as such and the

authenticity of specific prophets. Although none of these books is extant, extensive quotations in subsequent refutations by Muslim authors allow us to appreciate the radical contents and ferocious tone of the freethinkers' works. They depict the prophets as impostors, charlatans who exploit their knowledge of natural phenomena in order to deceive, delude, and manipulate simple people. In its less biting form, the criticism was formulated as a skeptic argument for the equivalence of all religions, but their criticism of Islam was particularly passionate.

People who were suspected of harboring such views ran the risk of persecution; thus they but rarely expressed them in prose. After the tenth century, dissenting intellectuals sought other venues to disseminate their ideas. Poets, however, enjoyed a modicum of license.

In their attempts to free themselves of their own monotheistic tradition, the freethinkers sometimes relied on a real or fictitious nonmonotheistic legacy. Indeed, some pre-Islamic sources, such as the pagan philosophers of late antiquity, argued a rejection of revealed religion. However, such notions gained unprecedented importance in the Islamic world. Because Muhammad's prophethood is a cornerstone of the Muslim faith, the belief in prophecy in general has also acquired a place of honor. The insistence of nonconformist intellectuals on a rejection of prophecy developed as a counterreaction to the importance of this dogma in Islam. It can thus be seen as a typically Islamic disbelief, which mirrors a specifically Islamic creed.

Despite the freethinkers' radical views, their criticism of religion should not be construed as atheism. They never denied God's existence, and only rarely did their opponents impute such a denial to them. Even when they did, it was the scriptural image of God that the freethinkers were said to deny: a personal God who interferes in the course of history through revelation, and who takes people to task for their acts. To some extent, the freethinkers' perception of God can be described (again borrowing a term from European intellectual history) as that of deists. They believed in natural reason as sufficient to guide humanity to truth; and some of them (like al-Razi) also believed in benevolent divine providence.

Also typical of the freethinkers is the preoccupation with questions of theodicy: they rebel against the existence of evil and suffering in the world, and they reject the justification of these sufferings as divine punishment.

The place accorded to freethinking in Islamic literature far exceeds the meager number of these individuals. The role of responding to the freethinkers' challenge was taken up by Muslim intellectuals of practically all persuasions—orthodox Sunni Muslims, Mu'talizilites (see Theology), and Ismailis. However, the impact of the freethinkers was not limited to polemical literature. For example, in the political thought of Aristotelian philosophers, prophecy played a vital role. This may be partly explained as a reaction to the freethinkers, reflecting the philosophers' attempts to dissociate themselves from unacceptable ideas like those expressed by al-Razi and Ibn al-Rawandi.

The impact of freethinking can be best appraised through its reflections in non-Muslim authors. Jewish writers of Arabic, like Maimonides, presented freethinking—a disbelief in prophecy thought typical of arrogant intellectuals—as the worst kind of disbelief. In European Christianity, its impact made itself felt more slowly. *The Book of Three Impostors* most likely owed its existence to this particular variety of Islamic disbelief, transmitted to Christian Europe via Sicily or Spain.

Sarah Stroumsa

See also Abu 'l-Ala' al-Ma'arri; Aristole and Aristotelianism; Heresy and Heretics; Ibn al-Rawandi: Ismailis; Al-Razi (Rhazes)

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FUNERARY PRACTICES, JEWISH

Islamic tradition reports that Muhammad stood up when the funeral bier of a Jewish woman passed by; he remarked that "Death is a terrible thing" and ordered his followers to stand when any cortege passed by. However, another report tells us that his practice had been to follow funerals and remain standing until the body was interred. This practice was changed, however, after a rabbi approached him and said, "We do likewise O Muhammad!" at which point he "took his seat, exclaiming, 'Oppose them.'"

The Jewish funeral procession predates Islam, of course; it is known from Flavius Josephus (*Against Apion* 2, 205) and Talmudic sources, but it remained

an important practice among Jews living in Islamic lands, even if some of the other funerary practices known from those times had fallen into disuse. Those who could afford it had cantors to provide accompaniment; for example, the wealthy Jewess known as Wuhsha the Broker allocated the princely sum of fifty dinars to make sure professional singers followed her bier. Musical accompaniment was rare. Elaborate funeral processions, however, could be a provocation to Muslims, as happened in Egypt in 1011–1012, when Muslims attacked a funeral procession and denounced the Jews to the authorities; some two dozen were arrested on their way home from the cemetery. This may well have been the reason the Ben Ezra synagogue discontinued the practice of bringing unused sacred documents to the cemetery and began to discard them into the attic, forming the Cairo Geniza. Presumably, this is also why some wills specify that the Muslim wailers should be used.

The wills and financial receipts found in the Geniza detail the allocations for burial preparations: the washing and purification of the body, preparing the grave, expenses for pallbearers, food for mourners, and other expenses. Coffins were used, even though the dead were not buried in them. Geniza sources suggest they were not reused either, at least if the deceased could afford a new one. Wealthy Jews—men and women—often allocated large sums for sumptuous final vestments, perhaps because some Jews assumed that the resurrection of the dead would include the restoration of their funeral vestments, a view associated with Sa'adia Gaon (d. 942), and, according to Maimonides, unfortunately much discussed by Jews (introduction to the commentary on Sanhedrin, chapter 10). In some locations, graves were built with brick and elaborate preparations were made; in Spain, Samuel Ha-Nagid of Granada (d. 1056) reports that he descended into the grave to prepare the final resting place for his brother's body. Elaborate eulogies were given at the funeral, cantors sang the prayers movingly, and there was much wailing. Women had special gowns they wore in mourning.

An important part of the preparations for the funeral included community judges making sure financial considerations were put in order, including making sure the poll tax was paid off. There are reports that authorities prevented burial if this was not done. The deceased will often also have made arrangements to give charitable contributions to the poor and the synagogue, and to provide for education of children, maintenance of widows, and marriage of girls.

In Jewish tradition, seven days of mourning were observed, starting with the day of burial. Traditional observances included ripping the clothing, not wearing shoes, sitting on low benches rather than regular couches, not shaving or cutting the hair, and not going outside the house, and accepting condolence calls from extended family, friends, and the general community. As was noted by a question put to Taqi al-Din al-Subki in the fourteenth century, some of these practices diverged from those of Islamic society, particularly in the number of days in which a woman mourned for her husband, and the limitation of mourning to 3 days for everyone else.

Seth Ward

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FUNERARY PRACTICES, MUSLIM

Before burying the dead in the earth, Muslims typically performed a number of death rituals to express their grief and to prepare the corpse for its sojourn in the grave. Immediately after hearing the news of the death, bereft women would lament and wail. Pious men might then protest that wailing for the dead is wrong. A Muslim, they would argue, should be able to bear the loss of a loved one's life with stoic forbearance, submitting to God's judgment. As soon as possible after the moment of death, before the onset of *rigor mortis*, family members or professional corpse washers would begin to clean the corpse with the aim of burying it in a state of ritual purity. The corpse would then be wrapped in shrouds, hoisted on a bier, and hastily transported by pallbearers to the cemetery. Women were, in some places, forced to stay behind, at home, while men would leave for the cemetery, joining the funeral procession. At the cemetery, by the empty grave, the men would line up in rows and follow the imam in a prayer seeking God's mercy on behalf of the deceased. The corpse would then be deposited in the grave, laid on the right side facing in the Muslim direction of prayer. After the burial, the neighbors would approach the family of the deceased to offer food and consolation.

The Qur'an includes only a handful of statements regarding burial and associated ritual practices. It refers to the mythical origins of burial in a story

about Cain, Abel, and the raven (Q 5:31), yet it does not provide any specific instructions on how to bury the dead. In one instance, the Qur'an alludes to prayer for the dead and standing over the grave. However, its interest lies not in describing these rituals so as to provide Muslims with directions on how to carry them out. It refers to these rituals simply in order to prohibit Muslims from honoring with last rites those who had denied God and his Messenger and remained as sinners until the moment of death (Q 9:84).

In contrast to the Qur'an, collections of hadith, or oral tradition, and books of law and jurisprudence would pay close attention to funeral practices. Many of these works include a book or chapter devoted exclusively to the subject, the *Kitab al-Jana'iz*. Others discuss certain funeral practices—in particular, the washing of corpses and the prayer for the dead—in the books or chapters concerning the rituals of purity and prayer. These works cover a number of different funerary practices, beginning with the recitation of Qur'anic verses in the moments before imminent death and ending with the pattering of sandals over the fresh grave mound. Traditionists and jurisprudents considered in depth common and mundane practices, such as ritual laments, the preparation of corpses for burial, the procession toward the cemetery, the funeral prayer, and the construction of the tomb. Yet they also pondered rare and unusual cases; for instance, how to dispose of a corpse at sea, where interment was impossible.

The status of funerary practices in Islamic law depends on the practice in question. Burial was considered a Muslim's right, yet the duty to bury a Muslim was not incumbent on each and every individual. It was sufficient for part of the Muslim community to take it upon itself to bury the dead. To follow a funeral procession toward the cemetery was deemed a good deed, for which Muslims might earn the reward of forgiveness for their sins. Jurisprudents tended to recommend certain practices, such as burial in white shrouds, without making them obligatory. Certain other practices, such as wailing for the dead or inscribing tombstones, they decried as odious. Yet the performance of acts of this kind, however repugnant, would lead neither to criminal prosecution nor to the grave charge of apostasy. In fact, violators would suffer not so much in this world as in the next. Perhaps the greatest criminal violation of funerary law consisted of exhuming the dead with the intent of despoiling them of their shrouds—a robbery, which according to some jurisprudents should be punished by the amputation of the hand. Generally, however, the law of funerals concerned ethical standards rather than criminal matters. It concentrated on defining proper and improper behavior.

In Islamic funerary law there are frequent and extensive references to the acts and sayings of Muhammad and early converts to Islam, as these were remembered by traditionists. There are, by contrast, few explicit references to the funerary practices of Jews and Christians, even though Islamic funerary law developed in part in relation to non-Muslim customs and laws. Nowhere does Islamic law decree that Muslims should imitate the customs of non-Muslims, as of Muhammad. The opposite is true. Thus, for instance, jurisprudents decreed that the Jewish custom of rising in honor of a funeral procession passing by was abrogated, for Muhammad had declared it was essential for Muslims to diverge in their ritual practices from the Jews. This advocacy of communal distinction could not be adhered to uniformly, however, for in certain cases Muslim and non-Muslim practices were, at a basic level, obviously the same. So it was, for example, with the ritual of inhumation. Jews and Christians buried their dead in the earth, as did Muslims. Hence it was impossible, in this case, for Muslims to represent the ritual as if it originated with Muhammad and to view it as a departure from Judeo-Christian ways. Instead, jurisprudents referred to burial as part of the "custom of the sons of Adam."

Having considered the relation of Muslim to non-Muslim funerary practices, the question arises whether there was a similar attempt at communal distinction within Islam. Internal boundaries were certainly manifest in the orthodox boycotting of heretics' funerals or in the sectarian tendency toward violent lament in the commemoration of the deaths of Shiʿi martyrs. Yet did Sunni and Shiʿi jurisprudents try to develop distinctive death rituals that would serve one sect to differentiate it from the others? By and large, they did not. One does find Sunnis and Shiʿis subtly divided on certain topics, such as the permissibility of lamenting for the dead, preparing funerary repasts, and using tombstone inscriptions. However, with few exceptions, differences of opinion about funerary practice tended not to correspond in any straightforward way to sectarian divisions. An obvious example is the debate about whether it is best in the funerary procession to walk in front of or behind the bier. Tradition holds that the first three caliphs, whose right to rule was celebrated by Sunnis but not by Shiʿis, walked in front of the bier, whereas the fourth caliph, whom Shiʿis supported, walked behind the bier. Correspondingly, one would expect Sunni and Shiʿi law to be neatly divided into two camps, with each supporting a different position. However, one of the Sunni schools of jurisprudence, which followed the teachings of Abu Hanifa, subscribed to the same position as did the Shiʿis.

Our knowledge of funerary practices in medieval Islamic civilization derives not only from the corpus of Muslim tradition and law, but also from the archaeological record. So far, archaeologists have not excavated early Islamic cemeteries, yet there are a handful of reports on late-medieval necropoles. These studies show that burial practices varied from one location to another and diverged, sometimes in surprising ways, from the ideals of Islamic law. An example may be cited, by way of conclusion, from the excavations at Málaga and Murcia in al-Andalus. It seems that in these places Muslim scholars were sometimes buried in mosques, much as Christian monks in churches, despite the fact that Islamic law prohibited the practice.

LEOR HALEVI

See also Death and Dying

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FURNITURE AND FURNISHINGS

Traditionally, life in the Middle East is lived not with furniture—chairs, tables, beds, wardrobes, and the like—but with woven materials designed for life on the ground, such as carpets, flat-woven textiles, and cushions and bed mattresses, reflecting nomadic customs. By European standards, the interior space in the Middle East remained empty till modern times.

Neither archaeological nor literary sources help to pin down the development of domestic furniture in the Islamic world of the Middle Ages. But it is assumed that the house interior was empty of furniture and essentially consisted of matting laid on the floor and low tables at meals. Seating levels, which were presumably suggested by the number of cushions and the range and quality of fabrics, may have been major indicators of social rank.

Nevertheless, furniture played a key role on ceremonial occasions in the medieval Islamic lands. Certain types of portable wooden furniture, such as *minbar*s (pulpits), *maqsūra*s (screened enclosures for the ruler), Qur'an stands, and bookcases were incorporated into mosques and other religious settings. Most of the earliest surviving examples of such furnishings came from the western Islamic lands and some of them are still extant.

Information about furniture provided by visual sources (for example, fresco painting, miniature painting, ceramics, metalwork) is rich enough to demonstrate the significance of furnishings in court life in the medieval Islamic world. A type of throne differs from dynasty to dynasty: frescoes discovered from the Umayyad (661–750 CE) sites, for example, those from Qasr al-Hayr West and Qusayr 'Amra, have often been cited as evidence for the use of chairlike thrones in the Umayyad court. It seems that a low throne suitable for the cross-legged posture was introduced during the early 'Abbasid period (749–1258) and became increasingly popular in the Saljuq (1040–1194) political and cultural sphere. The ubiquity of folding stools in the medieval Islamic world, which were derived from classical models, can be attested to by those depicted in the court scenes in pre-Mongol miniature painting, such as a frontispiece of the *Kitāb al-aghānī (Book of Songs),* probably executed in Mosul in 1216–1220 (Istanbul, Millet Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah Efendi 1566), and they continued to be represented in later miniature painting of the Middle East. As often seen in the enthronement scenes in early fourteenth-century copies of *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* of Rashid al-Din *(Compendium of Chronicles)* and the *Shāhnāma (Book of Kings)* by Ferdowsi, the Mongol invasion facilitated the introduction of a new type of royal furniture into the Eastern Islamic lands—namely, a high-backed throne with decorative side panels based on the Chinese prototype. Although it remains unclear whether actual examples of such furniture were imported westward into the Middle East, this kind of elaborate throne,

together with a low footstool become an important component of royal iconography in Persian miniature painting. Another important royal furnishing of the period is a tent hanging woven in brocade under the inspiration of Mongol customs. The depiction of furnishings became more detailed in miniature painting under the Timurids (1370–1505) and the Safavids (1501–1722), and several kinds of throne, seat, and low table function as pictorial devices and, moreover, visualize the rich material culture of the pre-modern Islamic world.

YUKA KADOI

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FUSTÂT

The city of Fustât *(Misr al-Fustât)*, capital of Islamic Egypt, was founded in 642 CE by ʻAmr ibn al-ʻAs when the Arabs conquered Byzantine Egypt during the reign of the caliph ʻUmar. The city was located on the eastern shore of the Nile, just below the Delta, close to the ancient Roman fortress of Babylone (*Qasr al Shamʻ* for the Arabs). It controlled the passageway south of the Delta. To the east of the city stands the Muqattam, a tabular mountain of white limestone stretching from the north to the south; some of its lower protuberances have allowed an urban occupation, such as the Citadel *(al-Qalʻa,* or *Qalʻat al-Gabal)*, the plateau of Istabl ʻAntar *(ʻAmal Fawq)*. At its foundation the city was divided into plots *(khitta, khitat)*, which the emir ʻAmr shared out to the tribes and clans. The center of the city was allotted to the People of the Banner *(ahl al-râya)*: This is where the first mosque on African ground was erected, known still today as the mosque of ʻAmr.

The real extent and density of the city founded by ʻAmr ibn al-ʻAs are but imperfectly known, and therefore one cannot appreciate its true importance. At the time of its foundation, the territory of Fustât extended between the vast lake known as *Birkat al-Habash* in the south to the *khittat al-Hamrâ al-quswâ* where the Yashkur were settled in the north, that is, from the present area of Basâtîne to that of Sayyida Zaynab. This would represent a north-south extension of slightly more than 4.5 km. Fustât soon turned into a metropolis. The excavations of the Istabl ʻAntar plateau have revealed that the southern quarters of the town were densely built during the first centuries after its foundation. However, the city went through many variations throughout its history, with important territorial changes, such as extensions, recesses, and changes of location, in an area now completely absorbed by the modern metropolis.

Throughout the twentieth century, the site of Fustât was excavated by various archaeological missions. The first excavations, carried out by Aly Bahgat, were published in collaboration with Albert Gabriel in 1921. In the same area, important excavations were also carried out by George T. Scanlon and Wladyslaw Kubiak (1964–1980), and later by Mutsuo Kawatoko. These investigations have revealed living quarters of the first Fatimid century, some belonging to a well-to-do class (Bahgat), others to a humbler part of the population (Scanlon). The excavations of the French Institute located in the southern part of the town were the first to reveal layers pertaining to the foundation of the Arab city, as well as a vast necropolis of the eighth and tenth centuries.

Few of the Fustât monuments have survived. The most ancient one is the ʻAmr mosque, but it has been widened and transformed many a time, making its original state hardly discernible. The latest restorations have probably disfigured it permanently. The Istabl ʻAntar excavations revealed the most ancient plan of a mosque in Egypt, as well as many mausolea belonging to the same period (that is, between ad 750 and 765). The Nilometer *(Miqyas)* at the southern tip of the Roda island *(Rawda)* is a particular kind of monument, reconstructed in 861 and used for measuring the high waters of the Nile. The mosque of Ibn Tûlûn is probably the most impressive monument of Fustât that can still be admired. It was inaugurated in 879 and witnesses the importation of the Mesopotamian Samarra art to Egypt. Two aqueducts have partially survived: parts of the aqueduct supplying Ibn Tûlûn's palatial residence on Gabal Yashkur, with water coming from the lake of Birkat al-Habash, can still be seen, as well as its *sâqîya*. The other one, known as "the Saladin wall," crossed the ruins of Fustât and reached the foot of the citadel northeast of the city. One may also add five aqueducts dating from the eighth to eleventh centuries, found in the excavations of Istabl ʻAntar.

Most of the monuments of Fustât still to be seen are funeral constructions, their position in the

cemetery, as well as their function, having spared them from destruction. One may mention the mausolea of Sab' Banât and that of Hadrâ al-Sharîfa in the southern part of the city, built in the beginning of the eleventh century, Ikhwât Yûsuf (1125–1150), the Imâm Shâfi'î reconstructed in 1211 in the cemetery of Qarâfa. One may add numerous other mausolea to the list, many of which have been altered during their history, such as Sayyida 'Atîka and Muhammad al-Ga'farî (1122); Sayyida Ruqayya (1133); Umm Kulthum (1122); Yahyâ al-Shâbihî (1150); al-Hasawâtî (1150); and Fâtima Khatûn (1283). Various churches, as well as the synagogue of Old Cairo, have a complex architectural history and also suffered from poor restoration. They should be added to this list.

Today, unlike the medieval city of Cairo, Fustât offers a scattered architectural heritage, difficult to preserve, a situation that does not reflect the grandeur of its history.

Roland-Pierre Gayraud

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G

GAMBLING

Gambling *(qimar)* is strictly forbidden by Islamic law on the basis that it represents an exchange of property that is neither productive nor sanctioned and is thus a frivolous and useless business transaction. Moreover, gambling also prevents Muslims from performing their obligations of prayer and worship and has the potential to lead to arguments and violence. Despite legal injunctions against the practice, gambling did occur throughout the medieval Islamic world at all levels of society. It may be divided into two broad categories. The first sort of gambling consisted of board games such as *nard* (backgammon), chess, throwing dice, casting lots, cards, guessing games, and *manqalah* (the game of fourteen). The other kind of gambling was the placing of stakes on sports. The most common sports involving stakes were horse and camel racing, swimming, archery, wrestling, foot racing, pigeon flying, and polo. Gambling on sporting events usually took place in large open spaces, whereas game playing with stakes generally occurred in private. Large cities often housed gambling establishments or casinos, and some even offered gamblers the allure of on-site loans to continue their play. Legal authorities tended to ignore gambling unless it caused a disturbance to neighboring residents or businesses in the form of noise, crime, or disorder.

The roots of gambling in the medieval Islamic world and the debates surrounding it go back to pre-Islamic Arabia, where a game known as *maysir* was widely played. In this game, a maximum of seven players each purchased an arrow with differing numbers of notches representing shares (one through seven) of a camel divided into 10 parts. These seven arrows, along with three blank ones, were placed in an empty drum and then chosen at random one at a time. The winners were those whose arrow was drawn out of the drum first. They received shares of the camel commensurate to the number of shares purchased and represented by the notches on their arrow. The losers paid for the camel and its slaughter. In the Qur'an, *maysir* is likened to wine and explicitly forbidden as a sin. Many later Muslim jurists based their judgments of gambling on the example of the treatment of *maysir* in the Qur'an.

As debates among Muslim jurists progressed, the relative legality of various sorts of gambling changed. For instance, while some jurists argued against the legality of chess because the game's pieces bore what they took to be idolatrous images, others pointed to what they viewed as the utility of the game in teaching foresight and military strategy. Similarly, even if backgammon was played without stakes, some still deemed it illegal because the game involved the throwing of dice. What is more, the flexible nature of Islamic law allowed technically illegal forms of gambling to become legalized through the mechanism of a *muhallil* (a legalizer). This individual participated in the gaming or sport but did not contribute to the stakes. Because gambling in which all the participants added to the stakes was strictly forbidden by Muslim jurists, the presence of an individual who did not contribute to the stakes made the activity in question a legal form of gambling.

As the most common forms of gambling, backgammon and chess were at the center of most debates on the subject. One of the most important challenges these games raised struck at a core concept in the metaphysics of Islamic monotheism: the nature of fate. Specifically, backgammon came to be seen as the epitome of the orthodox belief in predetermination and trust in God because the roll of the dice was beyond the control of human will and desire. Chess, on the other hand, symbolized all that was wrong with humanity because it encouraged players to rely on their own capacities and gave them a false sense of freedom of choice.

Alan Mikhail

See also Backgammon; Camels; Chess; Divination; Numbers; Pigeons; Pre-Destination; Sports; Toys; Usury and Interest

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GANJ-I SHAKAR, FARID AD-DIN

A prominent Sufi master of the Chishti order in India, Farid ad-Din was born in Kahtwal, a village close to Multan (Punjab) around 1175 CE, to a family that had immigrated to the region from Kabul. Receiving his early religious education (particularly in mysticism) from his mother, Farid ad-Din also attended a *madrasa* attached to a mosque in Multan. It was there that he is believed to have met Qutb ad-Din Bakhtiyar Khaki, a prominent Sufi master from Delhi who initiated him into the Chishti order, an order that was rapidly becoming one of the most powerful Sufi fraternities in northern India. According to hagiographic accounts of his life, Farid ad-Din quickly became renowned in Chishti circles for his ascetic practices, such as hanging upside in a well for 45 while meditating and praying. He also became famous for his fasts through which he is believed to have attained the power of turning stones into sugar; hence, his epithet Ganj-i Shakar (the treasure house of sugar). His asceticism was so extreme that even his own wives and children had to endure severe austerities and restrictions on his account.

In keeping with early Chishti tradition, Farid ad-Din considered association with rulers to be detrimental to a life devoted to inculcating spiritual values. Hence he rejected land grants or gifts from rulers, preferring to rely on gifts from devotees as a means of maintaining himself and his disciples. His mistrust of government and politics was so intense that he eventually decided to abandon Delhi and the political turmoil of a capital city to settle in Ajodhan, a small, remote settlement on the Sutlej River in the Punjab. As Farid ad-Din's fame spread throughout the region and pilgrims flocked to Ajodhan, it was eventually renamed Pakpattan (the ferry of the pure), presumably because devotees could board the metaphorical ferry of salvation, piloted by Farid ad-Din, at this location. On Farid ad-Din's death in 1265, a shrine complex developed around his tomb in Pakpattan. As an important north Indian pilgrimage center, Pakpattan continues to attract devotees of all religious faiths, who come here to seek Farid ad-Din's blessings and his intercession so that their prayers may be answered.

Farid ad-Din played an instrumental role in the expansion of the Chishti order in north India by training several prominent disciples who eventually were responsible for consolidating the order's authority in important cities and towns. Most prominent among them was Nizam ad-Din Awliya, the famous Chishti master of Delhi, whom he met in 1257, only a few years before his death. Shaykh Salim Chishti of Fatehpur Sikri, on account of whom the Chishti order attained great influence in the Mughal court in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was also one of his spiritual descendants. Although Farid ad-Din taught his disciples classical Sufi texts, he himself is not believed to have left behind any important treatise. Oral tradition attributes to Farid ad-Din numerous poems and verses in local north Indian vernaculars, such as Panjabi and Hindawi (the earliest form of Urdu-Hindi), suggesting that he attempted to spread Sufi ideas among ordinary people by composing mystical folk poetry. A few scholars also believe that the poems ascribed to a Shaykh Farid ad-Din and incorporated into the *Adigranth,* the scripture of the Sikh community may also have been composed by Farid ad-Din (Ganj-i Shakar), although there is no consensus on this issue.

Ali Asani

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GARDENS AND GARDENING

The pleasurable aspects of medieval Islamic gardens—the sensory delights of sight, scent, sound, and refreshing spray—were balanced with their ability to yield



Gardens. Islamic, fourteenth century. Nasrid period. Alhambra, Granada, Spain. Credit: Werner Forman/Art Resource, NY.

useful fruit and to display the process by which fertility was transformed into profit. Agriculture and trade in agricultural products were the economic foundation of medieval Islam, and gardens were an aesthetic expression of how that spatial economy and ecological system operated. For example, at Khirbat al-Mafjar in Jordan (724–743 CE), an enormous roofed fountain in the outer courtyard provided water and drew attention to water's power to transform the surrounding desert into a habitable landscape of orchards and crops. At Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi in Syria (728–729), a seasonal stream controlled by low walls and sluices irrigated an extensive olive orchard that was probably interplanted with spring crops needing shade. This was a working farm that produced olives and oil to be traded between nomadic country dwellers and merchants from the city of Palmyra; yet the estate must also have been enjoyed as a green oasis in the midst of harsh desert.

The human fulfillment of the Qur'an's command to serve as stewards of the earth and to care for the plants and animals was expressed in gardens where the agricultural landscape of irrigation, plants, architectural structures, and planning was reproduced in microcosm for display. The most powerful example of landscape planning occurs in the *chahar bagh* (four-garden) plan, the earliest known example of which is the Umayyad palace at Rusafa in Syria (724–742), where a raised pavilion stood at the intersection of walkways in an irregular garden enclosure. Although a quadripartite organization was implicit in Roman and Achaemenid gardens, in Islamic Syria it appeared as a formal plan with paved walkways axially dividing the garden into quadrants with a pavilion or fountain at the center. The *chahar bagh* plan next appeared at Madinat al-Zahra' in Cordoba (936), although there have been many other examples that left no archaeological trace. Thereafter the quadripartite plan spread across the Islamic world from Spain (Castillejo of Monteagudo and the Alhambra) and Morocco (the garden excavated beneath the Kutubiyya Mosque, Marrakesh) to Afghanistan (Lashkari Bazar), culminating in the great gardens of Timurid and Safavid Iran and Mughal India.

Irrigation was essential for gardening in the dry climate of north Africa and the Middle East. Except during brief rainy seasons, it was drawn from catchment basins (particularly along the Nile), rivers, canals (particularly in Mesopotamia), rainwater cisterns, and even from the water table itself. Ideally, the source of water was above the destination point: at Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi in Syria (724–727), a surface

canal led to a basin on high ground near the palace, where it could be released as needed, flowing by gravity into the palace and gardens. When the source of water was lower than the field, garden, or residence where it was to be used, either a noria (waterwheel) or *shaduf* (pole and lever) was used to lift the water in buckets. Alternatively, in some landscapes a *qanat* (subterranean canal) could tap the elevated water table at the base of a mountain and carry it underground for many miles to a human-made oasis of farms and gardens. The mutual reliance on irrigation is but one indication of the close connection between gardening and farming.

Due to the ephemeral nature of plant life, no gardens survive from the medieval era, but historical descriptions, botanical treatises, agricultural manuals, and even poetry reflect the importance of gardening. Manuscript paintings (such as the "Bayad wa Riyad" and Mongol copies of the "Shanameh") that depict gardens are equally important, although these are scarce prior to the thirteenth century. Although they are untrustworthy as literal representations, they do show that gardens and landscapes provided the setting for public ceremonies, private colloquia, amorous trysts, hunts, outdoor banquets, and other social gatherings.

Few medieval Islamic gardens have been excavated because of the high cost and the specialized expertise necessary for soil archaeology. Consequently, we know very little about the specific botanical contents of early gardens, gardening tools, planting pots, or even correct soil surface levels. One exception is the Alhambra, where the original soil level in the Court of the Lions was observed .80 meters below the present pavement surface. Similarly, at the Generalife's Patio del Acequia, emergency excavations following a fire revealed an original soil level .70 meters lower than the present surface and pits for large shrubs in the corners of the garden. At Rusafa (Syria), the existence of a garden was inferred merely from the walkways and the lack of other built fabric. However, such excavations are rare and usually occur as an unanticipated archaeological by-product. Generally, site directors respect architectural authenticity more than the accurate design or horticultural contents of historic gardens. The unfortunate result is that medieval Islamic garden sites are today routinely planted with botanical matter from the Western hemisphere and modern hybrids that lack the intoxicating perfume of their medieval ancestors, or simply left as bare earth.

D. FAIRCHILD RUGGLES

See also Agriculture; Horticulture; Irrigation; Technology; Mills, Water, and Wind

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GENDER AND SEXUALITY

Compared to its contemporaries in the Middle Ages, Islamic society significantly promoted equality between the sexes and improved the social status and rights of women. Yet, judged from the perspective of modern conceptions of women's rights, some of the practices associated with Islam in the Middle Ages may appear discriminatory, owing to continually changing conceptions about women's identity and role in society and family. Islam emerged in a patriarchal society where fathers felt deeply ashamed for having a female child, often culminating in the common practice of pre-Islamic Arabia of burying her alive. There was no limit to the number of wives a man could have. Suppression of women and inequality between the sexes were apparent in all types of interaction.

With the emergence of Islam, the Qur'an reframed gender difference as part of God's creation and will (Q 49:13). The Qur'an is explicit in calling for the elimination of practices and customs that discriminate against women, with the purpose of establishing equality between the sexes, and it curses those who kill their daughters out of shame (Q 81:8–9). The interpretation and implementation of these reforms has varied across the considerable historical and geographical spans encompassed by Islamic societies. Some of the local customs of pre-Islamic times survived by concealing themselves behind a veneer of religious sanction. Consequently, the Prophet Muhammad's ideals concerning equality between the sexes have seldom been realized in a full and consistent manner.

The Prophet Muhammad demonstrated through his life and actions the special importance of equality, proper etiquette, and the mutual expression of love and kindness between the sexes. He strictly prohibited the beating of women, which was a common practice before his time. He also successfully campaigned against killing newborn daughters out of shame. He firmly established women's rights to property,

inheritance, and equality before the law. With the purpose of promoting personal modesty and preventing sexual corruption, he enjoined men and women not to expose their bodies in public, except in the company of their spouses and family members. He also commanded both men and women to lower their gaze in public places. He prohibited celibacy and strongly encouraged marriage, stating: "Marriage is my practice; whoever turns away from my practice is not from me." The Prophet first married at age twenty-five, to his wife Khadija, a forty-year-old widow. They lived together for about 25 years and had six children. After her death, he contracted other marriages with elderly and widowed women, mostly to support them and keep them from destitution. The one exception to this was Aisha, the only virgin among his wives.

The Qur'an declares that God created man and woman from one soul in a perfect manner: "O people! Take shelter in your Lord, Who created you from a single self and created from it its mate, and spread, from these two, men and women in abundance. And guard yourselves [for Allah] in Whom you claim [your rights with one another], and do not cut the ties [of kinship] to the wombs [that bore you]. Truly Allah is ever watchful over you." (Q 4:1). It is significant that the wording of the previous verse is explicit in ruling out that the first woman was derived or created from the first man. Instead, both are created simultaneously from a single primordial self.

Love and affection between men and women likewise comes from God: "And among His Signs is that He created for you mates from among yourselves, that you may find tranquility in them, and He has put love and mercy between you. Surely in this are Signs for a people who reflect" (Q 30:21). God's purpose in creating differences between the sexes is not only to facilitate reproduction but also to play a role in God's self-disclosure through human diversity at other levels: "O people, surely We have created you female and male and made you peoples and tribes, so that you might come to know one another. Truly the most honorable among you in the sight of Allah is the one who is most conscious of Allah, warding off evil [within and without]" (Q 49:13).

According to the Qur'an, the duties and the rights of both sexes are the same, except that man is elevated one degree above woman because particular financial responsibilities are imposed upon him as the head of the household (see Q 2:221; 3:195; 4:32; 4:124; 6:139; 9:67–68; 9:71–72; 16:58–59; 16:97; 24:30–31; 33:35; 33:58; 33:73; 40:40; 42:49–50; 47:19; 48:5–6; 57:12; 57:18; 60:10). Expressed metaphorically, man and woman are "garments" for each other (Q 2:187), providing protection, pleasure, adornment, and beauty to one other.

The Qur'an tells us that the first marriage was conducted in Paradise between Adam and Eve before their fall from Paradise (the Qur'an does not blame Eve [*Hawwa* in Arabic] for the first sin committed in Paradise; see Q 7:20–23, and many similar passages, where it is made clear that the fall from this original state of grace is a responsibility shared equally between Eve and Adam). The act of marriage in this world must be undertaken in the intention and expectation of permanence, as the righteous married couple who love each other has the choice to continue their marriage, even after death, in Paradise (Q 36:56; 40:8; 43:70). The Qur'an strongly recommends a man to have only one wife based on the reason that it would be almost impossible to maintain justice among multiple wives (Q 4:129). However, it also allows a man to have up to four wives provided that he treats each one of them equally.

The only woman whose proper name is openly mentioned in the Qur'an is the Virgin Mary, in Arabic *Maryam,* to whom chapter nineteen is devoted. Chapter four in the Qur'an is titled "Women" and presents some, but by no means all, of the issues in relations between the sexes. Another chapter ("The Woman Who Pleads") describes the struggle of one woman for the rights of all women. Following a dispute with the Prophet Muhammad, she pleaded to God for the abolition of an unjust pre-Islamic custom, and God accepts her prayers by prohibiting that custom (Q 58:1–3).

In Islamic law the members of both sexes are treated equally at the level of basic rights: inviolability of life, property, religion, consciousness, family, and honor. Islamic law granted women the right to work, to own property, and to inherit it, which were rather exceptional rights in the seventh century compared with other legal systems where women could not own property independent of their husbands up until recently.

Islamic law took special measures to protect women from false accusations by male members of the community for unchaste behavior. If such a claim is not proved with certainty by the testimony of four direct witnesses, the person who makes the false accusation is severely punished (Q 24:4, 24:19, 24:23). Furthermore, because he has been shown to be dishonest, he loses his right to testify before a court from that point forward. In Islamic law, differences between the sexes emerge in such issues as each parent's necessary role in the family, testimony in court, and inheritance.

Unlike many religions, sexuality is not stigmatized in Islam. On the contrary, moral and moderate sexuality is sanctified within the boundaries clearly set by the Qur'an and the example and teachings

of the Prophet Muhammad. Adultery and fornication are strongly prohibited (Q 4:24–27; 5:5; 17:32; 25:68). The sexual attraction between members of the opposite sex is a creation of God which functions as a crucial drive for reproduction, but complete surrender to lust is considered destructive. Moderation and morality in sexual life are enforced by laws and moral guidelines; while the jurists dealt with the legal rules, the Sufis concentrated in their writings on moral education by cleansing the heart to protect a person from the danger of enslavement by lust. The Sufis saw human love as a stepping-stone to divine love. An important means of protecting self-restraint against overwhelming lust is the lowering of the gaze and not looking at members of the opposite sex, particularly at the eyes. A lustful gaze is condemned as a sin and as "adultery by the eyes," which is very much in line with the biblical judgment on the same issue (Matthew 5:27–29).

In a marriage, both parties have the right to sexual satisfaction, which in its absence may constitute a legal ground for divorce. Lawful sex and sexual satisfaction are praised as aids to the concentration of the mind and heart and a means of protection for both wife and husband from sin and corruption. Above all, a lawful and moderate outlet for sexual expression protects the gaze of the eyes from unlawful and immoral looks. Husband and wife are required to love and respect each other and to be responsive to each other's sexual needs. It is the duty of both partners to offer their best in the relationship.

The medieval Islamic literature does not recognize a conflict between *agape* (divine love) and *eros* (human love); instead, sexuality and love were not seen to be mutually exclusive. In place of conflict the relationship between them was characterized as complementary, similar to the relationship between *ying* and *yang* in Taoism. In contrast with medieval Christianity, which maintained a high level of tension between *agape* and *eros* (see John 2:15–17), a Muslim is encouraged both to marry and to love his or her spouse. Human feelings of love in marriage are reinforced by divine command, as conjugal love is required to be for the sake of God and with the intention of following His command and the tradition of the Prophet Muhammad. This positive approach to sexuality and love between the sexes drew criticism from some Christian theologians during the Middle Ages as evidence of depraved sensuality.

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GENGHIS KHAN

Genghis Khan (Mongolian: Chinggis; 1167–1227 CE) was the founder of the Mongolian world empire. Most of the information about his life is derived from the anonymous and partly mythical Mongolian source known as *The Secret History of the Mongols,* compiled probably around 1228. Born as Temüjin to a minor chieftain in northeastern Mongolia, the future Genghis Khan went through hard times as a youth. When Temüjin was just nine, his father Yesugei was poisoned by an enemy tribe. Yesugei's supporters abandoned Temüjin's family to its fate. Gradually, Temüjin managed to attract supporters from other clans and tribes, who became his *nökörs* (followers, comrades) and began to assert his authority over his clan and over the neighboring Turco-Mongol tribes. He advanced by forging alliances with influential leaders, then discarding them after they had served their turns. During his rise to power he attacked and executed his "sworn brother," Jamuqa, and his first patron, Ong Khan. In 1184, Temüjin was enthroned the khan of his tribe, the Mongols, and in 1206, an assembly of the Mongol tribes *(quriltai)* proclaimed him as Genghis Khan, the harsh or universal khan, ruler of all the Mongols. Soon after the *quriltai,* Genghis Khan began his conquests. First, he turned to China, starting by attacking the Xi Xia dynasty in northwestern China in 1207 and reducing it into a tributary state in 1209. In 1211, Genghis Khan turned against the Jin dynasty that had ruled in Manchuria and northern China, and in 1215, he conquered its capital in present-day Beijing. Then his attention was drawn westward. In 1218, he overran the Central Asian empire of the Qara Khitai, which had been briefly ruled by one of his old enemies in Mongolia, Küchlüg (Güchülüg). This conquest brought Genghis Khan face to face with the empire of the Khwarazm Shah, the strongest ruler in the eastern Islamic world. Khwarazm's massacre of a group of merchants who



Detail of Genghis Khan and his sons by Rashid al-Din (d. 1318). Persian manuscript. 19157, Sup Pers 113, f.44. Credit: Art Resource, NY. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, France.

served as Genghis Khan's messengers in 1218 furnished a pretext for a long and bloody campaign against the Khwarazm Shah (1219–1224), in which the great Transoxianan cities of Bukhara and Samarqand were fiercely sacked, Khurasanian cities were razed to the ground, and millions of Muslims were slaughtered. Moreover, the neglect and ruin of Iran's irrigation system during the Mongol invasion inflicted long-term damages on Iranian agriculture. The Mongol troops chased the fleeting Khwarazm Shah to the Caspian Sea, and his son to the Indus. Returning to Mongolia on the road to the north of the Caspian Sea, Genghis Khan's generals also conquered vast tracts of Russia. Genghis Khan's last campaign was the final subjugation of the Xi Xia dynasty in 1227, during which the great conqueror died.

Genghis Khan died ruling over the territory between northern China and the Caspian Sea. Yet apart from this spectacular military success, he also laid institutional foundations for an empire that continued to expand for several generations. One of his main achievements was the reorganization of the army: he retained the traditional decimal units (of ten, one hundred, one thousand, and ten thousand men) but eliminated its connection to the tribal system. Tribes (or their remnants) were divided among the different units, which were headed by Genghis Khan's loyal nökers. They replaced the former tribal elite and became a focus of loyalty and identification. This disciplined and mobile army was also armed with an ideology, according to which Heaven entrusted Genghis Khan with the mission of world dominion, their blessing demonstrated by his spectacular success.

Genghis Khan also created a law system for his people, known as the Yasa (jasaq), the exact form and contents of which are still debated among scholars. He also established a juridical system, which benefited from his former decision to adopt the Uighur script for writing the Mongolian language. Genghis Khan borrowed administrators and administrative techniques from the states that came under his control, making use of different ethnic groups, such as Khitans, Uighurs, Khwarazmians, and Chinese. The combination of the newly organized army, the unprecedented amount of devastation it created, and Mongol willingness to learn from their subjects were among the main reasons for Genghis Khan's success.

Despite his tolerant attitude toward Islam and religions in general, Genghis Khan's violent invasion into the Muslim world, and his heirs' extermination of the ʿAbbasid caliphate, earned him the reputation of an archenemy of Islam. However, with the Islamization of the Mongols in Iran and later in southern Russia and Central Asia in the late thirteenth to mid-fourteenth centuries, Genghis Khan became the revered father of and a source of political legitimacy to several Muslim dynasties in the Turco-Iranian world. The Genghisid principle, according to which only descendants of Genghis can bear the title of khan, remained valid in Muslim Central Asia until the nineteenth century, and the Yasa ascribed to him influenced the legal and political systems of the Uzbeks, Mughals, and Ottomans. While in the modern Arab world Genghis Khan is usually portrayed as a villain, the Turco-Iranian world gives more credit to his heroic achievements.

Michal Biran

See also Bukhara; Central Asia; China; India; Khurasan; Mongol Warfare; Mongols; Mughals; Nomadism and Pastoralism; Samarqand; Silk Road; Tamerlane; Transoxiana

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GENIZA

Definition, Collection, and Contents

Jews in the lands of Islam deposited damaged sacred books in repositories called *geniza* or *genizah* prior to giving them a proper ritual burial in their cemeteries. Sacred books—primarily those with the name of God written upon them—were treated with the same respect as the human body and were never simply thrown away. In time, this respect accorded to sacred books was extended to written documents in general, nearly all of which contained the name of God due to the numerous blessings, invocations, and eulogies that were a part of epistolary convention. We know of genizas only in the lands of the Arabic-speaking world. In Cairo, genizas have been found at a Karaite synagogue, in the Basatine cemetery, and at the Ben Ezra synagogue in Old Cairo (called Fustat in the Middle Ages). The largest of these repositories, which is commonly referred to as the "Cairo Geniza," was the one at the Ben Ezra synagogue. The contents of the Cairo Geniza were transferred to European and American libraries in the late nineteenth century. The only geniza documents remaining in Egypt are those excavated in the 1980s by the Egyptian Department of Antiquities from three sites in the Basatine cemetery.

Genizas As a Source for Jewish History and Culture

The contents of the Cairo Geniza, which date largely to the years 1000–1300 CE, are of central importance for the information they provide about the history of the local Jewish communities of medieval Egypt, the Jewish communities of Palestine and North Africa, and their relations with communities elsewhere in the Near East. Marriage contracts between Rabbanite and Karaite couples (with special provisions relating to religious practice), charity lists containing the names of both Rabbanite and Karaite contributors and recipients, and business documents all provide evidence for extensive social and economic relations between Rabbanite and Karaite communities, in spite of their doctrinal and ritual differences. The Cairo Geniza also yields materials to write the social and institutional history of major Jewish institutions of law and higher learning in Mesopotamia. Our knowledge of the actual workings of the Babylonian academies has been expanded greatly by the materials available in the Geniza.

Geniza fragments allow us to contextualize previously known Jewish philosophical works in Judeo-Arabic (a form of Arabic written in Hebrew characters) and Hebrew, providing information about the circumstances of their composition, their distribution and readership, and their reception. In the case of the *Kuzari* of Judah ha-Levi (ca. 1071–1141), letters from a merchant friend of his reveal that the first version of the book was written as a response to a Karaite who lived in a Christian country. In addition, the Geniza has provided important finds for the

historical reconstruction of religious texts and their variants. For example, the importance and specific content of the Palestinian Talmud is now known in some detail. Similarly, original Hebrew versions of books such as the *Ecclesiasticus* of Ben Sira, once thought lost forever, were in circulation in the Islamic world in the Middle Ages and are now available to us. In addition, the existence of a rich post-Talmudic exegetical literature is known from the answers of legal authorities to questions addressed to them *(responsa)*, many of which were deposited in the Geniza.

While most genizas were repositories for prayer books and other sacred writings, the Jews of medieval Egypt deposited a variety of different documents, including business accounts, wills, inventories of various kinds, marriage contracts, trousseau lists, wills, and commercial and private correspondence. Based largely on these documents, S.D. Goitein (1900–1985) produced his five-volume magnum opus, *A Mediterranean Society*, which provides a comprehensive picture of the social, economic, communal, family, and religious history of the Jewish communities of medieval Egypt.

Geniza documents reveal that Jews were integrated into economic and social life in Islamic lands to a very high degree. There were no legal restrictions on the economic activities of Jews and Christians, and the Geniza makes it clear that no social or cultural impediments to full participation in economic life existed. Unlike Christian Europe, where Jews were restricted to a small number of occupations and could not own property, the Geniza reveals Jews working in hundreds of occupations and owning property. The documents of Jewish pious foundations reveal that the poll tax was not merely a symbolic payment, but was a significant financial burden for Jewish communities and a major expenditure for Jewish charities. The documents of the Geniza show clearly that some provisions of the Pact of Umar were often ignored and became an issue largely at times of economic and political stress. Family life, particularly social and economic aspects of marriage, is richly documented. From the Geniza we learn, in some detail, that Jews in the lands of Islam practiced polygyny. We learn also about the daily lives of women, including their extensive economic activities. The Geniza provides ample evidence of Jewish use of the Muslim courts even to adjudicate disputes between Jews, who had the right under Islamic law to appeal intracommunal disputes to the rabbinic courts.

The predominant language of the documentary material of the Cairo Geniza is Judeo-Arabic. The Judeo-Arabic of the Geniza documents is characterized by the use of quotations in Hebrew and Aramaic from the Bible and the Talmud, and by the assimilation of Hebrew vocabulary into Arabic. The use of Judeo-Arabic in writing, as well as in speech, reflects the fact that, by the tenth century, Arabic had displaced Aramaic as the lingua franca of Jews (and other communities) in the lands of Islam. The use of an Arabic vernacular had a noticeable impact on the development of religious and philosophical thought among Jewish thinkers. One major effect of this exposure to the so-called secular branches of learning that were widespread among Muslim intellectuals in the ninth and tenth centuries was the adoption of rationalist thinking as a method of studying Jewish texts. Arabophone Jewish rationalists embraced the exegetical culture of the classical Islamic world and began to write commentaries on Torah and other parts of the Hebrew Bible in Arabic. Later commentators used the same rationalist methods to produce commentaries in Hebrew. The study of Hebrew grammar came to be considered fundamental to the exegetical enterprise and was developed along the model of Arabic grammar.

Genizas As a Source of Information on Islamic History and Culture

The Geniza contributes to many aspects of broader Islamic history and is particularly rich in many areas that are otherwise sparsely documented. Arabic scribal encyclopedias and historical works, often written at a much later period, describe administrative structures and transmit caliphal and administrative decrees from the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries, but they are often described in anachronistic terms. Legal documents of various kinds and administrative documents emanating from the government chanceries are rare, and they are known largely from the Geniza. A number of these legal documents are contracts concerning the sale of properties. These documents are written in Arabic script, and many are contracts between Muslim parties that made their way into the Geniza because they concerned a property that eventually came into the hands of Jews, at which time the contracts documenting the property's history came into the possession of these later owners. Other documents no doubt made their way into the Geniza because they were registered in a court archive, an act that gave the written document a probative value that it would not otherwise have had in the Islamic legal system, in which oral testimony was ordinarily required as legal proof. Arabic Geniza documents reveal the frequent use of petitions to rulers, judges, and other dignitaries to appeal for

assistance or redress grievances. The information in literary historical sources about petitions is more than verified by the petitions in the Geniza, many of them from the Fatimid (969–1171) and Ayyubid (1171–1250) periods.

The Geniza provides extensive material on commerce. It contains hundreds of trade letters, many between Jewish merchants but a significant number involving Muslims and Christians. These letters, as well as inventories, accounts, and court cases, demonstrate the extensive use of informal cooperation and partnerships that characterized commerce in the medieval Islamic world. They also document the range of techniques used to provide credit, given Islamic law's prohibition on interest, particularly the use of the *commenda*. Commercial documents and letters from the Geniza provide impressive detail on industries, manufacturing processes, local and regional market conditions and prices, and business practices. We also learn from these documents that the government's involvement in commerce was expressed primarily in exercising its rights as first buyer and in the collection of taxes. One of the richest contributions of the Geniza is to the history of material culture. The trousseau lists, inventories, accounts, and business letters provide voluminous information about textiles and clothing, including details about color, fabric, ornamentation, and value. Collectively, the Geniza provides extensive lexical material, allowing us to understand vocabulary in Arabic historical texts that would otherwise remain obscure. Similar information is available about housing, furnishings, food, and jewelry.

PAULA SANDERS

See also Family; Grammar and Grammarians; Hebrew and Judeo–Arabic; Interfaith Relations; Jewish Languages; Jews; Marriage, Jewish; Textiles; Trade, Mediterranean; Translation, Arabic to Hebrew; Usury and Interest

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GEOGRAPHY

The science of geography in Islam developed on a foundation of previous civilizations and was strongly impacted by the expansion of the Islamic state and the spread of the Islamic faith. The rise of the Islamic empire entailed four major developments in regard to scientific geography and travel: (1) the rise of a need for geography as an auxiliary discipline to government and administration; (2) access to the academic and cultural heritage of the Hellenic, Mesopotamian, Iranian, Indian, and other civilizations conquered by Islam; (3) a new impetus and opportunities for travel, exploration, and long-distance trade; and (4) a specifically Islamic branch of cartography and astronomical geography focused on Mecca and the direction of prayer (*qibla,* q.v.). The great majority of geographical works combined aspects of science and literature and were composed in Arabic, although non-Arabs and even non-Muslims made important contributions. Some scholars treated geography as part of history; it was also customary to discuss

other sciences in the introductions to geographical works. For some parts of the world, or certain periods of their history, medieval Islamic geographers provide major, if not the only, sources of information. Their works are thus invaluable and often indispensable to the study of history and historical ethnography, as well as historical geography and the history of science.

The cosmographic views of early Muslims absorbed the pre-Islamic vision of the world registered in the Qur'an and some *hadiths*, or the pre-Islamic traditions recorded in the second and third centuries of Islam by authors such as the historian al-Dinawari (d. AH 281 or 282/894–895 CE) and geographers such as al-Ya'qubi (259–292/872–873 to 905), al-Hamdani (d. 334/945), al-Mas'udi (d. 345/956). According to one view recorded by al-Ya'qubi, the earth has the shape of a bird with spread wings whose head is in the East (China), tail in the West, and the breast encompasses Mecca, Hijaz, Syria, Iraq, and Egypt, that is, the core of the early Islamic empire. The Umayyad postal service drove the development of precise itineraries and distance measurements. The Roman mile, *mil* (pronounced "meel"), became the common unit of distance in the western parts of the empire. Another measure of distance was the Iranian *farsakh*, equal to three *mil*s (six kilometers). Itineraries also used "marches" *(marhal)* or "days of journey" (approximately twenty kilometers). Degrees of longitude and latitude were long confined to works of mathematical geography and only gradually made their way into geographical narratives. They are not found on extant maps predating the fourteenth century, even those using grids.

Among the earliest geographical compositions are travel records of the Umayyad period and the early genre of *fada'il*, descriptions of "advantages" of places sacred to Muslims in some ways, which later acquired an increasingly secular nature. Scientific Islamic geography began in Baghdad in the early 'Abbasid period and was particularly encouraged by the caliph al-Ma'mun (r. 198–218/813–833). The first steps included the measurement of the degree of latitude, construction of observatories, production of maps and instruments, and especially the translation and adaptation of Indian, Iranian, and Greek geographical and astronomical treatises. Among the Indian borrowings were the imaginary Mount Meru, the highest point on dry land directly under the North Pole, the division of the inhabited regions of the earth into nine sections, and the calculation of the longitude from the meridian of Sri Lanka, drawn from Mount Meru through the Cupola of the Earth (Ar. *Arin*, from Ujjain—modern Avanti—site of an ancient Indian observatory). From the Greeks were borrowed the limitations of the inhabited world to a quarter of the globe, the concept of the continents (Europe, Libya, Ethiopia, Scythia), the idea of the Indian Ocean landlocked between Asia and Africa, and the word *jughrafiya* for the discipline. In mathematical geography Arabic scholars accepted the system of seven latitudinal climates, or climes (Ar. *aqalim*; sing. *iqlim*), from the equator to the polar circle. Ptolemy's *Geography* was translated repeatedly (as was his *Almagest*); particularly influential was the version of al-Khwarizmi (also Khorezmi, fl. ca. 205/820). Iranian influences were the strongest in descriptive geography and in cartography, including the method of describing the world following the four cardinal directions (beginning in the East) and the division of the earth into seven *kishvarha* (equal geometric circles), the central one representing Iran (with Mesopotamia). The lost map of al-Ma'mun supposedly followed this pattern, though it was also supposed to use the projection of Marinus.

Other notable early advances in Islamic geography came when the administrators of the vast, newly reordered empire composed or commissioned geographical reference books in the genre of *Masalik wa al-Mamalik* (Routes and Kingdoms), from the title of the first extant composition of this nature, by Ibn Khurdadhbih (ca. 205–300/820–912). Other authors include al-Balkhi (235–322/849–850 to 934), al-Istakhri (ca. 340/951), and Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadhani (ca. 290/903), all of whom functioned in the eastern parts of the empire. These treatises concentrate on such practical needs of government as topography, administrative information, commercial and postal routes, and descriptions of boundaries. A separate branch of mathematical geography, shaped by Ptolemaic influence, was developed by al-Khwarizmi, al-Farghani (Alfraganus, fl. 247/861), and al-Battani (Albategnius, d. AH929). To begin with, their works contained the tables of astronomical coordinates of locations and geographical features, and descriptions of maps with coordinates (very few of the maps survive).

During the classical period of Islamic geography (ninth to eleventh centuries), two schools of descriptive geography developed. The first was the Iraqi school, so called because it often followed the Iranian system of *kishvars,* but substituted Iraq (the center of the 'Abbasid caliphate) for Iran as the center of the Islamic empire. This school included Ibn Khurdadhbih, al-Ya'qubi, Ibn Rusta (fl. ca. 290–300/903–913), Ibn al-Faqih, and al-Mas'udi, all of whom wrote world geographies. Al-Ya'qubi and al-Mas'udi traveled extensively, but their personal experiences seem to have had little effect on their geographical

concepts. The second school was that of al-Balkhi, whose own work does not survive. Among his followers were al-Istakhri, Ibn Hawqal (ca. 366/977), and al-Muqaddasi (al-Maqdisi, ca. 335–390/946–947 to 1000). These geographers focused on the world of Islam and attached central importance to Mecca. They introduced the concept of a country as a geographical unit and enlarged the scope of their science with elements of "human geography," discussing the languages and races of people, their occupations, customs, and religions. Firsthand observation during their travels was an important source of information for these authors, though they also borrowed heavily from their predecessors. Al-Muqaddasi, the last and most original representative of this school, created the systematic foundation of Arab geography by discussing its uses and scopes, the geographical terminology, the various methods of division of the earth, and the value of empirical observation. A distinctive characteristic of this school is its attention to cartography. Texts often seem to follow the map and were usually accompanied by a set of twenty-one maps: one of each of the twenty climes or regions into which they divided Islamic lands, and one world map. These maps are very similar to each other in character and are composed of peculiarly simplified geometric shapes. They show roads and towns but give no indication of coordinates or distances; collectively, they are known today as the "Atlas of Islam."

The physical geography of Muslim scholars in part depended on their Greek precursors and in part contributed new thinking on the nature of physical phenomena. They saw the earth as a sphere, resembling the yoke within the white of the egg. They understood that the changing positioning of the sun resulted in differences between climatic zones: hot, temperate, and cold. They agreed that climate, topography, and soils conditioned the spatial distribution of life and water. They discussed the causes of wind, clouds, rain, tides, and earthquakes. Many geographers who adopted the Greek notion of the Inhabited Quarter assumed that the parts of the earth south of the equator were uninhabitable due to excessive heat. Unique among the geographers of the late classical period of Islam is al-Biruni (*c.* 442/1050). Apart from his important contribution to regional geography (he described India in detail), he compared and critically evaluated the contributions to geography of the Arabs, Greeks, Indians, and Iranians. An advanced theoretician of geography and astronomy, he was also a bold and undogmatic thinker. For example, he discussed the difference in seasons between the northern and southern hemispheres and argued that, contrary to the prevailing views, life was possible south of the equator; he, alone, among Muslim geographers conjectured that the Indian Ocean communicated with the Atlantic (the earliest maps showing the Indian Ocean somewhat realistically are considerably older, found in manuscripts ascribed to Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi [610–673 or 685/1214–1274 or 1286] and the encyclopedist Ibn Fadlallah al-'Umari [700–749/1301–1349]).

The spirit of exploration and inquiry generated both active travel beyond the better-known areas of the Middle East, India, and Africa and demand among the reading public for travel accounts. Some of these accounts were reports of authentic journeys, such as Ibn Fadlan's diplomatic mission to the Volga region (ca. 921) and Ibrahim ibn Ya'qub's journey from Spain to Germany (ca. 354/965). Others belong to the genre of *'aja'ib* (marvels): surviving compositions by Abu Zayd al-Sirafi (ca. 306/916) and Buzurg ibn Shahriyar (ca. 342/953) contain, together with factual information, semilegendary stories, including maritime tales; a few found their way into the *One Thousand and One Nights* as the stories of Sinbad the Sailor and may have been heard by Marco Polo. Yet, although Muslim seafarers knew the Indian Ocean well enough to sail from Malacca to Southeast Africa, the formal geographical works say disappointingly little about distant areas. Moreover, the new facts were often overlooked or stubbornly fitted into the old theoretically devised patterns. This conservative attitude forced practical geography to yield to theory and gradually led to scientific stagnation.

In the area of world geography the highest achievement was attained by al-Idrisi (493–560/1098–1165), who worked at the Norman court in Sicily and used data produced by the Islamic and European geographers and travelers. His *Nuzhat al-Mushtaq fi Ikhtiraq al-Afaq* (Entertainment for One Who Wants to Travel the World) was conceived as a description of a large map, each chapter detailing itineraries within one of seventy sections illustrated by a regional map. The innovation was to subdivide each of the seven Greek climes into ten longitudinal sections, starting from the west. Although some of the information was incorrect or outdated even at the time, as a universal geography his work remained unsurpassed in the Islamic world, and among mapmakers al-Idrisi's cartographic tradition survived as late as the sixteenth century. His system influenced Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi, who supplemented his description with the coordinates of many locations, and Ibn Khaldun.

The twelfth to sixteenth centuries produced little conceptual development, but they are marked by the

emergence of new specialized genres: geographical dictionaries, cosmographies, travel narratives *(rihla)* and pilgrimage guides *(ziyarat)*, and the works of marine geography. The largest and most famous geographical dictionary is that of Yaqut (ca. 575–626/1179–1229), who presents a great number of place-names, listed alphabetically and accompanied by a wealth of geographical and historical information. His method and much of his information were borrowed by the most prominent cosmographer, Zakariya al-Qazwini (d. 682/1283), whose works remain popular even with modern Arab readers. Specifically Islamic variations of the dictionary genre were the guides to religious places or pilgrimage centers, the *ziyarat* (see pilgrimage); the most famous of these is by al-Harawi (d. 611/1215). Among the travel narratives, of particular significance for Arabia was the work of Ibn al-Mujawir (ca. 626/1229); for the Near East, that of Ibn Jubayr (540–614/1145–1217); and for Europe, Abu Hamid al-Andalusi (473–565/1080–1170). The most outstanding traveler, Ibn Battuta, whose journeys took him from his native Maghrib to Arabia, Europe, Central Asia, India, Indonesia, China, and sub-Saharan Africa, was not famous in his own time.

Outside the Arabic tradition of Islamic geography, Persian scholarship, represented by the anonymous *Hudud al-'Alam* (Regions of the World, ca. 372/982), was influenced by the work of al-Istakhri, which had been translated into Persian. Some of al-Biruni's works were originally written in, or later translated into, Persian. His contemporary, Nasir-i Khusraw (394–481/1003–1060), wrote in Persian, describing the travels in Egypt and Arabia. Generally derivative of Arabic authorities, the works in Persian were produced mainly in Iran, Central Asia, and India. The development of Ottoman geography began in the fourteenth century. At first it popularized translations of Arab cosmographies; later translations were also made from Persian and Greek. From the early sixteenth century, Ottoman geography was continuously influenced by European scholarship, especially in cartography. A specifically Ottoman genre was represented by the campaign itineraries of the Turkish sultans.

All the main genres of Islamic geographical literature had been set by the fourteenth century. Although travel accounts and regional studies produced new data, systematic innovation ceased. The new cosmographies, often of inferior quality, simply rehashed outdated information. Use of others' material without credit and indiscriminate compilation prevailed, and pre-Islamic concepts and mythological motifs continued to fascinate the reader. Especially popular among these were the Encircling Ocean surrounding the landmass, and Mount Qaf in turn surrounding the ocean; the Fortunate Isles and the Pillars of Hercules as the western boundary of the inhabited earth; the Wall of Alexander separating the civilized world from Gog and Magog; the Isles of Waq-Waq where trees allegedly bore fruit of human heads; and the number seven (seven *climata*, seven *kishvarha*, seven seas). Marine geography for the most part remained outside the mainstream of Islamic scholarship. Only works of Ahmad ibn Majid (second half of the fifteenth century) and Sulayman al-Mahri (first half of the sixteenth century) survive. Among them are sailing manuals and nautical instructions, often in verse (for better memorization by navigators), for the Mediterranean and the Red Seas, but particularly for the Indian Ocean.

The majority of extant Islamic maps are found in copies dating from the thirteenth and later centuries, though the first Islamic reference to mapmaking dates to 83/702. A few authors give instructions for map production, and some texts describe maps, but extant maps cannot be used as exact guides to locations and the projections used are still not fully understood. In form, Arabic maps typically included round world maps and rectangular regional maps. There were also separate maps of seas, small maps of astronomically determined zones, and special Islamic maps of the Ka'ba for orienting the viewer to the *qibla* (sacred direction of prayer) from any location. City plans must have existed, but those extant are from the sixteenth century and later. There are no topographical maps, though there may be some color coding of geographical features such as rivers, cities, mountains, and roads. Ethnic divisions and major features such as deserts are marked in writing. Sailing charts reportedly existed, but none survives.

The round maps show the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa surrounded by the Encircling Ocean *(al-Bahr al-Muhit)*, which is sometimes surrounded in turn by Mount Qaf, a concept of Qur'anic cosmogony. Round maps were usually centered on Mesopotamia (in the "Iraqi" school) or Mecca (in the tradition of the "Atlas of Islam"). The oldest Turkish world map, found in the encyclopedia of Mahmud al-Kashghari (ca. 466/1074), is centered on Balasaghun, the capital of the then Uighur state in the mountains of Tien Shan. Round maps were usually oriented to the south or east, rectangular maps almost always to the south. Some round maps mark the seven *climata* of the Inhabited Quarter as latitudinal bands, numbered from the equator to the Polar Circle. The Greco-Muslim tradition of cartography is best represented by al-Idrisi, who adopted Ptolemy's map of the world and, abandoning Ptolemy's outdated content

and tables, superimposed on it an enormous amount of new information gathered from books and travelers. Al-Idrisi is also one of the few Arabic scholars who provided instructions for map production and discussed distance measures. His works contain 70 detailed sectional rectangular maps and a round world map; he reportedly created a silver planisphere based on the so-called al-Ma'mun map, which does not survive.

MARINA A. TOLMACHEVA

See also Human Geography

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GEOMETRY

At the beginning of Islam, some knowledge of geometry was available in Syria and Iran, and in the eighth century CE, practical geometrical rules were transmitted from India into Islamic lands. However, the history of geometry in Islamic civilization really started when the basic textbook of Greek geometry, the *Elements* of Euclid (ca. 300 BCE), was translated into Arabic in Baghdad in the early ninth century CE. Euclid begins with definitions and axioms (fundamental assumptions), but he then proves by logical reasoning a series of more than three hundred geometrical propositions and constructions. Initially, the Islamic scholars of the ninth century CE studied the *Elements* to understand Greek astronomy, but some of them fell in love with Greek geometry for its own sake and searched for Greek manuscripts of the works of Archimedes (ca. 250 BCE) and Appollonius (ca. 200 BCE). In the mid-ninth century CE, the three sons of Musa (Banu Musa)—Ahmad, Muhammad, and Hasan—were interested in the *Conics* on the basis of two very corrupted Greek manuscripts of Books 1–4 and Books 5–7. After they had succeeded, they hired two translators—Hilal ibn Abi Halal al-Himsi and Thabit ibn Qurra—and had them translate Books 1–4 and Books 5–7, respectively. Books 5–7 are now lost in Greek, and thus the Banu Musa sons and Thabit ibn Qurra saved one of the most profound works of Greek geometry for posterity. Book 8 of the *Conics* was entirely lost but reconstructed by Ibn al-Haytham in the early eleventh century.

Already in the mid-tenth century, some Islamic mathematicians embarked on deep investigations of the definitions and basic assumptions made by Euclid

in *Elements*. In Book 5 of *Elements*, Euclid presented a complicated definition of proportional magnitudes $(a : b = c : d)$ in order to deal with rational and irrational ratios at the same time. In European mathematics the motivation of this definition was understood only after the discovery of the modern concept of real numbers around the year 1860. A thousand years earlier, around 860, the Iranian mathematician al-Mahani had replaced Euclid's definition by an alternative definition related to the modern mathematical theory of continued fractions. He also proved that the two definitions are equivalent. A number of Islamic mathematicians studied Euclid's parallel postulate, to the effect that if two straight lines m and n are intersected by a straight line l in such a way that the sum of the two adjacent angles between l and m and between l and n is less than two right angles, the two lines m and n must intersect. Many mathematicians found it inappropriate that Euclid assumed such a complicated postulate right at the beginning of his work *Elements*. Unfortunately, the postulate is necessary in the proofs of the theorem of Pythagoras and the theorem that the sum of the angles in a triangle is equal to two right angles. Several mathematicians, including Ibn al-Haytham (eleventh century) and Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (thirteenth century), tried to prove Euclid's parallel postulate on the basis of other assumptions that they found more natural or simpler. In the nineteenth century, it turned out that the parallel postulate could not be proved from the other postulates of Euclidean geometry. If we assume the negation of the parallel postulate, we obtain the modern non-Euclidean geometry, which was never studied in medieval Islamic civilization.

In the tenth century, the Islamic geometers in Iraq and Iran started to work on conic sections. They used parabolas and hyperbolas to solve problems such as the construction of the regular heptagon, the trisection of the angle, and cubic equations. By means of conic sections, Ibn al-Haytham solved the following problem in optics, which was later named the "problem of Alhazen" after the Latinized version of his first name al-Hasan: Given a convex or concave circular spherical, cylindrical, or conical mirror, and the positions of the eye and the object, construct the places in the mirror where the eye sees the object. Conic sections were also used for the theoretical construction of some mosaic patterns.

Another theoretical field of study was the determination of surface areas, volumes, and centers of gravity of curvilinear figures. Archimedes' work on the surface area and volume of a sphere had been translated into Arabic, and in the preface to this work, Archimedes says that he had found the area of a parabolic segment as four-thirds of its inscribed triangle. His work on the parabolic segment, as well as most of his other investigations, were not transmitted into Arabic, and thus the Islamic mathematicians did not know Archimedes' famous work, *Method of Mechanical Theorems*. (This work was discovered around 1900 in a Greek palimpsest manuscript, which was stolen but has since resurfaced.) Thabit ibn Qurra (d. 901), Ibrihim ibn Sinan (d. 946), and Abu Sahl al-Kuhi (ca. 970) succeeded in proving that the area of a parabolic segment is four-thirds of its inscribed triangle. They then went on to study other curved figures and solids. Most of their achievements are independent rediscoveries of results in Archimedes' *Method of Mechanical Theorems*. Ibn al-Haytham determined the volume of a solid not studied by Archimedes, namely the solid of revolution of a parabola around a segment perpendicular to the axis. To solve this difficult problem, Ibn al-Haytham had to find a formula for the sum of the first n and fourth powers.

In modern mathematics the surface areas, volumes, and centers of gravity of curved figures and solids are computed by means of the integral calculus, which was discovered in the late seventeenth century by Leibniz and Newton. It does not follow that the Islamic mathematicians possessed anything like the integral calculus, because the methods of Leibniz and Newton were generally applicable, whereas Archimedes and the Islamic mathematicians had to design for every solid a new procedure. It should also be noted that Leibniz and Newton did not prove their methods in ways that are now considered to be rigorous, but Archimedes and the Islamic mathematicians gave rigorous proofs.

Abu Sahl al-Kuhl determined the centers of gravities of various curvilinear solids. He thought that he had found a regularity, and derived $\pi = 3\ 1/9$, in contradiction to the fact that Archimedes had proved that $\pi > 3\ 10/71$. Around 1420, the first sixteen decimals of π were determined correctly by Al-Kashi in Samarkand.

Spherical trigonometry was important in late Greek and medieval Indian and Islamic mathematics because astronomy depends on the accurate computation of arcs on the celestial sphere. In the tenth century, three Iranian mathematicians introduced the concept of a spherical triangle consisting of six elements: three arcs of great circles and three angles contained by these arcs. A little later, the methods are analogous to, but more complicated than, the formulas for a plane triangle. The solution of spherical triangles was studied systematically by al-Biruni around 1030 and by Nasir al-Din al-Tusi around 1260. The Islamic mathematicians computed trigonometrical tables that were much more accurate than the tables known in Greek

and Indian mathematics. A difficult problem is the computation of sines (without computers), especially the computation of the sine of one degree. No exact methods for the computation were known until Al-Kashi (ca. 1420) discovered a method by which the sine of one degree can be easily computed with any desired accuracy. He expressed the unknown sine as the root of a cubic equation with known coefficients. He then presented an easy iterative algorithm for the numerical solution of the cubic equation.

Various projections of the sphere on a plane were applied in geographical maps, and stereographic projection was used in the construction of astrolabes.

It is clear that the designers of Islamic mosaics makers and architects employed complicated geometry in their designs, but very little information on their methods has been preserved in medieval Arabic and Persian sources. Perhaps they transmitted their methods orally.

Jan P. Hogendijk

See also Algebra; Astronomy; Al-Biruni; Ibn al-Haytham; Nasir al-Din al-Tusi; Numbers; Mathematics

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GESUDARAZ

Sayyid Muhammad Husayni, popularly known as Gesudaraz ("He With the Long Tresses") and Bandanawaz ("The One Who is Kind to His Servants"), was a prominent Sufi teacher responsible for the establishment of the Chishti Sufi order in the Deccan province of southern India. Born in 1321 CE into a family tracing its ancestry to Khurasan (Iran), Gesudaraz received his early education in Delhi studying various religious sciences, including Qur'anic exegesis, theology, and jurisprudence. In 1336, he was formally initiated into the Chishti order by becoming a disciple of the renowned Chishti master Nasir ad-Din Chiragh-i Dihli ("The Lamp of Delhi"). Gesudaraz so distinguished himself on the Sufi path that upon the death of his teacher he assumed leadership of the order. As a consequence of rumors concerning Timur's (Tamerlane's) invasion of northern India in 1398, Gesudaraz left Delhi and traveled south. At the invitation of the Bahmanid ruler Firuz Shah, Gesudaraz eventually settled in Gulbarga, the capital of the Bahmanids. Gesudaraz's initial association with Firuz Shah, as well as his later involvement with intrigues in the Bahmanid court over the succession to the throne, in which he supported the cause of Firuz Shah's brother Ahmad Shah (r. 1422–1436), indicate that he had moved away from the ideals of previous Chishti masters who considered contact with royalty to be detrimental to spiritual well-being. Apparently, Gesudaraz saw nothing wrong in accepting tax-free land from his royal patrons.

In terms of his teachings, Gesudaraz was more conservative than his Chishti predecessors, such as Nizam ad-Din Awliya, who were strong proponents of *wahdat al-wujud* (unity of existence), a philosophical doctrine traditionally associated with the Andalusian Sufi Ibn Arabi (d. 1240) and interpreted as *hama ust* (everything is He). Gesudaraz felt that this doctrine went against the legal and theological precepts of Islam because it blurred the distinction between created and Creator. Instead, he supported the theory of *wahdat ash-shuhud* (unity of witnessing) which, when interpreted as *hama az ust* (everything is from Him), emphasized the distance between creation and a transcendent God. Gesudaraz was also a strong upholder of the law *(shari'ah)*. As a result, he was critical not only of Ibn Arabi but also considered Sufis such as Jalal ad-Din Rumi to be enemies of the faith because of their liberal pantheistic/monistic teachings. Notwithstanding his conservatism on doctrinal issues, Gesudaraz upheld the Chishti tradition of *sama'* (musical concerts), because he was a firm believer in the power of music as an aid to spiritual transformation and ecstasy. Not surprisingly, he was also a strong supporter of love mysticism, for he saw passionate love as the basis of the relationship between creation and the Divine.

Gesudaraz was such a prolific scholar and writer that he has been called the Chishti *sultan al-qalam* ("King of the Pen"). Although the exact number of his works is not known—estimates range from thirty-six to one hundred and fifty—he is believed to have been multilingual, being competent in Arabic, Persian, and several Indian languages. Through his commentaries, he popularized the works of classical Sufi thinkers such as Qushayri and Suhrawardi in the Indian subcontinent. In using Dakhani, a local Indian

vernacular, to compose the *Mi'raj al-'ashiqin (The Celestial Ascent of Lovers)*, a book on the Prophet Muhammad, Gesudaraz played a pioneering role in promoting the use of local languages in religious literature, a trend that became increasingly important in subsequent centuries.

Gesudaraz died November 1, 1422, and is buried at Gulbarga in a vast tomb–shrine complex, the upkeep of which has been generously patronized by various rulers. His tomb, which is one of the most important centers of religious pilgrimage in southern India, attracts thousands of devotees, Muslim and non-Muslim, who come here to seek his blessing and intercession.

ALI ASANI

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GHANA

Drawing on both written sources and oral sources (the so-called Epic of Wagadu), Levtzion (1980) dates the origins of Ghana to the first millennium CE: "By the end of the eighth century, Ghana was known in the Muslim world as 'the land of Gold'. Al-Ya'qubi, a widely-traveled official in the service of the 'Abbasid caliphs during the ninth century described the Kingdom of Ghana 'whose king is also powerful. In his country are the gold mines, and under his authority are a number of kings. Among them are the kingdom of 'Am and the kingdom of Sama. Gold is found in the whole of the country'" (Hopkins and Levtzion 1981, 21).

According to the written sources, in the second half of the ninth century, *Kawkaw* (an early version of the modern term for Gao, and a predecessor of the Songhay Empire) and Ghana were the two most powerful kingdoms of western Sudan, each with vassal chiefdoms under its dominion (Levtzion 1980, 22). In 1067–1068, the Arab geographer al-Bakri, drawing on accounts by travelers and other written sources, wrote an oft-cited description of the capital of Ghana. The city was divided into two towns, one for the Moslems, the other, ten kilometers away, for the ruler and his entourage. Archaeological work points toward the remains of Ghana at Kumbi Saleh in southeastern Mauretania. Note that there is no historical or cultural connection between medieval Ghana and the present-day Republic of Ghana.

Medieval Ghana lay far inland from the west coast of West Africa; its main cities were Awdaghost, situated almost five hundred kilometers from the ocean, and Kumbi Saleh, the capital, three hundred kilometers farther east. It sat astride the trade routes for gold shipped from the sources of the Senegal and Niger rivers northward via Walata to the Maghreb, and for salt from the city of Teghazza (six hundred kilometers to the north), which was transported throughout the region. It is to be noted that present-day archaeologists hesitate to point to Kumbi Saleh as the capital of an empire, since it has no hinterland; archaeologists have increasingly had more difficulty in finding proof of "empires" in the Sahel, because excavations give increasingly more and diverse data. (A revision of Levtzion 1980 is in process.) Current scholarship pictures in this part of West Africa, in the Middle Ages, a trend toward the creation of state organizations with central agencies of redistribution possessing a majority or monopoly of power and authority, at least episodically, for the duration of one or more regimes. Rulers accomplished centralization by absorbing, first politically (through conquest or vassalage) then culturally, regions into the empire.

Probably because of its location and its powerful army, Ghana seems to have been able to remain unaffected by the wars and social dislocation caused by the migrants and influence of the Almoravids until the middle of the eleventh century. By controlling trade in the region, the empire developed a reputation for prosperity throughout the Sahel and the larger Islamic world. The rulers of Ghana maintained their own belief system while allowing that of Islam to develop in their cities; al-Bakri underscores the freedom allowed to believers of Islam and those of the local religion. The degree of Islamization probably remained low until the nineteenth century. Ghana's decline can be dated by the late twelfth century, and in the thirteenth century Mali developed as the second great empire of the Sahel.

JAN JANSEN

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GHASSANIDS

A branch of the Azd tribal group, the Ghassanids (or Banu Ghassaan) migrated into northern Arabia at the end of the fifth century. They quickly superseded the

dominant Banu Salih as the principal local tributary of the Byzantine Empire. Thus Ghassanid history is to be situated against the backdrop of competing efforts by the Byzantine and Sasanian empires to win supremacy over southern Syria/northern Arabia. By the turn of the fourth century, a new policy of direct ties to nomadic powers of the region involved the distribution of treaties, subsidies, and formal titles. In the case of Byzantium, the rewards included security along the southern Syrian frontier from nomadic forces; protection of imperial commercial and political interests, particularly those related to trade in spices, aromatics, and other luxury goods; and auxiliary military strength against the Sasanians.

The Ghassanids played their part ably. Their alliance with Byzantium was formalized around 502 CE by Jabala, the first Ghassanid *phylarch* (Greek, tribal chief). From their principal residence, al-Jabiya, located in al-Jawlan, a district of southern Syria (modern-day Golan), the Ghassanids are reported to have conducted regular campaigns as far south as the Hijaz and central Najd. The principal phase of their history involved the career of al-Harith ibn Jabala (d. 569), known in Roman sources as "Arethas" and head of the Jafna, chief clan of the Ghassanid confederation. He is reported to have fought with distinction against the Sassanids during Justinian's reign (527–565) and, at a later point, against forces led by Mundhir ibn Nu'man (d. 554), head of the Lakhmid state, the principal Sassanid client in the region. His son, Mundhir ibn al-Harith, later sacked the Lakhmid capital of al-Hira (570), a near-fatal blow to the standing of the Lakhmids. At an early point in his career, al-Harith was rewarded for his efforts on behalf of Byzantium, with the rank of king *(basileus)* and various titles, including *patrikios* and *gloriosissimus*.

Historians part ways in explaining subsequent strains in Ghassanid–Byzantine relations. The arrest of Mundhir ibn al-Harith in 580, and of his son, Nu'man ibn Mundhir, in 583, clearly signaled imperial displeasure. One explanation holds that the Byzantines deeply resented the Ghassanid embrace of the Monophysite form of Christianity. Efforts by al-Harith proved vital to the survival of the Syrian Monophysite (Jacobite) church in its confrontation, in the mid-sixth century, with Byzantine orthodoxy. These efforts were pursued, in particular, by Mundhir ibn al-Harith as described in a long biographical notice by John of Ephesus (d. ca. 589), a leading sixth-century Monophysite historian. A second explanation is that the Byzantines sought to curtail the ambitions of an emerging regional power. The Ghassanids, routed by Sassanid forces during the invasion of Syria (613–614), took part in the Byzantine counter-invasion under Heraclius (r. 622–628). As Byzantine allies, they then confronted the initial Arab–Islamic campaigns. In 634, at Marj Rahit outside Damascus, Ghassanid forces were overrun by a force led by Khalid ibn al-Walid (d. 642). The remaining Ghassanids either dispersed to Anatolia or settled in Syria, many of them as converts to Islam.

MATTHEW S. GORDON

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GHAZALI

Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazali was one of the most prominent theologians, jurists, and mystics of Sunni Islam. He was born in 1058 CE in Tabaran-Tus (fifteen miles north of modern Mashhad in northeastern Iran), where he received his early education with his brother Ahmad (1061–1123 or 1126), who later became a famous preacher and Sufi scholar. Muhammad went on to study with the influential Ash'ari theologian al-Juwayni (1028–1085) at the Nizamiyya Madrasa (q.v.) in nearby Nishapur. This brought him in close contact with the court of the Grand Seljuk Sultan Malikshah (r. 1071–1092) and his grand vizier Nizam al-Mulk (1018–1092) (q.v.). In 1091, al-Ghazali was appointed professor at the prestigious Nizamiyya Madrasa in Baghdad. In addition to being a confidante of the Sultan in Isfahan, he became closely connected to the caliphal court in Baghdad. He was undoubtedly the most influential intellectual of his time, when in 1095 he suddenly gave up his posts in Baghdad and left the city. Despite the information al-Ghazali gives in his autobiography *The Deliverer from Error (al-Munqidh min al-dalal)*, it is still not known what led al-Ghazali to leave his posts. This decision has become the subject of wide-ranging speculations about a drastic change in his intellectual outlook. Al-Ghazali went on to teach in Damascus and Jerusalem. At the tomb of Abraham in Hebron, he vowed never to return to the services of political authorities. After performing the pilgrimage in 1096, al-Ghazali returned via Baghdad to his hometown of Tus, where he founded a small private school. In 1106, al-Ghazali broke his vow and returned to teach at the Nizamiyya Madrasa, apparently succumbing to pressure from the authorities at the Seljuk court. After teaching for a couple of years in Nishapur he again retired to Tus, where he died in 1111.

Al-Ghazali is a towering figure in Sunni Islam, active at a time when Sunni theology had just passed through its consolidation and entered a period of intense challenges from Shi'i Ismaili theology (see Shi'i thought) and the tradition of Peripatetic philosophy (see Aristotle and Aristotelianism). Al-Ghazali understood the severity of the confrontation with these two movements and devoted his early works to addressing the challenges presented by these schools of thought. He closely studied the works of the Peripatetic philosophers Ibn Sina (d. 1037) (q.v.) and al-Farabi (d. 950) (q.v.) and wrote *The Incoherence of the Philosophers (Tahafut al-falasifa),* a book he later described as a "refutation" *(radd 'ala)* of the philosophical movement. His critique is focused on epistemology. The scholars versed in the philosophical sciences are convinced, al-Ghazali complains, that their way of knowing by "demonstrative proof" *(burhan)* is superior to the kind of knowledge drawn from revelation and its interpretation. Discussing 20 positions from the teachings of the philosophers, al-Ghazali attempts to show that their conclusions are not based on demonstration but often rely on unproven premises concealed within their arguments. The philosophers therefore have no more certain knowledge than the theologians. Both groups' convictions rely on unproven premises that are accepted only within that group. However, while the unproved premises of the philosophers are based on no more than their school tradition, those of the theologians are rooted in divine revelation and must be given preference. *Incoherence of the Philosophers* ends with the legal condemnation of three teachings of the philosophers as apostasy from Islam, punishable by death.

Al-Ghazali argues similarly against the Ismaili Shi'is, criticizing the fact that they base their faith on the teachings of the living imam rather than on accepted interpretations of revelation. In this instance, his attacks have a distinctly political component, since the Ismaili Shi'is, whom al-Ghazali called "Batinites" (meaning those who arbitrarily follow inner meaning), challenged the authority of the 'Abbasid Sunni caliphate. Their movement undermined the credibility of Sunni theology, claiming its interpretation of scripture is arbitrary. The Sunni theologians submit God's word to seemingly reasonable judgments, the Ismailis said, that are purely capricious. Subsequently, al-Ghazali found himself criticizing one kind of reliance on reason, practiced by the philosophers, while defending another kind in the Muslim theologians' reliance on reason against Ismaili attacks.

Al-Ghazali's departure from his academic and political career in 1095 led him to focus on ethical subjects, a topic barely touched upon in earlier works. It is at this point that he starts to write his most influential book, the voluminous *Revivication of the Religious Sciences (Ihya' 'ulum al-din),* a comprehensive guide to ethical behavior in the everyday life of Muslims. He severely criticizes the coveting of worldly matters and reminds his readers that human life is a path toward Judgment Day and the reward or punishment gained through it. He vigorously attacks his colleagues in Muslim scholarship, questioning their intellectual capacities and independence, as well as their commitment to gaining reward in the world to come. This increased moral consciousness brings al-Ghazali in close connection to Sufi attitudes (Sufism), which have a profound influence on his subsequent writing, most notably on his autobiography and on *The Niche of Lights (Mishkat al-anwar),* a commentary on the Light-Verse (Q 24:35) in the Qur'an.

FRANK GRIFFEL

See also Ismailis

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GHAZNAVIDS

The Ghaznavids (r. 977–1186 CE) established the largest empire in the eastern Muslim world since the 'Abbasids. The dynasty was of Turkish slave origin, first ruling on behalf of the disintegrating Samanid Empire of Transoxiana and Khurasan, later as independent sovereigns. In 962, the rebel slave commander Alptigin established himself at Ghazna. His slave Sebuktigin (r. 977–997) lay the foundations of

the empire; he was awarded governorship of much of present-day Afghanistan (including Ghazna) by the Samanids in 977, annexed Khurasan, Sistan, and Lamghan, and, crushing offensives by the Hindushahi *raja* Jaipal (979 and 988), conquered territory up to Peshawar.

Sebuktigin's son Mahmud (r. 998–1030) declared independence, with nominal loyalty to the ʿAbbasid caliph al-Qadir. He extended the empire from western Persia to the Ganges valley, financing his army and sophisticated bureaucracy by campaigns against wealthy Hindu religious centers and excessive taxation of Khurasan and Afghanistan. The religious impetus of Mahmud's Indian forays was minimal; he fought equally tenaciously against rival Muslim rulers and established permanent dominion in India only up to Lahore.

Mas'ud (r. 1030–1041) had to contend with the rise of the Seljuks in the eastern Muslim world, losing much of Iran and his Central Asian territories in 1040 and shifting the dynasty's orientation toward India. Fleeing to Lahore, he was overthrown by mutinous palace guards. Though Mawdud (r. 1041–1050) stabilized the Ghaznavid position, chaos reigned until 1059, with power contested by various governors, the loss of some Hindu centers, and the siege of Lahore by the *raja* of Delhi.

Ibrahim (r. 1059–1099) ushered in a golden era marked by treaties and cultural interaction with the Seljuks. His army crossed the southern border of Punjab, and Lahore became a major cultural center. By Bahram's reign (1118–ca. 1152), however, the Ghaznavids were little more than Seljuk vassals. Furthermore, long-standing trouble with Ghur, near Herat, came to the forefront. Bahram's injudicious poisoning of a Ghuri chief led to the destruction of Ghazna around the year 1150 and its occupation by the Oghuz in the early 1160s. Khusrau Shah (r. ca. 1152–1160) most likely escaped to the Punjab, the sole remaining Ghaznavid possession. After Khusrau Malik's rule (r. 1160–1186) in Lahore, the city was annexed and Khusrau captured by Muhammad Ghuri, bringing the end of the Ghaznavid dynasty.

The Ghaznavids inherited Samanid administrative, political, and cultural traditions and laid the foundations for a Persianate state in northern India. Under Mahmud, Ghazna approached Baghdad in importance, hosting luminaries such as al-Biruni and Ferdowsi. Though the Ghaznavids initially spoke Turkish, Persian literature was promoted at both Ghazna and Lahore, encouraging poets such as Unsuri, Farrukhi, Manuchihri, Runi, Sana'i, Masud Saʿd Salman, and the Sufi al-Hujwiri. The dynasty presided over new developments in Persian literature, notably in lyrical romances and romantic epics, as well as a budding Turkish literature. Art and architecture also flourished. In jurisprudence, the early Ghaznavids were Shafiʿi, but Hanafism gained ascendancy by Masʿud's time. Though their campaigns against the Ismailis, Shiʿi Buyids, and Hindus were driven by material considerations and imperial ambition, the early rulers often styled themselves as Sunni champions of the faith.

Successful Ghaznavid military strategy involved small forces, mounted archers, and lightning raids, and the army's most important components were the Turkish slave elite and Hindu Indians. In India, Hindu chiefs usually became tributaries in a system of indirect rule. There was no significant loss of population through conquest and negligible conversion to Islam. Some scholars maintain that the large transfer of wealth under the Ghaznavids facilitated trade between India and the Muslim world. Much of this was later passed to the Seljuks as tribute payments, expanding circulation of precious metals to the Levant and Asia Minor.

HOMAYRA ZIAD

See also ʿAbbasids; Abu Hanifa; Al-Biruni; Al-Shafiʿi; Buyids; Epics, Persian; Ferdowsi; India; Iran; Khurasan; Lahore; Mahmud of Ghazna; Persian; Poetry, Indian; Poetry, Persian; Samanids; Seljuks; Shahnama; Sindh; Slavery, Military; Turkish and Turkic Languages; Turks; Warfare and Techniques

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GIBRALTAR

The city of Gibraltrar is located to the southeast of the Spanish province of Cadiz and to the east of the Algeciras Bay. It dominates the Strait of Gibraltar, the necessary gateway from Europe to Africa, from which stems its strategic value. Gibraltar has been under British sovereignty since 1704. The Arabs called it Jabal Tariq after Tariq ibn Ziyad, who disembarked there in AH 92/711 CE, starting the conquest of al-Andalus from this spot (see Andalus).

Although Gibraltar was used as a naval base for the armies that crossed the Strait in one direction or

the other, it was Algeciras, on the other side of the bay, that became the most prosperous center of the southern extreme of al-Andalus. Almohads built a new city in Gibraltar, named Jabal al-Fatih, with a congregational mosque, a palace (some remains of its fortifications remain), and vast dwellings for taking in high government officials. In 709/1309, Gibraltar fell into the hands of the Castilians, but it was recaptured by the Marinids of Morocco (see North Africa) in 733/1333, and later on by the sultan of Granada, in 813/1410. The Marinids, well aware of the importance of their bases on both sides of the Straits, reinforced the defensive installations of Gibraltar and built another congregational mosque and some dockyards. In 866/1462, Gibraltar definitively passed into Christian hands.

DELFINA SERRANO RUANO

See also Andulus; Almohads; Mosques; Marinids; North Africa

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GIFTS AND GIFT GIVING

There are many Arabic terms to express the concept of gift, including *hadiyya, nihla, tuhfa, in'am,* and *hiba*, the latter being the preferred legal term. This terminology was also adopted in medieval Turkish and Persian contexts in addition to the Persian term *pishkash* (royal tribute). According to the French sociologist Marcel Mauss, gift giving is the means by which value can be taught and understood in society, and the size of a gift is often linked to the giver's status in the community. This analysis holds true in the Islamic context and, in addition, gift giving in the form of charitable efforts raises one's spiritual status, as the rewards for those who dispense of their wealth for the good of humankind are doubled (Q. 64:15–18). The Prophet Muhammad is said to have encouraged the exchange of gifts with friends and family to maintain good relations or remove existing grudges, and he maintained that the recipient of a present should reciprocate with another gift of equal value, unless he or she is unable to do so, in which case the offering of thanks and a prayer on behalf of the giver would suffice.

Gift giving in the medieval Islamic context functioned in the social and political spheres of society, and the literature of this period offers us substantial examples of the contents of gifts that were presented or exchanged within the royal and urban milieus. Gifts played a major part in joyous occasions such as weddings, childbirth, circumcision ceremonies, when a child displayed a proficiency in reading the Qur'an, and during important festivals such as the *'Id al-Fitr* (Feast of Ramadan) or *Nawruz* (New Year). According to the medieval historian al-Tha'alibi (d. 1037 CE), the marriage celebration of the 'Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun, hosted by his father-in-law al-Hasan b. Sahl, was one of the most lavish events to have ever been held. Following a 40-day feast for al-Ma'mun's military commanders and courtiers, al-Hasan scribbled the names of various estates on small pieces of paper and whoever got hold of one of these was transferred ownership of the named estate as a parting gift. For the caliph's womenfolk, al-Hasan ordered large, unpierced pearls to be scattered among them, and each of them chose one to show their respect to their host.

We can glean from the documents of the Cairo Geniza that the medieval Mediterranean Jewish, Christian, and Muslim urban communities of the eleventh and twelfth centuries also held elaborate parties on such occasions. Although the magnitude of these events was scaled down in comparison to the banquets held at court, they were, nevertheless, full of pomp and excitement and involved the generous distribution of gifts. On the occasion of a circumcision ceremony, held eight days after the birth of the child, the family organized a grand affair that was described as "second [only] to a wedding" celebration. Poems proffering good wishes upon the child and his family were recited and ample rewards were dispensed to the poets. Official court histories recount the elaborate social gatherings *(majalis)* held by

caliphs and sultans during which panegyrists were awarded with fistfuls of gold, silver, and precious gems for their poetic performances. The gifts or rewards presented to poets, artists, and calligraphers in this way were deemed as necessary forms of artistic patronage.

Another form of official gift giving at court was the bestowal of robes of honor (khil'a) to esteemed individuals, a custom with pre-Islamic origins that was institutionalized in the 'Abbasid period and spread across Muslim Spain to Central Asia well into the premodern period. These costly garments were woven in state-owned factories (dar al-tiraz) and embellished with epigraphic bands often including the name of the ruler, the date, and pious phrases. The 'Abbasid court historian, Hilal al-Sabi', described the investiture ceremony of the Buyid prince, 'Adud al-Dawla, during which the caliph presented him a 'Kufi robe' embroidered with gold threads and jewels, a golden tiara, gold and crystal vessels, and a gold-embroidered "seat of honor" with leather cushions. Interestingly, we have evidence from the Fatimid period that members of the urban population also adopted the custom of presenting robes of honor to friends and family members.

There is a great deal of literature devoted to the content and context of diplomatic gifts exchanged between Muslim rulers and between Muslim and non-Muslim rulers. An excellent source for the period up to the eleventh century is the *Book of Gifts and Rarities (Kitab al-Hadaya wa'l-Tuhaf)*. The value and rarity of the gifts presented were not only incisive indicators of the political power and stability of the giver, but they also set the standard for the recipient to reciprocate in equal measure. The Byzantines were one of the most important players in Muslim diplomatic affairs, and the choice of gifts arriving from either side was always carefully selected and often imbued with symbolic value. According to the *Book of Gifts and Rarities*, on one occasion the Byzantine emperor presented the Fatimid caliph of Egypt with three heavy saddles, once belonging to Alexander the Great, made of cloisonné enamel and inlaid with gold. Apart from gifts made of rare and precious materials, rulers presented giraffes, elephants, and other exotic beasts as symbolic expressions of their power and largesse. This is particularly the case for rulers from Egypt (Fatimids, Mamluks, and Ottomans) and India (Mughals) who owned extensive animal menageries, because they could source such magnificent wild creatures from lands under their jurisdiction.

From the sixteenth century onward the diplomatic activities of the three great Muslim empires, the Safavids, Mughals, and Ottomans, maintained the tradition of exchanging manmade rarities of precious materials, Chinese porcelain, textiles, robes of honor, thoroughbred horses, and exotic birds and animals. Furthermore, with the increase in European and Russian contacts, Muslim rulers began to desire items such as surgical and optical instruments, chandeliers, mirrors, clocks, and firearms. A hitherto unmentioned commodity that was always greatly valued by rulers and was presented as tribute from the earliest periods of Muslim civilization was the trafficking of human slaves, for the military, court administration, or harem.

FAHMIDA SULEMAN

See also 'Abbasids; 'Adud al-Dawla; Alexander; Birth; Byzantine Empire; Cairo Geniza; Ceramics; Circumcision; Charity; Court Dress; Cultural Exchange; Diplomacy; Egypt; Fatimids; Festivals and Celebrations; Historical Writing; Mamluks; Al-Ma'mun; Marriage, Islamic; Marriage, Jewish; Muhammad, the Prophet; Mughals; Muslim–Byzantine Relations; Nawruz; Ottoman Empire; Poets; Precious Metals; Safavids; Slaves and Slave Trade; Textiles; Zoological Parks

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GLASSWARE

Glass in medieval Islam was widely produced from Egypt to Central Asia, drawing on the basic recipes of earlier traditions (a silica–soda–lime composition in which the soda was provided by natural natron as in Roman times and was then slowly supplanted by plant ashes in the ninth and tenth centuries CE) and finding inspiration in shapes, decorative patterns, and colors that were popular in the former Roman/Byzantine lands and in Sasanian Iran and Iraq. Muslim and non-Muslim glassmakers working in the Islamic areas, however, were extraordinarily creative and, in tune with the general evolution of Islamic art, brought this craft to new technical, technological, and artistic heights. In the Islamic world, glass, commonly known in Arabic as *zujāj* and in Persian as *ābgīneh*, had a significant role both as an artistic medium, known and appreciated as far as China and Japan, and as an economically viable material widely used to make windows and containers for commercial goods (mainly liquids such as perfumes, wine, and chemicals). An awareness of its commercial importance is highlighted by the evidence that there were factories, mostly on the Eastern Mediterranean coast, specializing in producing large slabs of glass that were shipped far from the shores to glassmaking areas where the raw material was not readily available, in order to remelt it at a lower temperature, thus simplifying the technology and making it less expensive. Glass was also widely recycled for the same reason, the most important archaeological evidence for which is provided by the shipwreck of Serçe Limanı off the coast of Bodrum in Turkey: The ship, sailing from the shores of the eastern Mediterranean, carried hundreds of baskets full of broken glass that were meant to be used for remelting in factories along the Black Sea or possibly in southern Europe.

Much work still needs to be done by art historians in this relatively neglected field. Broadly speaking, however, the development of Islamic glass is reasonably comprehensible both within the context of the evolution of Islamic art and of glassmaking in the medieval period. Shortly after the beginning of the Islamic era, forms, decorative patterns, and colors continued to resemble closely those glass objects that were created in blown and hot-worked glass by the late Roman and Byzantine glassmakers along the eastern Mediterranean coasts and Egypt. Among them are small flasks enveloped in a trailed cage supported by a quadruped and bottles with fancifully applied decorations. Bold and contrasting colors and textured surfaces are characteristic traits



Goblet of luster-painted glass, made in honor of Abd al-Sammad bin Ali. Fatimid caliphate, eleventh century CE. 10.5 cm. Credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY. Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, Egypt.

of glass produced in this area, as well as in Iraq, in the first centuries of Islam: "Stained" or lustre-painted vessels, *millefiori* (thousand flowers) tiles and small vessels, and needle-point incised objects are the most representative of this trend.

In the formerly Sasanian regions of Iran, almost colorless wheel-cut glass continued to be fashionable through the creation of mirrorlike surfaces by means of contiguous facets making up honeycomb patterns; forms changed with time, but this pattern remained a favorite until the tenth century. In the same areas the glasscutters developed sophisticated yet stylized figural and vegetal patterns in relief, sometimes using two layers of glass of contrasting colors (the so-called cameo technique), which can be regarded as among the best artistic achievements in the arts of the early Islamic period.

The transmission of the craft from father to son for generations (a common trait of glassmaking worldwide) favored the perpetuation of traditional techniques of decoration and colors into the medieval and late medieval periods. A large variety of shapes and details in the decoration, however, allows for a better understanding of both chronology and place of origin of many types. Objects with "marvered" (or "pushed-into") threads of a paler color, applied trails, a variety of impressed or molded patterns, and often combinations thereof provide the widest range of artistic glass vessels created from the tenth through thirteenth centuries in the Islamic world. Marvered and applied glass was more popular in the central lands and in Egypt, whereas impressed and molded glass was favored in the Eastern Islamic areas.

The most celebrated and best-known type of Islamic glassware has a polychrome and gilded surface decoration. Probably originating in Syria in the twelfth century, it was produced in Syria and Egypt until at least the middle of the fifteenth century. Certainly patronized by all layers of the wealthy society, there is evidence under the Mamluks (1250–1517) that the court and its entourage were eager sponsors of this type of glass. Large lamps hanging from mosques, madrasas, and mausoleums, as well as an abundance of secular drinking vessels, bottles, basins, and bowls include the names of sultans and emirs, making a chronology of enameled and gilded glass possible.

The fifteenth century marks the decline of glass production in Egypt and Syria—a decline that had started earlier in Iran with the advent of the Mongols in the thirteenth century—due both to economic and political crises and to the fast rise of the glass industry and trade in Europe. Therefore, little is known of glassmaking in Iran in the Timurid and early Safavid periods and in the former Mamluk, now Ottoman, regions and in Anatolia. In Iran the industry was revived with the help of European, mostly Venetian, craftsmen in Isfahan and Shiraz from the seventeenth century. Western shapes and technology also influenced products manufactured in the Mughal territories of the Indian subcontinent, but their glassmaking quickly gained inventive independence and can be regarded as the best artistic output of the later period.

STEFANO CARBONI

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GNOSIS

Gnosis is a Greek term meaning knowledge. When used in a theological discourse, its meaning becomes synonymous with knowledge of the deity and the spiritual realm. Therefore, a gnostic system aspires to define the composition of the realm of the divine and the agents that communicate between the spiritual realm and the physical world. In Islamic religious thought, gnosis corresponds to the Arabic *ma'rifa*, specifically the knowledge of (1) the nature and attributes of God and (2) the ways He communicates with this world. The association of gnosis with *ma'rifa* is largely championed in Sufism and Shi'ism, but one has to be careful here for there are certain differences in the way gnosis is conceptualized by these groups. However, in a strictly traditional Sunni context, there is no such thing as gnosis: neither the concept nor its theological implication is recognized.

In Sufism the entire mystical experience starts as a quest through several stages of spiritual progression to attain gnosis, and from there to the spiritual unity with God. However, gnosis is not achieved by the power of reason alone, which can barely touch the surface. It is God who plants gnosis in the heart of the Sufi. For that matter, what the Sufi has to do is to be completely obedient and turn himself entirely to God *(tawakkul)* and be patient *(sabr)*. According to the celebrated Sufi Ibn 'Arabi (d. 638/1240), it is the force of obedience *(al-ta'a)* that prepares the Sufi to receive the seed of gnosis where God becomes his raison d'être; for then he knows God and all other things through God. The light of gnosis illuminates for the Sufi the various aspects of the nature and attributes of the deity and allows him to witness the divine through the senses. Once gnosis is entrenched in the Sufi's heart, he becomes one of God's hands in this world: He will be entirely consumed with the divine and has no concern for his own self any longer. Those who attain that stage are usually referred to as "the ones who witnessed Him" *(ashab al-mushahada)*. The miracles that a Sufi saint performs are proofs that he attained that stage. In this respect, the following *hadith* attributed to the Prophet Muhammad is especially praised by the Sufis: "If you truly know God you can say to the mountains move and they will move at your command." One of the notable Sufi movements that formulated a gnostic system is the Ishraqi school—founded by the mystic Shihab al-Din 'Umar al-Suhrawardi (d. 587/1191). For the Ishraqis, gnosis is a light revealed by the Angel Gabriel, the same angel who revealed the Qur'an to the Prophet Muhammad.

Gnosis is equally celebrated within Shi'ism, precisely by the Ismailis and the Twelvers. For both of these sects, the world cannot exist without an imam to lead in matters of life and religion. Like prophets, imams are infallible *(ma'sum)*. In Twelver theology, the imam is the proof *(hujja)* that God exists, and hence it is the divinely revealed gnosis that empowers the imam to know God, interpret God's revealed scripture, and do God's work in this world, even if the imam is a minor. Thus the imams are the lights of God, and, subsequently, the references in the Qur'an to the light of/from God (see Q 4:174; 5:15; 9:32) are understood as references to the Twelvers' imams.

In an Ismaili context, gnosis is a much more sophisticated system. It comprises a cosmological order of Intellects and Emanations, along with a cyclical vision of sacred history that revolves around seven prophets, each of whom brings a revelation. The first six prophets are Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad, and the *qa'im* or *mahdi* is Muhammad ibn Isma'il (grandson of Ja'far al-Sadiq), who is in a stage of occultation. Each prophet ushers in an era that features several imams who assume his role and function until the coming of the following prophet. But in an Ismaili context, the prophet is also the *Logos*: an emanation from the Active Intellect (one of the Intellects that form the Islamili cosmological system). Hence, with the power of gnosis, the prophet or imam defines the exoteric meaning of the revealed scriptures for his era (which is assumed to change over time) but maintains the fixed esoteric meaning (which is assumed to be unchangeable). Generally, three angels mediate between the physical world and the spiritual world until the completion of the seventh and last cycle of human history, when the last prophet returns to bring an end to human history. These angels are Gabriel (Jibra'il), Michael (Mika'il), and Raphael (Israfil).

Suleiman A. Mourad

See also Ibn 'Arabi; Shihab al-Din 'Umar al-Suhrawardi; Shi'ism

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GRAMMAR AND GRAMMARIANS

The science of grammar is intimately bound up with the Islamic religion on the one hand and the predominant Arabic culture of medieval Muslims on the other. As the language of revelation, Arabic

became the principal medium of discourse for all theology, the Traditions of the Prophet, and jurisprudence, not to mention the secular disciplines and belles lettres. It is no coincidence that the word for grammar, *nahw*, means literally "way," synonymous with several other key terms such as *sunna*, *shari'a*, *tariqa*, *madhhab*, all denoting a "way" or "path" taken by Muslims. Eventually, when Islamic learning had been institutionalized in the colleges (see Education, Madrasa), the grammarian was simply one of a community of scholars united in the function of expounding, preserving, and implementing the beliefs of Islam.

Although the beginnings of grammar are obscure, by the end of the eighth century we have the first complete description of Arabic by Sibawayhi, a Muslim of Persian descent who died in approximately 795 CE. His untitled work, known only as *Kitab Sibawayhi Sibawayhi's Book,* has never been surpassed and remains the final authority in grammar. Significantly, he approached language as a social activity in which the participants (speaker and listener) are under an obligation to produce utterances that are both "good" (*hasan,* that is, structurally well-formed) and "right" (*mustaqim*, that is, conveying the intended meaning), with failed utterances being termed *muhal* (absurd, perverted). The ethical origin of these concepts is unmistakable, and they reflect the notion that correct speech and correct religious behavior are analogous.

Before becoming institutionalized, however, grammar passed through a number of stages. Sibawayhi's grammar was primarily descriptive, and it first had to be processed into a form suitable for prescriptive grammar, with which the name of al-Mubarrad (d. 898) is associated. It was not long before the appropriation of Greek scientific concepts led to a questioning of basic theoretical principles as the grammarians strove to establish their professional autonomy: here the outstanding figures are Ibn al-Sarraj (d. 928) and al-Zajjaji (d. 949). During this period the leading grammarians polarized themselves into Basrans and Kufans (named after the two great intellectual centers of the eighth to tenth centuries). The core of the dispute was the validity of induction in deriving grammatical rules: The Basrans argued that such rules could not be authoritative unless the corpus on which they were based was closed, while the Kufans maintained that new data could always be admitted. Needless to say, the Basran position was the only one that would guarantee the integrity of Islam against change and the Kufans were effectively sidelined. It is important to observe that the legal system went through a similar process at much the same time, resulting in what was called "the closing the gate of *ijtihad*," meaning that the corpus of the Qur'an and the Sayings of the Prophet, the textual basis of all legal reasoning, were now fixed and immutable.

The ideological conflict between the Basrans and Kufans is recorded in some detail, but the grammarians soon turned to a new problem, the development of efficient pedagogical methods. Teaching manuals (such as those by Ibn al-Sarraj and al-Zajjaji) appear as early as the tenth century, and by the eleventh century, Ibn Babashadh (d. 1077), al-Jurjani (d. 1078), and al-Zamakhshari (d. 1134) created rigidly schematic textbooks designed to serve the new scholasticism of the Madrasa; we also find a serious interest in the history of grammar and its place among the Islamic sciences, notably in Ibn al-Anbari (d. 1181). After this there is little to do but refine and rearrange the material, culminating in the works of the great masters Ibn al-Hajib (d. 1249), Ibn Malik (d. 1274), and Ibn Hisham (d. 1360). Ibn Malik is renowned for his enthusiastic use of verse as a pedagogical medium, while Ibn Hisham was praised as "an even better grammarian than Sibawayhi" for his expository talents, though the most widely used primer in the whole history of Arabic grammar is the *Ajurrumiyya* of Ibn Ajurrum (d. 1327).

It should not be imagined that the grammarians were all mere pedagogues with no concern for the abstractions and subtleties of their art. There was scope for every kind of speculation and controversy, manifested, for example, in the occasional public debates between grammarians and philosophers, the latter perhaps entertaining the hope that language control could be exercised through a universal Greek logic rather than a specifically Islamic social theory, which is certainly what the philosopher al-Farabi (d. 950) believed. Ibn Faris (d. 1004), by contrast, strongly asserted the uniqueness of Arabic and the necessity of grammar for the maintenance of Islamic law and values, while his contemporary, Ibn Jinni (d. 1002), displayed a remarkably open-minded curiosity about the workings of human speech, posing, among others, the question of whether language operates on theological principles (that is, is essentially arbitrary and nonrational) or on logical principles (he inclines to the former). This reminds us that medieval Islam accommodated a broad range of intellectual freedom and could tolerate at one extreme a hyperrationalist grammarian such as al-Rummani (d. 994), who was committed to the view that language was entirely rational, and at the other extreme the Andalusian fundamentalist Ibn Mada' al-Qurtubi (d. 1196), who not only denied the existence of figurative, nonliteral

meaning but also the concept of linguistic causality altogether.

As long as Islam remains anchored in its Qur'anic textual base, there will always be a normative role for grammar, and the classical form of the Arabic language, which it was the achievement of the medieval grammarians to define and preserve, will continue to act as a restraining force.

MICHAEL G. CARTER

See also Arabic; Basra; Education; Hadith, Kufa; Law and Jurisprudence; Madrasa; Mu'tazilites; Sibawayhi

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GRAMMAR AND GRAMMARIANS, HEBREW AND JUDEO-ARABIC

Hebrew grammar and philology did not exist as disciplines or even as systematic activities until the classical age of Islam. For the Jews, these intellectual ventures first arose in the Muslim East in the late ninth century as a result of their encounter with Arabo-Islamic culture in general and their adoption of Arabic as a spoken and literary language in particular. Hebrew grammatical works in Judeo-Arabic and Hebrew follow Arabic models and terminology and represent some of the earliest literary manifestations and the most critical components of the Jewish subcultural minority's efforts to adapt Jewish culture to the intellectual regimen established by Islam. Just as Arabic grammar and philology were essential tools for Qur'anic exegesis, Hebrew linguistic study became the cornerstone for biblical exegesis and the revival of Hebrew as a literary language.

The first major figure associated with this cultural program was Sa'adia ben Joseph al-Fayyumi (882–942 CE), the communal leader and august head of one of the rabbinical academies in Iraq. Sa'adia, who wrote poetry in Hebrew but virtually everything else (including Hebrew languages studies) in Judeo-Arabic, was critical in legitimizing Hebrew grammatical research because of his authority as a scholar of Jewish law. His writings, which include *Kitab fasih lughat al-'ibraniyyin (Book on the Eloquence of the Language of the Hebrews)* and *Kitab usul al-shi'r al-'ibrani: ha-Egron (The Essentials of Hebrew Poetry: The Compilation),* have been considered unique and foundational efforts in establishing Hebrew grammar and philology. However, fragmentary materials discovered in the Firkovitch *genizah* collection demonstrate that Qaraite Jewish intellectuals in the Muslim East contemporary with Sa'adia were equally immersed in the systematic study of biblical Hebrew. Several tenth-century North African scholars appeared in the generation after Sa'adia, including Judah ibn Quraysh, who authored an epistle *(Risala)* on comparative philology addressed to the community of Fez, and David ben Abraham al-Fasi, who composed a Hebrew–Arabic biblical lexicon, *Jami'l-alfaz*.

Al-Andalus emerged as a significant center of Jewish cultural activity during the mid-tenth century. Menahem ibn Saruq (b. 910–920), a court secretary of the Umayyad Jewish official Hasdai b. Shaprut, composed a Hebrew dictionary of biblical Hebrew roots *(Mahberet)* that would be the last effort to eschew the comparative method. Shortly thereafter Judah Hayyuj (ca. 970 to ca. 1010) first applied the principle of the tri-literal root and its derived forms to Hebrew in *Kitab al-af'al dhawat huruf al-lin (Weak and Geminate Verbs)* and another work. His student, Jonah ibn Janah (eleventh century), took this insight further still in his companion studies, *Kitab al-usul (The Book of Hebrew Roots),* a Hebrew Arabic lexicon, and *Kitab al-luma' (Book of Variegated Flower Beds)*, a comprehensive grammar of biblical Hebrew. At the end of the eleventh century, Isaac ibn Barun's *Kitab al-muwazana bayn al-lugha al-'ibraniyya wal-'arabiyya (The Book of Comparison between the Hebrew Language and Arabic)* represents the fullest systematic application of the comparative method to the study of Hebrew grammar and philology.

Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic grammar and philology survived in Christian lands following the dispersal of the Jews of al-Andalus under al-Muwahhid rule. Some Arabic works of the previous centuries were translated into Hebrew, while newer Hebrew studies by the Iberian exile Abraham ibn 'Ezra (1092–1167) and the Provençal scholar David Qimhi (ca. 1160–1235) synthesized the results of earlier grammarians and achieved new insights into the behavior of classical Hebrew. Several important grammarians and lexicographers are known from twelfth-century Yemen, thirteenth-century Egypt, and fourteenth-century Catalonia, while Sa'adia ibn Danan was a Hebrew linguist writing in Judeo-Arabic at the fall of Nasrid Granada and the expulsion of the Jews from Spain.

Ross Brann

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GRANADA

Granada (Arabic, Gharnata) is the capital of the homonymous district *(kura)* and kingdom, situated on the banks of the Darro River, near its confluence with the Genil.

The first Muslim governors of the area lived in the Roman settlement of Illiberris, which they Arabicized into Ilbira or Elvira, until they moved to a new foundation in its neighborhood, Granada. The district continued to be named *kura* of Elvira, until the name was replaced by that of Granada. The administrative and military territory of the *kura* of Elvira corresponds roughly to the present Spanish province of Granada, to the southeast of the Iberian Peninsula. At the beginning of the eleventh century, after the fall of the Umayyad caliphate of Cordoba, Granada gained prominence at the cost of Elvira. During that time, it became the capital of an independent kingdom ruled by the Zirids, a branch of the Berber Sanhaja tribe. Until then, mainly Jews and Christians had occupied the city. When the Zirids consolidated their power, Granada was the scene of a pogrom against the Jewish community, some of whose members had managed to exert political influence with the *amirs* Habus and Badis ibn Ziri. Of the Zirid palace, situated on the side of a hill sloping down toward the Darro, only a cistern and several pieces of wall remain. The site is known today as the Alcazaba qadima.

In AH 483/1090 CE, 'Abd Allah, the last Zirid king of Granada, was dethroned by the Almoravids. They governed in the city until 551/1156, when it was surrendered to the new lords of al-Andalus, the Almohads. In the interval between 557/1162 and 561/1166, Granada was under the control of the Andalusian rebel Ibn Hamushk, who had taken the city with the help of the Jewish and Christian population. Subsequently, the city fell in the hands of Ibn Hud al-Judhami, under whose leadership a general insurrection against the Almohads took place. In 635/1237, Ibn Hud was assassinated and a year later, his former enemy and founder of the Nasrid dynasty, Muhammad Ibn al-Ahmar, took possession of Granada.

The Nasrid kingdom of Granada included the old provinces of Elvira-Granada, Almería, Malaga, Ronda, and part of Algeciras. The Nasrids maintained constant economic relations with their Christian neighbors, with whom they managed to keep a precarious political balance until 897/1492, when the city was conquered by the Catholic monarchs. The fall of Granada put an end to Muslim political power in the Iberian Peninsula.

Representative of the high level reached by the Arabo-Islamic civilization of Granada are the Maliki jurist al-Shatibi, who in the fourteenth century elaborated a new legal methodology that has been a source of inspiration for reformist thinkers of the contemporary Islamic world, and the polymath Ibn al-Khatib.



The Court of the Lions. The fountain and water course. Credit: Werner Forman/Art Resource, NY. Alhambra, Granada, Spain.

The most remarkable example of Nasrid architecture, the famous palace of the Alhambra, has been defined as the final outcome and the supreme flowering of Andalusi art.

DELFINA SERRANO RUANO

See also Alhambra; Almohads; Cordoba

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GREEK

After Alexander the Great, Greek language and culture began to spread over large sections of the previously non-Greek conquered regions in the Levant and

southwest Asia. Centers where Greek science and philosophy came to be studied and further developed were established and continued to exist even after those areas of the world had become part of the Roman—later Byzantine—and Sasanian empires, and eventually, the caliphate. Such centers included Alexandria, Antioch, Qinnesrin, Harran, Edessa, Nisibis, al-Hira, Jundaysabur, and Marw. In addition to Greek works on theology, books on medicine, logic, and astrology were translated into Syriac and Persian (Pahlavi). Farther east, in India, Pataliputra, the capital of the Gupta kingdom, and the port of Ujjain were centers where Greek mathematics and astronomy were studied and developed from the fifth to seventh centuries.

When the Arabs had conquered Damascus and the caliphate of the Umayyads had been established, they were confronted with the existing Greek–Christian culture. Muslims became acquainted with Greek philosophy and Christian theology. The cities al-Basra and al-Kufa became centers of study of disciplines such as Arabic grammar and lexicography, jurisprudence, and theology, and there is evidence of the influence of Greek philosophy on Muslim theology. However, only scant evidence of any translation activity of Greek scientific or philosophical works during the Umayyad caliphate has come down to us.

This changed with the establishment of the ‘Abbasid caliphate and especially after the foundation of Baghdad as the capital in 762; until around 1000, a majority of Greek scientific and philosophical works were translated into Arabic, either via Syriac or Pahlavi, or directly. The translators were, for a large part, Syriac-speaking Christians who also knew Greek and Arabic. This translation movement was supported and funded by the elite of ‘Abbasid society: caliphs, viziers, merchants, and scholars. Caliphal support was initially motivated by interest in astrology, a legacy of Sasanian culture. Another motivation was the obvious need for knowledge of medicine and the knowledge of accounting and surveying for the secretaries that administered the empire. Indeed, works on astrology and medicine were among the first Arabic translations, soon to be followed by books on arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. Translations were patronized by the Bukhtishū’ family, who had been heads of the hospital of Jundaysabur and were called to Baghdad as physicians at the caliphal court. The Barmakid family, originally from Balkh (Bactria), later living in Marw, came to Baghdad as caliphal viziers. They took an interest in Greek science with which they had become acquainted in Marw. The three Banu Musa brothers also patronized the translation of Greek works; they built an observatory in Baghdad and wrote several works on geometry.

Among the most important translated works were Euclid’s *Elements*, Ptolemy’s *Almagest*, nearly the entire collections of Aristotle and Galen, and major Hippocratica. Arabic translations from Greek science and philosophy formed the basis for the further elaboration of these disciplines in the Arabic–Muslim world.

P. Lettinck

See also Hunayn ibn Ishaq; Translation, Pre-Islamic Learning into Arabic

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GUILDS, PROFESSIONAL

The study of the origins and the development of guilds *(sinf*, pl. *asnaf)* in the Islamic world has been a difficult task for scholars because such organizations have assumed diverse manifestations with respect to economic, political, and religious terms, which has caused difficulty in knowing their exact characteristics. For the most part, however, the origins of guilds in the Islamic history can be traced to the pre-Islamic marketplace in the Arabian peninsula and the Sasanian-controlled territories in eastern Mesopotamia and Central Asia, where most professional organizations formed the basic cadre for the control of the urban economic, political, and social sectors.

In the Caliphate period of Islamic history, from the seventh to the mid-tenth centuries CE, the members of professional organizations primarily consisted of craftsmen and merchants in cities and towns of the eastern Islamic world. These organizations were also comprised of professional groups such as performers, orators, porters, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, braziers, goldsmiths, silversmiths, tailors, and butchers. With the decentralization of the ‘Abbasid caliphal empire after 945, in what can be regarded as the collapse of the classical caliphate, guild institutions also underwent major changes. From the tenth to the mid-thirteenth centuries, prior to the Mongol conquest of Baghdad in 1258, the guild associations became increasingly autonomous with the trade guilds, acquiring an effective strength in the cities.

In this period, many of the guilds appear to have also been organized in the form of *futuvvat* organizations, although as Willem Floor has argued, there is lack of evidence for a strong link between the two. The *futuvvat,* the plural of an Arabic term literally meaning "young manhood," identified chivalric and religious brotherhoods that were widespread throughout all urban communities in the medieval Islamic world. The *futuvvat* circles fused the dual ethos of manliness and ethics with spirituality, emphasizing both worldly and otherworldly strength and knowledge. These chivalric circles were built around notions of comradeship, celibacy, equality, and justice, stressing the ties of mutual loyalty among members. In this regard the Islamic guilds, increasingly known as *futuvvat* circles, were autonomous urban institutions that maintained a strong sense of egalitarian and religious spirit, while at times expressing the interests of their associates against the official power and, at other times, serving as a liaison between the state and the workers. This fraternal expression of mutual loyalty mainly involved rigorous examination of a potential's character and initiation ceremonies rather than training in the trades. Under the forty-five year reign of Caliph al-Nasir in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries in Baghdad, the *futuvvat* clubs were revived and expanded as a consequence of the growth of trade and revival of towns under the Seljuk rule.

By the time of the Mongol invasion, a major development occurred in the professional groupings with the merging of the *futuvvat* circles and Sufism. With the exception of Syria and Egypt, where the *futuvvat* maintained aristocratic features, by the end of the fifteenth century the *futuvvat* had become, especially in Anatolia and northwestern Iran, essentially the Sufi component of guild associations. In the post-Mongol era of Islamic history, the *futuvvat* associations increasingly began to merge with the Anatolian Sufi orders. This led to the creation of *Akhiyat al-Fityan* or *Akhi* movements, which tended to fuse the horseback warrior culture of inner Asia, embedded in a culture of reverence for the spiritual sacred person *(baba)*, with the urbanite *futuvvat* traditions of Irano-Mesopotamian regions.

Such development set the cultural and political landscape for the emergence of an important dynastic empire in Islamic history, namely the Safavids, at the start of the sixteenth century. As a Sufi brotherhood revolutionary movement, the Safavids were the most militant political manifestation of the *futuvvat* in the form of spiritual warriors in consolidating political authority in Anatolia and the Irano-Mesopotamian regions. The development of guilds in the late fifteenth century also played an important role in the expansion of the Ottoman Empire in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: They supplied armies for imperial military campaigns and organized guild ceremonies that provided a channel through which the sultan could reach the whole population of the empire, especially during the imperial circumcision rituals. The Ottoman guilds were autonomous institutions that identified a corporate, economic, and religious community in the cities.

BABAK RAHIMI

See also Artisans; Chivalry; Festivals and Celebrations; Merchants, Muslim; Performing Artists; Religious Movements; Sufism and Sufis; Textiles; Trade, African; Trade, Indian Ocean; Trade, Mediterranean; Urbanism

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H

HADITH

The word *hadith* refers to "speech," meaning, in this case, both collective and individual reports of what the Prophet said and did. Through these words is known the Sunna, which is the model of behavior that all Muslims should imitate. The earliest written collections of hadith date to the last third of the eighth century CE. The Six Books, which make up the most highly respected Sunni collections, are those of al-Bukhari (d. 870), Muslim (d. 875), Abu Dawud (d. 889), al-Tirmidhi (d. 892), al-Nasa'i (d. c. 915), and Ibn Maja (d. c. 887). Four collections enjoy almost as much prestige among the Twelver Shi'is, mainly those of al-Kulayni (d. c. 940) and Ibn Babawayh (d. 991) and two books by al-Tusi (d. c. 1067). Other sects have their own collections of hadith.

An individual hadith always has two parts. First is a list of its transmitters called the *isnad* (support); second is the actual text, called the *matn* (main part). For example, al-Bukhari reports this: < Muhammad ibn Bashshar < Ghundar < Shu'ba < Qatada < Anas ibn Malik < Qatada ibn al-Samit < Prophet: "The believer's dream is one forty-sixth part of prophecy." The isnad protects against forgery. Bukhari goes on to name another isnad that is completely different but in support of the same matn to show that there is no need to rely on the veracity of any one of these men; in addition, four persons related the same matn from Anas directly from the Prophet, without Qatada ibn Samit matn between them. Muslim offers eight isnads to support the same matn.

If a hadith was supported by only a single isnad or if only one person was known to have transmitted it during a generation, it was called *khabar al-wahid* ("the report of one") and considered sound only if that one person's transmission was usually corroborated by others. For example, "The servant's dream is one forty-sixth part of prophecy" appears in a collection of suspect hadith with the isnad < Ishaq ibn Abi Isra'il < 'Abd Allah ibn Yahya ibn Abi Kathir < his father < Abu Salama < Abu Hurayra < the Messenger of God. It is suspect, because the link between Ibn Abi Kathir and his father has few parallels. It was a matter of dispute how much corroboration was enough.

Transmission of hadith by paraphrase was evidently once common. Accordingly, the tradition claims only that it reliably contains the gist of what the Prophet said and not his exact words; this is one reason that philologists continually quote the Qur'an and old poetry to establish correct Arabic usage and rarely quote hadith.

Most of the rules of Islamic law are based on hadith. Disagreements about the rules are usually associated with contradictory hadith. Muslim jurisprudents held that hadith afforded probable knowledge rather than certain. In case of contradiction between hadith and the Qur'an, most jurisprudents held that hadith explained the Qur'an; hence, in practice, hadith took precedence. Only Mu'tazili and Khariji jurisprudents argued for dismissing hadith that seemed to contradict the Qur'an.

The ninth and tenth centuries were the great age of hadith criticism, when the sound was sorted from the

unsound. Hadith remained the most popular of the Islamic sciences throughout the Middle Ages, and lectures in hadith attracted great numbers. Even if they could look up the reliable hadith in respected collections, Muslims enjoyed reenacting the experience of the Companions listening to the Prophet.

CHRISTOPHER MELCHERT

See also al-Bukhari; Muslim; al-Kulayni; Ibn Babawayh; al-Tusi

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HAFSA BINT AL-HAJJ AL-RUKUNIYYA

Hafsa Bint al-Hajj al-Rukuniyya was a Granadan Arabic poet who died in AH 586/1190–1191 CE. Louis di Giacomo suggests that she was perhaps the most celebrated Andalusian woman poet of her time. In his view, only two others warrant comparison: her eleventh-century Cordoban predecessor Wallada Bint al-Mustakfi and her twelfth-century Granadan contemporary Nazhun Bint al-Qila'i. Indeed, this supposition has some merit. Hafsa's love affair and dialogue with fellow poet Abu Ja'far Ibn Sa'id may be less legendary than Wallada's romantic liaison with the poet Ibn Zaydun, but Hafsa seems to have been more prolific. Only Nazhun's extant corpus, which includes an oft-overlooked strophic poem *(muwashshaha)*, can quantitatively compare to that of Hafsa, which contains about sixty lines of verse set among nineteen compositions. Furthermore, her biography is somewhat less sketchy than those of many female poets of her era, although the details of her childhood (e.g., her date and place of birth) are elusive, and little is known about her family other than that her father was Berber. However, once she establishes her relationship with Abu Ja'far at about the time that the Almohads come to power in 1154 CE, her historical personage becomes more defined, and she begins to be linked to specific people, places, and dates. The figure of Abu Sa'id 'Uthman, an Almohad prince, patron of poets, and rival of Abu Ja'far for Hafsa's affections, is particularly significant in this regard. The rivalry between prince and poet turned deadly when Abu Ja'far joined his extended family, the Banu Sa'id, in their political opposition to the reign of Abu Sa'id's father 'Abd al-Mu'min Bin 'Ali. For this infraction, Abu Ja'far was imprisoned and eventually executed in 1163 CE. At some point after this, Hafsa seems to have made a career change, establishing herself primarily as a pedagogue rather than a poet. In later life, she was hired by the Caliph Ya'qub al-Mansur to educate his daughters in Marrakech, where she died.

One of the most famous poems attributed to Hafsa—perhaps incorrectly—is a succinct panegyric addressing 'Abd al-Mu'min in which she cleverly alludes to her patron's official insignia. Another is her response to a poem by Abu Ja'far. In his piece, Abu Ja'far personifies a garden where the lovers met and implies that its scents and sounds were expressions of its delight in their rendezvous. In her reply, Hafsa accuses her beloved of misinterpreting the garden's motives, asserting that it acted not out of admiration but rather out of envy and spite. Her corpus also features a rather intriguing scatological invective that she is said to have co-composed with Abu Ja'far, each poet extemporizing alternate lines. Although many Andalusian women poets composed amatory, satirical, and obscene verse, Hafsa is additionally remembered for her elegies devoted to Abu Ja'far; hence her poetic output had a thematic variety and depth that make her a distinctive figure in the history of women's writing.

MARLÉ HAMMOND

See also 'A'isha Bint Ahmad al-Qurtubiyya; Almohads; Wallada Bint al-Mustakfi; Women Poets

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HAFSIDS

The Hafsids were a Berber dynasty of governors of Ifriqiyya that stopped paying allegiance to the Almohad caliph and that started to rule independently from AH 627/1229 CE. Together with the Banu ʿAbd al-Wad of Tlemcen and the Marinids of Morocco, they exerted control over the African part of the former Almohad empire, whose unity they all tried to restore, the Hafsids with the argument that they were the legitimate heirs of the Almohad caliphs. The civil and military administration of the Hafsids and their official ideology was based on the Almohad model, without this fact having interfered with the spread of Malikism and mysticism (see Sufism). They made Tunis their religious, political, and economical capital—a situation that has prevailed to the present day—and filled it with monuments.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Hafsid Tunis received a wave of Andalusi Muslims who fled the lands conquered by the Christians. Among them the writer Ibn al-Abbar (d. 658/1260) and the ancestors of the historian Ibn Khaldun are to be counted. A second wave of Andalusi immigrants arrived by the end of the fifteenth century, after the fall of Granada to the Catholic monarchs. In their new destination, Andalusis made up a powerful social group whose influence is visible in Tunisian architecture.

The Hafsids kept commercial relationships with Provence, Languedoc, the Italian republics, Sicily, and Aragon. These relationships experienced occasional setbacks (e.g., in 668/1270, when the crusade of St. Louis attacked Tunis). Despite its short duration, the presence of the crusaders gave a serious blow to Hafsid prestige and opened a period of disturbance and secession that culminated in 693/1294. In this year, Abu Zakariyya', a nephew of the amir Abu Hafs (683–694/1284–1295), gained control over the Western part of the territory, including Bougie and Constantine (and later over Gabes). The Hafsid emirate enjoyed a period of relative peace and prosperity with Abu 'l-Abbas (772–796/1369–1370) and his successors. However, by the end of the fifteenth century, internal division allowed first the Spaniards and, subsequently, the Turks to take hold of the land. In 982/1574, Tunis became part of the Ottoman Empire.

Delfina Serrano Ruano

See also Almohad; Malikism

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HAJJ

The Semitic root from which the Arabic term *hajj* derives is associated with the visitation of sacred shrines. It is an old word that is found in the northwest Semitic languages of Hebrew, Phoenician, Syriac, and Aramaic and South Semitic Sabaean, as well as Arabic. In the Hebrew Bible, it references the three Pilgrimage Festivals: "Three times in the year all your males shall appear before the Lord God" (Exodus 23:14–18). The core meaning likely includes circumambulation (Hebrew *hug*: Proverbs 8:7, Job 26:10) and perhaps even leaping or reeling from excessive consumption and celebration (1 Samuel 30:16, Psalm 107:27). Indeed, depictions of pre-Islamic hajj practice mention members of the Meccan tribe of Quraysh dancing around the Kaʿba—even naked—as part of the encircling ritual.

Hajj visitations were a core part of pre-Islamic religious practice in the area around Mecca. They included a spring visitation called ʿUmra to the Meccan Kaʿba during the month of Rajab, a circumambulation between two low nearby hills named Safa and Marwa, and a regular visitation to ʿArafat some eleven miles away from the Kaʿba. According to the Qur'an (2:196–200), these appear to have been separate rituals that were united under the leadership of Muhammad to form the complex Islamic pilgrimage ritual of today.

The Islamic pilgrimage became a sober time for personal reflection and collective association with the multiethnic and multiracial community of Muslims, culminating in an animal sacrifice to be eaten and distributed to the poor (22:28). The Qur'an associates the Hajj with Abraham. After coming to Mecca to (re) build the Kaʿba, God tells him (22:27), "Call humanity

to the Hajj!'' The traditional commentaries mention how Abraham's voice carried not only to all corners of the world but even into the wombs of mothers; all humanity heard the call.

Hajj is therefore a duty that is incumbent upon those who are able (3:97), but the Qur'an was silent regarding most of the ritual details. These were filled in and authorized through commentaries on the Qur'an and through the Sunna, the tradition literature that articulates the acts and discourse of the Prophet Muhammad.

Muhammad inherited visitation activities that had been practiced as pagan ritual for generations. Traditions therefore emerged that associated the ritual stations (manasik) with Abraham, the indigenous monotheist forbear of Islam (3:67). According to these traditions, the originally monotheistic pilgrimage rituals established by Abraham were corrupted over the ages; Muhammad therefore restored them to their original and pristine status of worship and adoration of the one great God.

The Islamic hajj ritual is too complex to describe here in any detail, but it includes the circumambulation (tawaf) of the Meccan Ka'ba, ''running'' (sa'i) between Safa and Marwa, ''standing'' (wuquf) at 'Arafat, and animal sacrifice. These and more ritual acts take place during the first ten days of the month called *dhul-hijja,* culminating in the Feast of Sacrifice ('id al-adha), which is associated by some with the divine command of Abraham to sacrifice his son Ishmael at the site of the Ka'ba (although early Muslim scholars differed strongly over who was the intended sacrifice and where it would have taken place).

Medieval pilgrimage routes criss-crossed the Islamic world and beyond, bringing all kinds of Muslims together to share the common pilgrimage experience. Official caravans departed from key points such as Syria, Egypt, Persia, and Iraq for the protection of pilgrims who were sometimes attacked by Arab marauders—even during the ten ritual days themselves—if left unprotected. The ''protection'' of pilgrims and control of pilgrimage routes signified political power, so opportunists from Ibn Zubayr in 692 to the followers of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (wahhabis) in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries preyed upon and ''protected'' pilgrims in a manner that made the journey precarious into the modern period. Many pious believers would remain in Mecca after their hajj, where they learned, taught, and shared knowledge, creating a cosmopolitan center in the middle of the Arabian desert that remains one of the more broadminded cities of Saudi Arabia to this day.

REUVEN FIRESTONE

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HAKIM, AL-, FATIMID CALIPH

Al-Hakim bi-amr Allah, Abu 'Ali Mansur, was the sixth of the Fatimid caliphs, whose quite unusual reign featured a range of odd—even bizarre—acts that have left a strange enigmatic historical record not easily explained or fairly judged. As imam of the Ismaili Muslims, he was the divinely ordained successor of the Prophet Muhammad, with full and exclusive authority over his followers. Accordingly, his word was law; Islam would be defined by his words and actions. In practice, his various attempts at reform through legal restrictions on, among other things, the consumption of certain foodstuffs and alcoholic beverages, games of chance, religious rites he did not approve of, the public movements of women, the appearance of Jews and Christians without markers to identify them as such, and public expressions of veneration for the Companions of the Prophet were never accepted by the majority in his realm and were anathema to most. To enforce his order, he had many killed, especially from the higher elite of his government; he commanded the destruction of a large number of churches and synagogues, the most famous of which was the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (destroyed in 1009 CE). However, he was well known for his generosity and beneficence and his support of the sciences and learning. Above all, after he reached maturity, he conducted the affairs of government personally and circulated at will among the populace both by night and by day, riding a donkey with little or no escort.

Born in Egypt in 985, al-Hakim assumed the caliphate upon the unexpected early death of his father, al-'Aziz, in 996 at the age of eleven. Initially he was under the constraint of the powerful commander of his Berber troops, Ibn 'Ammar, and his tutor, the

eunuch Barjawan. One by one he rid himself of these men and emerged on his own, when he began the series of legal enactments for which he is famous. Many of these acts both came into effect and were later rescinded. Cursing of the Prophet's Companions because they had failed to uphold the right of 'Ali to succeed ended with an order to remember them for the good they had done before that fateful betrayal. In 1005, al-Hakim created a public academy and library, the Dar al-'Ilm, which was staffed with Sunni professors. The Isma'ilis had their own teaching institution, the Majlis al-Hikma. Churches and synagogues once looted and torn down were given permission to reopen; Christians formerly oppressed were allowed to emigrate, and those who had converted to Islam could return to their original faith.

At least twice al-Hakim faced quite serious revolts on the fringes of his domain. In 1005, an Umayyad pretender, Abu Rakwa, rallied tribal forces in the Libyan desert and marched into the Delta. At first he succeeded in defeating the Fatimid armies sent against him, although eventually he fell himself and was executed in Cairo two years later. In 1011 and 1012, previously loyal tribesmen in southern Palestine rose to establish, in conjunction with the amir of Mecca, a counter-caliphate. Skillful negotiations and the payment of bribes by al-Hakim to the leading men involved eliminated this threat. Despite these signs of resistance, in general, al-Hakim's rule prevailed; the Fatimids lost no territory during his reign, preserving their hold on much of Syria and the Hijaz and the titular overlordship of North Africa and Sicily. On one occasion in 1010, al-Hakim was even acknowledged—albeit briefly—as caliph throughout northern Mesopotamia.

During the final seven years of his life, al-Hakim adopted a style of rule that was increasingly more ascetic and less regal. He began to ride in public exclusively on a donkey, he let his hair and nails grow, he wore rough black clothing, and he tried to delegate official functions to a cousin that he appointed as his heir apparent. His most ardent supporters confirm that many became perplexed as a result, so unaccustomed were they to such behavior by a supreme leader and imam. By 1017 or possibly even earlier, others turned more enthusiastic, declaring that al-Hakim was in fact divine, a god whose actions were not to be judged by human standards. That same year, Hamza ibn 'Ali, the eventual founder of the Druze, and al-Darazi, the man whose name provided the word Druze itself, both began to preach openly that al-Hakim was God Himself, appearing in human form. Whether the caliph actually encouraged these men is doubtful; those who held official positions under al-Hakim fought as forcefully as they could against such tendencies. However, in 1021, al-Hakim disappeared mysteriously during the course of one of his nightly excursions, leaving those who considered him to be God even more convinced of that fact and the rest of his followers scrambling to arrange for the succession of his son, al-Zahir; this feat was engineered under these unusual circumstances by the absent caliph's powerful sister, Sitt al-Mulk.

PAUL E. WALKER

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HAMADHANI, BADI' AL-ZAMAN

Abu al-Fadl Ahmad ibn al-Husayn al-Hamadhani (968–1008 CE) was given the nickname "Badi' al-Zaman" ("The Wonder of the Age") in recognition of his mastery of Arabic prose writing in the high style. Among his teachers was the illustrious grammarian Ibn Faris (d. 1004), and he spent the earlier part of his career as a littérateur in Rayy at the renowned court of al-Sahib ibn 'Abbad (d. 995) before moving further East.

Al-Hamadhani was, it appears, a complete master of the Arabic and Persian languages, able to translate instantaneously between the two and to improvise elaborate exercises in verbal virtuosity. Although he wrote a number of works, including a set of rasa'il (epistles), he is remembered chiefly as the writer who managed to combine different narrative features into an entirely new genre: the *maqamah* (the name of the genre being derived from the idea of "standing," and thus perhaps contrasted with the institution of *majlis,* a name that implies an "evening session"). The primary element involved in the emergence of this new genre was the ancient style known as *saj',* a form of rhyming and cadenced prose that finds its most notable place of expression in the text of the Qur'an itself. The revival (and elaboration) of this style of writing in al-Hamadhani's time was one of the consequences of a conscious decision on the part of those udaba' (littérateurs) in the chancelleries (diwan al-rasa'il) of the Islamic courts to develop a

more elaborate form of prose style. Al-Hamadhani's invocation of this style was coupled with another element: anecdotes concerning the daily life of the inhabitants of the cities and regions of the Arab–Islamic world and in particular the underworld inhabited by beggars and tricksters. These elements were combined into a set of fifty maqamat in which two principal characters, a narrator named 'Isa ibn Hisham and a perpetually shifting rogue figure named Abu al-Fath al-Iskandari, are placed into a variety of venues throughout the Islamic regions of West Asia and ply their routines of trickery. The denouement of each episode involves the disclosure of the true identity of Abu al-Fath who, up to that point, has been playing any one of a wide variety of roles, thus allowing for a good deal of pastiche of different genres—critical debate, sermon, will and testament, and so on—before the truth is revealed.

Although the above description covers a good percentage of the maqamat included in al-Hamadhani's collection, there is nevertheless considerable diversity in narrative approach and content. Some examples have 'Isa ibn Hisham, the narrator, acting as his own trickster (the Baghdad maqamah, for example), whereas, in the famous *al-Maqamah al-Madiriyyah* (a masterly and insightful commentary on middle-class values reminiscent of Petronius's "Cena Trimalchionis" in the *Satyricon*), the narrator does not appear at all. The Saymari maqamah is an elaborate morality tale that points out the dangers of excessive luxury and indulgence. The maqamah of Hulwan consists of two separate sections (as do several other examples): in the first, a truly farcical situation in a barber's shop emerges as a parody of judicial practice, whereas, in the second, the reader/listener is treated to a wonderful exercise in malapropism.

The pioneer status of al-Hamadhani's set of maqamat was to be acknowledged many years later by his successor, Abu Muhammad Qasim al-Hariri (d. 1122). However, it is this latter figure who is still one of the most celebrated figures in the history of Arabic prose writing; his own stylistic virtuosity exceeded even that of al-Hamadhani and took the maqamah genre to even greater linguistic and rhetorical heights.

ROGER ALLEN

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HAMDANIDS

The Hamdanids are an Arab (i.e., Bedouin but not nomadic) family from the Banu Taghlib tribe that has been recorded in the Djazira since pre-Islamic times. Although initially Bedouin, the Hamdanids established an urban regime. Their headquarters were located in the ancient cities of Mesopotamia and Northern Syria, and they replaced their tribal armies with slave soldiers.

The first member of the family—and the person after whom the family was named—was Hamdan ibn Hamdun, who played a minor role in 'Abbasid politics during the second half of the AH third/ninth CE century. His descendants established two minor dynasties in Mesopotamia and Aleppo that survived until the second half of the fourth/tenth century. In addition, they gained fame for their cultural role, particularly in Arabic poetry.

Three stages can be differentiated in the history of the Hamdanids. The first took place in northern Iraq and Baghdad during the final decades of the third/ninth century. Hamdan b. Hamdun and his son Husayn were involved in fighting against the Khawaridjs as well as battling the armies of the 'Abbasid caliphate. This stage ended with the incorporation of the Hamdanids into the coalition that converged around the 'Abbasid family.

Abu Muhammad al-Hasan, who succeeded his father (317/929), became the head of the Hamdanid family. At that junction, he served as the governor of Mawsil (Mosul) in northern Mesopotamia. Taking advantage of the violent struggle within the 'Abbasid court (which led to the murder of the caliph by his Turkish guards and the emergence of a military regime headed by the commander in chief (amir al-umaraa') in 324/936), al-Hasan was able not only to maintain his position in Mawsil but also to extend his influence southward, along the Tigris River. During these troubled years, his achievements peaked. Al-Hasan had Muhammad ibn Ra'iq assassinated and forced the caliph al-Muttaqi to bestow on him the royal title (laqb) Nasir al-Dawla (defender of the 'Abbasid dynasty). Later, in 330/942, he married the caliph's granddaughter.

The second chapter in the history of the Hamdanids began after their withdrawal from Baghdad, which was taken over by the Buwayhids. During this period, they failed to hold onto their possessions in

the Djazira, and the emirate of Mosul was seized by the Buwayhids (367/978). They were more successful in the land west of the Euphrates, extending their rule to new territories.

This development is related to Abu al-Hasan ‘Ali Sayf al-Dawla (the sword of the ‘Abbasid dynasty). Taking advantage of the complicated political conditions in Northern Syria, a land that was out of reach of the three major forces in the Middle East (the fragile ‘Abbasids in Baghdad and the Ikhshids in Egypt and Byzantine [who were gaining new lands in Asia Minor]), he was able to become the master of Aleppo (333/944). The fighting against the Byzantines served one of Sayf al-Dawla’s legitimacy claims. However, his delicate position was clearly demonstrated when the Byzantine armies succeeded in temporarily conquering Aleppo (351/962).

The emirate that Sayf al-Dawla established gained fame primarily because of its role in the history of Arabic literature. The circle of poets that congregated in Sayf al-Dawla’s palace spread his name. Among the prominent intellectuals in his court were his cousin Abu Firas, al-Mutannabi, Abu al-Faradj al-Isfahani, and al-Farabi.

After Sayf al-Dawla’s death (356/967), Aleppo became the seat of his son Sa‘d al-Dawla Abu al-Ma‘ali, who was challenged by his uncle Abu Firas and who, because of inner opposition, had to fight his way into the city. This marked the beginning of the third stage of the history of the Hamdanids. It ended with the advance of the Fatimid armies (406/1015) and the emergence of a new Bedouin dynasty, Banu Kilab (414/1023).

Yehoshua Frenkel

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HARAWI, AL-, ‘ALI B. ABI BAKR

Al-Harawi (d. 1215 CE) was an ascetic, a Sufi, a scholar, a preacher, a poet, a pilgrim, an emissary, and a counselor to rulers. He was born in Mosul, Iraq, possibly to a family from Herat, in present-day Afghanistan, and he later settled in Baghdad, where he was a protégé of the ‘Abbasid Caliph al-Nasir li-Din Allah, who appointed him to the post of preacher in the congregational mosque of Baghdad. Al-Harawi was among a number of prominent Sufis and ascetics who were intimates of the Caliph, who was instrumental in consolidating his spiritual authority over the Sufi orders of Baghdad and facilitating rapprochement between the Sunnis and the Shi‘is. It is alleged that al-Nasir gave al-Harawi charge over regulating the moral conduct of the markets in all of Greater Syria, reviving the uncultivated lands, and serving as preacher in the congregational mosque of Aleppo.

Although an ascetic, al-Harawi was very much involved in diplomacy and warfare by serving as an emissary during the reign of Saladin, and he most likely joined the ruler on military campaigns. In this role, al-Harawi met with the Muslim ruler of Sicily and, in 1179 or 1180, with the Byzantine Emperor Emmanuel Comnenos. From 1173, he even visited Jerusalem and other cities in Palestine that were under Crusader rule and the Muslim and Christian holy sites therein. In 1192, King Richard the Lionheart requested an audience with al-Harawi to return to him his stolen writings and recompense him after his troops set upon al-Harawi’s convoy at the outskirts of Palestine near Gaza. Circumstances did not permit al-Harawi to meet him.

Al-Harawi eventually came to reside in Aleppo, where he served as an advisor to Saladin’s son al-Malik al-Zahir Ghazi, who endowed a madrasa (teaching college) for him. His detractors falsely accused al-Harawi of being a Shi‘i, and he was also accused of being a conjurer and magician who exercised undue influence over his patron, al-Malik al-Zahir Ghazi.

Al-Harawi is the author of the only pilgrimage guide to the shrines, holy places, and antiquities of the entire medieval Islamic world: *Kitab al-Isharat ila Ma‘rifat al-Ziyarat (Guide to Pilgrimage Places)*. Al-Harawi’s guide is a testament to the diversity of Muslim—and, to a lesser extent, Christian and Jewish—holy places and to the antiquities of ancient civilizations. Al-Harawi also authored a manual on warfare entitled *al-Tadhkira al-Harawiyya fi ’l-Hiyal al-Harbiyya (Memoirs of al-Harawi on the Stratagems of War),* which he wrote for the ruler of Aleppo and which focused on the etiquette of waging war.

The inscriptions on his Aleppo mausoleum that al-Harawi built during his lifetime attest to his longing for the hereafter and meeting the Creator and his lack of faith in his fellow man.

Josef W. Meri

See also Ascetics and Asceticism

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HARIZI, AL-, JUDAH

An eight-page entry from the Arabic biographical dictionary of Ibn al-Sha’ar al-Mawsili (1197–1256) contains an entry about Judah al-Harizi (b. ca. 1166 in Toledo, d. 1225 in Aleppo):

> Yahya Ibn Suleiman Ibn Sha’ul Abu Zakariyya al-Harizi the Jew from the people of Toledo. He was a poet of great talent and prolific creation who composed poems in the area of panegyric and invective... He composed numerous works in the Hebrew language such as the "Book of *Maqamat;*" [he also composed] a single *maqama* in the Arabic language that he titled "The Elegant Garden."

The entry preserves Arabic poems by al-Harizi and reveals details such as the author’s uncommon height, his inability to grow a beard, and his Maghrebi accent. Al-Harizi was born in Toledo, which was then part of the Iberian Christian kingdom of Castile, and he later migrated to the Islamic east, traveling as far as Baghdad and ultimately settling in Aleppo. Al-Harizi’s earliest Hebrew compositions are translations from Arabic and Judeo-Arabic, including Maimonides’ *Guide of the Perplexed;* Ali Ibn Rudhwan’s (d. ca. 1068) *Epistle on Morals;* a book about poetics and exegesis by Moses Ibn Ezra; and the famous maqama collection of al-Hariri of Basra. Al-Harizi’s translation method preserves the sense of the original, often through paraphrase, while striving to produce a Hebrew text that is clear and elegant. His translation of al-Hariri’s maqamat entitled *Mahbarot ’Itti’el (’Itti’el’s Compositions)* is executed in a pure biblical Hebrew and replaces Arabic and Islamic references with Hebrew and Jewish ones. Al-Harizi strives to preserve literary conceits (e.g., the composition of palindromes) around which he structures maqamat.

Al-Harizi composed his original Hebrew maqama collection, *The Book of Tahkemoni*, after leaving Iberia for the east. Following a trend toward Hebrew rhymed-prose composition and modeling structure after the maqamat of al-Hamadhani and al-Hariri, al-Harizi produced fifty tales in rhymed prose with poems interspersed. As in the classical maqamat, episodes revolve around the encounters of a narrator and a protagonist rogue. The rhetoric-hungry narrator travels throughout the world and repeatedly encounters an itinerant rhetorician who makes a living through eloquence and petty scams. Episodes often incorporate a ruse motif, denouement through anagnorisis (recognition), and witty speech mediated through biblical allusions. Al-Harizi undertakes literary feats, including a trilingual poem (Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic) in a single rhyme and meter and a letter that, read forward, is panegyric but that, read backward, is invective. Numerous plots are borrowed from al-Hamadhani, al-Hariri, and other Arabic authors.

The six surviving Arabic poems by al-Harizi include panegyrics to the Ayyubid ruler Al-Malik al-Ashraf Ibn Abu Bakr Ayyub (d. 1237). Al-Harizi’s *al-Rawda al-Aniqa (The Elegant Garden)* is an Arabic maqama that details the author’s journeys through the lands of the Islamic east (paralleling chapter forty-six of the *Tahkemoni*). He describes Damascus as a "garden for souls... the torrent beds of its elevated places are like those of *Najd*." Since Najd is a place the author never visited, the author’s association with the nostalgia-laden locus of the Arabian Peninsula demonstrates his intimacy with the Arabic literary tradition.

JONATHAN P. DECTER

See also Al-Hamadhani; al-Hariri; Maqama; Poetry, Hebrew

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HARUN AL-RASHID

Harun, the son of al-Mahdi, became the fifth ‘Abbasid caliph in the fall of 786 CE. He ruled until 809. His succession to rule was a result of a factional power struggle within the court. In short order after the death of Harun’s older brother al-Hadi, the Barmakid faction—in collusion with Harun’s mother, al-Khayzuran—was able to outmaneuver the supporters of al-Hadi’s son Ja’far. Harun’s reign is often described as a golden age or, at the very least, as the apex of ‘Abbasid stability and culture. Although this is not necessarily true, his reign does represent a period of tremendous wealth and the furthest extent of the ‘Abbasid realm.

The empire was prosperous. Baghdad was a thriving, cultured metropolis to which poets, artists,

and litterateurs flocked. In the west, Harun's court is known as the one that presided over the tales of the *One Thousand and One Nights.* However, it is in comparison with the civil war between Harun's two sons and the steady decline thereafter that Harun's reign shines so brightly. For the first decade of his reign, Harun was under the tutelage of the Barmakids. They endeavored to more aggressively assert central control, which left Harun in a much stronger financial position. However, they were never quite able to garner the military support that they needed. In addition, in trying to soften the policy towards the Alids, they made many enemies within the court.

The beginning of the end for the Barmakids came with the succession arrangement established in Mecca in 802. It was there that Harun declared that his son Muhammad al-Amin would succeed him and following him would be Abdallah al-Ma'mun; he made all parties swear publicly to uphold this. Also, when Muhammad came to the throne, his brother would be autonomous in Khurasan. This elaborate succession arrangement appears to be intended to short-circuit factional rivalries and to channel them in productive ways. Muhammad's support base was among the non-Barmakid elite of Baghdad, whereas Abdallah's was among the Barmakids and consequently the bureaucracy. It was upon return from a pilgrimage in 803 that the fall of the Barmakids occurred. As a result of its shockingly precipitous nature, this episode stands out and has been the object of much commentary.

It seems that, fundamentally, Harun was no longer willing to accept so powerful a faction within the court. Kennedy suggests that perhaps the family resisted an arrangement that clearly subordinated them, and this was the trigger for their fall. In the wake of this action, Harun began a campaign of strengthening his legitimacy by participating in raids against the Byzantines. These raids did not bring new lands under control, but they did serve to highlight his role as Commander of the Faithful. For the rest of his reign, he spent very little time in Baghdad and based himself on the Byzantine frontier. A series of rebellions broke out in the east, and, in 808, Harun went to deal with them. It was on this campaign that he died in 809 in Tus, near present-day Mashhad.

John P. Turner

See also ʻAbbasids; Baghdad; Khurasan; Tus

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HASAN AL-BASRI, AL-

Al-Hasan ibn Abi al-Hasan al-Basri was born in AH 21/624 CE and probably grew up in or around Medina. He resided most of his life in Basra (Iraq), where he died on Rajab 1, 110/October 10, 728.

Al-Hasan's legacy must have originated from his charisma as a storyteller and from his piety; it was then spread by a number of disciples who played a significant role in the development of several religious and theological trends. The corpus of anecdotes attributed to him is often contradictory and irreconcilable. Al-Hasan's significance, therefore, is not to be measured with respect to his historical role in the formulation of particular trends. It is rather the ongoing expansion of his posthumous legacy as one of the founding fathers of Islam that has been used for legitimization by competing religious movements and sects.

Al-Hasan likely believed in part to Free Will theology (Qadar): sins are made by humans and cannot be attributed to God. The advocates of that doctrine, including Muʻtazilites and Shiʻis, claimed al-Hasan and attributed to him a significant number of anecdotes and letters supporting their theology. They also ascertained that he was involved in uprisings against the Umayyads, especially the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʻath (killed AH 85/704 CE). However, one has to be cautious with what these groups attributed to al-Hasan, for two reasons: (1) they had a theological and political anti-Umayyad agenda, and (2) they reclaimed al-Hasan after the proto-Sunnites and then Sunnites were on a crusade to dissociate him from the Free Will doctrine and from political activism. The *Epistle against the Pre-Destinarians* to Caliph

'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan that has been ascribed to al-Hasan is the most elaborate example of false attribution. The text reflects theological debates of the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, and it includes anachronistic cases that cannot be dated to 'Abd al-Malik's reign.

The proto-Sunnites and later Sunnites who advocated predestination ascertained that al-Hasan upheld their creed and similarly attributed to him anecdotes and correspondences, which include the inauthentic *Treatise against the Believers in Free Will* to Caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz. They also ascertained that al-Hasan, as a notable predecessor, could not have participated in intra-Muslim civil wars. This concerted effort on their part leaves many obvious clues that they were "changing" the historical al-Hasan to fit Sunni expectations.

As for piety, medieval literature overwhelmingly presents al-Hasan as a model, but they disagree as to whether he enjoined moderation in life or complete renunciation of worldly pleasures and preoccupations. In this respect, the largest body of material transmitted about his authority are piety-related sermons and letters, including the inauthentic *Treatise on Asceticism* to Caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, which ridicules this world and warns against its deception. The claim that al-Hasan was the inceptor of Mysticism (Sufism) was initially made in Basra by groups like that of Abu Talib al-Makki (d. 386/996), and al-Hasan's name gradually became a major feature in mystical silsilas (chains of teachers/disciples) going back to Muhammad. The mystic 'Attar produced fabricated hadiths in which the child al-Hasan is said to have met the prophet of Islam.

Al-Hasan was a qadi (judge) of Basra for a short time, but only a small number of legal opinions attributed to him survived. That none of his disciples went on to become prominent scholars of law probably helps explain why his legal legacy did not form. However, he is famous for clashing with a few of his students, who established the Mu'tazilite movement over the judgment of a Muslim committing a grave sin; al-Hasan's position was that the grave sinner is a hypocrite.

Al-Hasan was also believed to have authored a commentary of the Qur'an (Tafsir). However, the glosses attributed to him in a number of Tafsirs do not constitute a complete work. Al-Hasan was a reciter of the Qur'an, and in that capacity it is likely that he offered commentary glosses that were later recorded by his disciples, giving the impression that he authored a Tafsir. It is in this context as well that his famed Qur'an recitation and occasions of revelation (asbab al-nuzul) glosses were likely taught.

SULEIMAN MOURAD

See also Qur'an, Reciters and Recitations

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HASAN-I SABBAH

Hasan-i Sabbah was a prominent Isma'ili da'i (religiopolitical missionary) and founder of the Nizari Isma'ili state in Persia. The events of Hasan's life and career as the first ruler of the Nizari state, centered at the fortress of Alamut, were recorded in a chronicle, *Sargudhasht-i Sayyidna,* which has not survived. However, this work was available to a number of Persian historians of the Mongol Ilkhanid period, most notably Juwayni and Rashid al-Din, who remain the chief authorities on Hasan-i Sabbah.

Hasan-i Sabbah was born in the mid-1050s CE in Qum, Persia, into a Twelver Shi'i family. His father, 'Ali ibn Muhammad b. Ja'far al-Sabbah, a Kufan claiming Yamani origins, had migrated from Kufa to Qum. Subsequently, the Sabbah family settled in the nearby city of Ray, another center of Shi'i learning as well as Isma'ili activities in Persia. There, Hasan was introduced to Isma'ili teachings and converted to the Isma'ili form of Shi'ism around the age of seventeen,

taking the oath of allegiance to the Isma'ili imam of the time, the Fatimid Caliph al-Mustansir.

Soon afterward, in 1072, Hasan was appointed to a position in the da'wa (missionary organization) by Abd al-Malik ibn 'Attash, the chief Isma'ili da'i in Persia, who had been impressed by the talents of the newly initiated youth. In 1076, Hasan left for Fatimid Egypt to further his Isma'ili education, and he spent three years in Cairo and Alexandria. In 1081, he returned to Isfahan, the secret headquarters of the Isma'ili da'wa in central Persia. Subsequently, Hasan traveled for nine years to different parts of Persia in the service of the da'wa while also formulating his own revolutionary strategy against the Seljuk Turks, whose alien and oppressive rule was detested by the Persians. Hasan's seizure of the fortress of Alamut in northern Persia in 1090 by a clever plan of infiltration marked the beginning of the open revolt of the Persian Isma'ilis against the Seljuks as well as the foundation of the Nizari Isma'ili state of Persia, which later acquired a subsidiary in Syria. In the dispute over the succession to the Fatimid Caliph/imam al-Mustansir (d. 1094), Hasan supported Nizar, the original heir-designate, against his brother al-Musta'li, who was installed to the Fatimid caliphate. Hasan now recognized Nizar as al-Mustansir's successor to the Isma'ili imamate, effectively founding the Nizari Isma'ili da'wa independently of Fatimid Cairo, henceforth the seat of the rival Musta'li da'wa. After Nizar, who was murdered in Egypt in 1095 in the aftermath of his abortive revolt, the Nizari imams remained in hiding for three generations, while Hasan and his next two successors at Alamut led the Nizari da'wa and state with the rank of hujja (chief representative) of the hidden Nizari imam.

Outsiders from early on had the impression that the movement of the Persian Isma'ilis under the leadership of Hasan-i Sabbah represented a new preaching (al-da'wa al-jadida) that was in contradistinction with the old preaching (al-da'wa al-qadima) of the Fatimid times. However, the new preaching was no more than the reformulation by Hasan of the established Shi'i doctrine of ta'lim (authoritative instruction). In his reformulation, which contained a treatise entitled "The Four Chapters" that has been preserved only fragmentarily, Hasan argued for the inadequacy of human reason for knowing God and for the necessity of an authoritative teacher as the spiritual guide of humankind: a teacher who would be none other than the Isma'ili imam of the time. The anti-Isma'ili literary campaign of the contemporary Sunni establishment, led by Muhammad al-Ghazali, was directed against this doctrine, which served as the central teaching of the early Nizaris and was also designated as the Ta'limiyya.

An organizer and a strategist of the highest caliber, Hasan-i Sabbah was also a learned theologian. He led an austere life, and he observed the shari'a very strictly. He died on June 12, 1124, and was buried near Alamut. Although Hasan failed to uproot the Seljuks, he did succeed in founding both a territorial state and the independent Nizari Ismai'ili da'wa, which survived the downfall of the Nizari state in 1256.

Farhad Daftary

See also Ghazali, Ismailis

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HEBREW

A member of the Semitic language family, like Arabic and Aramaic, Hebrew *('ivrit)* is the language of the Jewish Bible (Old Testament). In the Bible, the adjective *'ivri* connotes a specific ethnic origin or affiliation (e.g., Genesis 14:13, 39:14; Exodus 1:15, 21:2). Rabbinic sources dating to the first centuries CE (e.g., Mishnah Gittin 9:8; Yadayim 4:5) refer to the Hebrew language as *'ivrit,* which they also call "the sacred tongue" *(leshon ha-qodesh)*. Although it probably was no longer spoken during this period, Hebrew retained its special place in Judaism as the language of the Torah, the Mishnah, and the liturgy. According to Midrashic texts, Hebrew is the primordial language with which God created the world.

With the rise of Islam, the Jewish belief in Hebrew's primacy was challenged by Muslim claims for the purity, perfection, and inimitability *(i'jaz)* of Qur'anic Arabic. Prompted by the development of

Arabic grammar and lexicography, Jews in Islamic lands founded the field of biblical Hebrew philology. Sa'adyah Gaon (d. 942) compiled the first Hebrew dictionary and composed grammatical treatises; Karaite grammarians in Jerusalem were not far behind. The greatest Hebraists, however, were Andalusians, most notably Judah Hayyuj (d. ca. 1010) and Abu'l-Walid Ibn Janah (fl. 1050), whose works have shaped virtually all subsequent Hebrew philology. These authors all wrote in Arabic, which served as the primary language of scholarship among the Jews of Islam during the Middle Ages. In general, they reserved Hebrew for poetry and belles-lettres. According to the Andalusian poets, in fact, only pure biblical Hebrew would do. The verse they wrote was intended, in part, as a statement of cultural independence from the Arabic aesthetic espoused by contemporary Muslims. By contrast, prose works, such as Judah Halevi's *Kuzari* and Moses Maimonides' *Guide,* were composed in Judeo-Arabic for purely utilitarian reasons. When a new readership for them emerged in Provence, they were quickly translated into Hebrew.

The Muslim encounter with Hebrew dates back to the Prophet's lifetime. Indeed, the Qur'an itself contains words of obvious Hebrew origin for which traditional Muslim scholarship has sought Arabic etymologies in an attempt to demonstrate the purity of the Qur'anic idiom. Examples include the following: *sakina,* meaning "divine presence" (2:248, 9:26; cf. Hebrew *shekhinah*); *taurat,* meaning "law"; "Torah" (48:29); *jahannam,* meaning "hell" (3:12; cf. Gehenna); and *al-rahman,* meaning "the Merciful" (1:1,3; cf. *ha-rahaman*). However, although Muslims and Jews have long lived in close proximity, there has never been a concerted Muslim effort to learn Hebrew that is comparable with the European phenomenon of Christian Hebraism. In large measure this is the result of the lack of a shared scripture, but it has meant that Muslim access to Hebrew writings has always been limited. A few medieval Muslim scholars, such as al-Kirmani, al-Biruni, and Ibn Hazm, cite the Bible in polemic contexts but without evincing real familiarity with the Hebrew language. A few converts, such as Samau'al al-Maghribi (d. 1175), learned Hebrew when they were still Jewish. However, these were exceptions. Mastery of Arabic could open many doors in the world of medieval Islam; by and large, basic Hebrew literacy helped bind most Jews to their ancestral faith.

Daniel Frank

See also Poetry, Hebrew; Scriptural Exegesis, Jews; Translation, Arabic to Hebrew; Judah ha-Levi; Judeo-Arabic

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HEBRON (AL-KHALĪL AL-RAHMĀN; AL-KHALĪL)

Known in Arabic as *al-Khalīl al-Rahmān* (the Friend of God; Abraham) or simply as *al-Khalīl*, Hebron's name reflects its long past in pre-Islamic and Islamic history as well as emphasizing the perdurance of the sacred character of the city within the monotheistic tradition that Islam continues. Located in al-ard al-muqaddas (the Holy Land), Hebron lies in a mountainous region roughly twenty miles south of al-Quds (Jerusalem) at approximately three thousand feet above sea level. Associated with Abraham, al-Khalīl constitutes sacred space to Muslims, Christians, and Jews. These religious communities all revere the Tomb of the Prophets (al-Anbiyā'), and each recounts the story of Abraham's resting place under an oak in Hebron's plain of Mamre as well as his subsequent purchase from Ephron the Hittite of the burial cave at Hebron. Muslims also believe that the prophet Muhammad visited the city on his isrā' (nocturnal journey) from Mecca to Medina.

Hebron's Islamic history begins with the peaceful surrender of the city to 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb in 638 CE. The ninth-/fifteenth-century Jerusalem-born historian of al-Quds and al-Khalīl, Mujir al-Dīn al-'Ulaymī al-Hanbalī records fully the Prophet Muhammad's gift in 630 or 631 of Hebron and its surrounding territory to Tamīm al-Dārī and his brothers. Muslim patronage of al-Khalīl revived its fortunes; the city had suffered Byzantine neglect.

The Haram al-Ibrāhīmī (Sanctuary of Abraham) sits atop the cave and the ruins of a Byzantine church. The foundation and the walls of the structure

are Herodian. Added to by the Crusaders who captured the city in 1099, the Haram also benefited from Ayyūbid and Mamlūk constructive energies. Although Salāh al-dīn ibn Ayyūb (Saladin) donated its intricately carved wooden minbar in 1191 and 1192, internally and externally, much of the present mosque reflects Mamlūk (1259/1260–1516) efforts to preserve and embellish this important Muslim religious site. Baybars I restored the Tomb of Abraham, while Mamlūk amīrs, serving either as nā'ib al-sultāna, nāzir al-Haramayn al-Sharīfayn, or both continued to beautify and maintain al-Khalīl. Notably, the seventh-/thirteenth-century nāzir al-Haramayn 'Ala' al-dīn al-Aydughdī personally oversaw the distribution of the weekly meal of lentils, barley, and bread that the Khalīlī waqf (endowment) provided to the poor of the city and to travelers. Generosity to pilgrims of all nations marked the pious endowment at al-Khalīl and drew extensive favorable comment. Mamlūk attention to the city was consistent, and it aimed toward good government, especially in terms of the management of the waqf funds that supported worthy religious and charitable purposes.

Selim I's victory at Marj Dābiq in August 1516 brought new rulers to Palestine; the Ottoman sultan entered al-Quds in December. Under Selīm's successor, his son Suleiman al-Qānūnī (1520–1566), prosperity reigned in al-Quds, al-Khalīl, and the entire region. Late in the sixteenth century, as a result of the marked decline in public security (especially along the shrine routes where Bedouin tribesmen attacked pilgrim caravans en route to al-Haram al-Ibrāhīmī), Hebron's socioeconomic position deteriorated during the early modern era. Al-Khalīl, however, retained its status as the fourth-holiest city within the Muslim world.

Carol L. Bargeron

See also Baybars I; Jerusalem; Mamluks; Muhammad, the Prophet; Ottoman Empire; Palestine; Saladin (Salah al-Din); Suleiman the Magnificent; Waqf

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HERAT

Herat was a city of considerable prominence during the medieval period that was located on the Hari Rud river in eastern Khurasan (now Afghanistan).

The origins of Herat date back to the Achaemenian age (c. 550–330 BCE), and its name in Old Persian (Haraiva) reflects its proximity to the vigorous Hari Rud river. The river valley and plains, which are bordered by the Ghur and Safid Kuh mountain ranges, made Herat an optimal oasis area and caravan way station for the web of trade routes connecting East Asia with the Indian Ocean and the Irano-Mediterranean frontier. Historical evidence suggests that Alexander the Great made this city a provincial capital of Areia after his campaign of 330 BCE, and subsequent records indicate that Herat grew in strategic and administrative importance during the Sasanian period (226–652 CE). With the seventh-century Arab Muslim invasions and the subsuming of this region into the Umayyad and 'Abbasid empires, Herat attained a greater profile; its agricultural prosperity and commercial potential encouraged Arab tribal settlement, and, by the tenth century, the city was noted by geographers such as Ibn Hawqul and Istakhri for its urban infrastructure, markets, and mosque complexes. Herat would change hands innumerably during the ninth through eleventh centuries as various eastern Iranian dynasties (Tahirids, Saffarids, Samanids, Ghaznavids) vied with one another for control of eastern Khurasan. Political continuity and substantial economic growth (Herat was especially coveted for its currency mint) were achieved under the Ghurids during the twelfth century, but not without numerous invasions and sieges by the Khvarazmian dynasty to the northwest.

In 1221, the history of Herat was changed inexorably with the arrival of the Mongol invasions in Khurasan. The response to the Heratis' decision to kill some Mongol representatives was swift and brutal: the city was pulverized, and every single citizen was massacred. The demographic and agricultural impact of the Mongol invasion and their subsequent policies in Khurasan was profound: numbers vary considerably, but it would not be ambitious to put the number of regional casualties in the millions. After a brief period of governing on behalf of the Mongols, the Kartid dynasty (1245–1389) attained independence; they rebuilt the city, restored the surrounding qanat (canal) systems, and developed a comprehensive administration. The Kartids were subjugated by Timur in 1380, and, by the time of Timur's death in 1405, Herat had been fully subsumed into the expansive Timurid empire. Because of the public works programs and systems of patronage developed

by the Timurid ruler Shah Rukh (1405–1447), Herat recaptured much of its cultural and economic appeal. This, in turn, laid the foundation for the architectural, intellectual, artistic, and agricultural flourishing of Herat under Sultan-Husain Baiqara (1470–1506). As a result of the efforts of courtly litterateurs like Mir ‘Ali Shir Nava’i and ‘Abd al-Rahman Jami and artists and calligraphers like Kamal al-Din Behzad, Herat materialized as the preeminent center of Perso-Islamic culture during the fifteenth century. The Shibani Uzbek invasions of the early sixteenth century terminated the Timurid dynasty in Khurasan, and the remainder of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw the vitality of Herat depreciate considerably as the rival Safavid and Uzbek dynasties fought numerous wars in the region.

Colin Paul Mitchell

See also Jami; Kabul; Khurasan; Road Networks; Safavids; Tamerlane; Timurids

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HERESY AND HERETICS

Deviation from proper Islamic norms and beliefs is rendered in Arabic with different terms, many of which precisely imply the idea of going astray from the right path that believers must follow. That path was laid out by God through His revelation contained in the Qur’an and the Prophetic example compiled in the hadith literature; after the prophetic/revelatory event, the right direction and margins of the path were explained to the Muslim community by experts engaged in authoritative legal and theological reasoning. A widely used term to refer to deviations from the path established by Revelation and Tradition is *bid’a* (pl. *bida’*), which means “innovation” and is used to refer to those religious beliefs and practices that, regardless of their historical antiquity, were condemned by some religious authorities as novelties introduced in the Islamic tradition (“Every novelty is an innovation, every innovation is an error, and every error leads to Hell,” says a well-known hadith).

Although the term *bid’a* was often applied to theological doctrines, it came to be used mostly to refer to the ’ibadat (the ritual practices pertaining to the relationship between God and the believers). Examples of

these are local pilgrimages seen as rivaling the pilgrimage to Mecca, worship of local saints feared as detrimental to the veneration due to the Prophet Muhammad, the celebration of non-Islamic festivals and of festivals of contested Islamic soundness (e.g., a mid-sha'ban), and funerary ceremonies in which forbidden practices were acted upon. Some scholars labeled such practices "innovations," whereas others defended them as traditional and correct practices and beliefs or as "good innovations" that did not go against God's law. The latter possibility was introduced by the Shafi'is, who deemed all bida' to be bad but not all novelties to be bida'. This differentiation opened the road to the application to bid'a of the five legal categories so that an innovation could be labeled as forbidden, reprehensible, indifferent, commendable, or even obligatory (e.g., hospitals, madrasas).

Throughout history, Muslim scholars have engaged in debates involving different understandings of the Revelation and the Prophetic tradition as well as the relationship between universal norms and local practices. Diversity of opinion *(ikhtilaf)* was, in itself, not considered to be negative but rather a necessary outcome of the hermeneutical process (ikhtilaf ummati rahma; "difference of opinion in my community is a concession [rahma] on the part of Allah," as a Prophetic tradition states). Because of this, a plurality of interpretations was accepted insofar as these were contained within the framework of the four legal schools (Hanafis, Malikis, Shafi'is, and Hanbalis) and the accepted theological doctrines (Ash'arism and Maturidism).

Disagreement with regard to legal and religious matters in the fields of worship *('ibadat)* and mu'amalat (the relationships inter vivos et mortis causa) as well as on theological issues would sometimes provoke bitter exchanges among scholars, who could even attack their opponents with accusations of infidelity *(kufr)*, apostasy *(irtidad, radd)*, hidden apostasy, and heresy *(zandaqa, ilhad, zaygh, dalal)*. Those accusations did not usually have much effect (unless a faction of scholars could secure support from the ruler) apart from trying to influence the formation of a consensus *(ijma')* in favor of one's opinion against the other's view, always with the risk of provoking the opposite effect by appearing too radical and extremist in the attack against a fellow scholar who was just doing his job in trying to understand God's will. The doctrine "every interpreter (of that will) is correct" *(kull mujtahid musib)* was meant to counteract any attempt at disqualifying as deviants or heretics those opponents who had the required training and abilities and who followed adequate methodologies in their interpretative effort (Hallaq, 2001). The famous jurist and theologian al-Ghazali, in his work *Faysal al-Tafriqa Bayna l-Islam wa-l-Zandaqa*, aimed as well at putting restrictions on the accusation of infidelity in theological disputes (Jackson, 2002).

This does not mean, of course, that there were no limits to what was deemed to be acceptable both in practices and beliefs, and al-Ghazali's work points to some of these limits, condemning, for example, the belief in the eternity of the world. Islam had its own share of free thinkers, sectarians, and heretics. The early history of the community witnessed the appearance of internal divisions centered on different theological issues, such as who the legitimate political and religious imam should be (the salvation of the community was at stake) and determinism and free will.

The hadith predicting that the Muslim community would divide into seventy-three sects reflects this early split among sectarian lines. Heresiographical treatises were written to identify those sects. Although seventy-two of them were said to be destined to Hell and only one to salvation, in fact there was reluctance to allow an indiscriminate use of the accusation of unbelief *(takfir)* against sectarians. The abuse of declaring one's opponents infidels had precisely been a distinguishing feature of one of the early sects, the Kharijites, among whom the most radical branches even allowed the killing of those who did not partake in their beliefs. Shi'is (especially the Imamis) and Sunnites found ways of accommodating themselves to living together (Stewart, 1998). Only extremist groups like the zindiqs (Manicheists) of the early 'Abbasid times and the Shi'i ghulat (those who denied the finality of prophecy or those who supported antinomianism) were clearly excluded from the Muslim community. However, other religious thinkers who were subject to continued suspicion concerning the correctness of their beliefs were never completely marginalized or excluded from the Islamic community, as shown in the case of the famous Sufi Muhyi al-din Ibn 'Arabi (Knysh, 1993).

Islam has often been defined as an orthopraxis more than an orthodoxy, so, according to this view, it would be the area of religious practices in which Muslims had to prove themselves. However, to drink wine was to commit a forbidden act that involved a specified penalty without the sinner ceasing to be a Muslim, whereas to maintain that drinking wine was a licit act meant departing from correct belief (i.e., heterodoxy). Now, in Sunni Islam, no institutionalized religious hierarchy was put in charge of identifying and persecuting dissenters by labeling them heretics, which has led some Western scholars to point out the difficulties of finding a term equivalent to the Christian notion of heresy (an opinion chosen by human perception contrary to holy scripture, publicly avowed and obstinately defended).

However, this does not mean that Muslims lacked the concept of orthodoxy and heterodoxy. T. Asad (with his insistence on Islam as a "discursive tradition") and S. Jackson, among others, have reminded us that orthodoxy can be established and sustained not only by an institution backed by formal authority but by authority that may be formal or informal. Religious scholars such as the ulama, whose (mostly) informal authority was based on reputation without any formal investiture, can succeed in establishing and sustaining orthodoxy in their religious communities, even in the absence of a formal ecclesiastical hierarchy. The pedagogical process is of fundamental importance here, involving the transmission of knowledge, the debates among scholars, the social practices of the scholars themselves, and their ability to influence the community through the acknowledgment and acceptance of their authority.

The fact that suspects of heretical ideas were often never persecuted has been pointed by almost every scholar dealing with the subject of heresy in Islam. J. Kraemer explains that the Mu'tazilis or the philosophers were not persecuted as such, because, although they upheld the supremacy of reason over revelation, they expounded a system that kept the revealed law of Islam intact, and they remained relatively free from harm provided they maintained a low profile and did not openly attempt to convert others to their views. Alternatively, the heretics who were truly heretics (e.g., Ibn al-Rawandi) were considered to be the enemies of religion, because their rationalism attacked the revealed religions in general and Islam in particular; they were also considered to be a danger to the state and social order, thereby provoking persecution and suppression on the part of the state authorities.

The legal rationale for punishing religious and ideological dissent was that the views and beliefs of those accused would cause upheaval if allowed to be propagated. The punishment inflicted upon deviants, apostates, and heretics was the same as the retribution meted out to ordinary brigands, highwaymen, and rebels. However, persecution usually took place only during times of stress and upheaval, when revolutionary movements posed a military and political threat against the state. Official persecution on the part of the state was rare, the most famous case being the mihna (inquisition) in the times of al-Ma'mun, and even then the point at issue was not so much a particular theological doctrine but rather the authority of the caliph versus the authority of those men who saw themselves—rather than the caliph—as the legitimate repository and authentic transmitters of religious knowledge and tradition (Nawas, 1994). Apart from this mihna and other similar episodes, there were no state or corporate bodies with jurisdiction over heresy, no specialized agencies for determining truth from error, and no specialized procedures such as trials or inquisitions (although there were trends toward the latter) (Chamberlain, 1994; Fierro, 1992).

Generally, the identification and suppression of error took the form of debates among scholars before the elites, with or without the presence of the ruler. When the latter took part in these struggles, it was usually at the instigation of an outside group; in any case, his interest was usually in maintaining a balance between social peace and the satisfaction of the scholarly factions that supported him (Chamberlain, 1994). This attitude on the part of the rulers may have helped the trend toward moderation and homogeneization.

A. Knysh has insisted upon the need to recreate the wide variety of conflicting visions and understandings of Islamic religion that existed in the Islamic societies, a variety that has been well depicted by some Muslim Medieval scholars (e.g., the well-known heresiographer al-Shahrastani) and that has found an excellent treatment in the historical and social study of early Muslim theology by the German scholar J. van Ess. What this reveals, to borrow A. Knysh's expression, is "orthodoxy-in-the-making": "a perpetual collision of individual opinions over an invariant set of theological problems that eventually leads to a transient consensus that already contains the seeds of future disagreement."

For his part, N. Calder, in a very perceptive study, put the emphasis on the discursive process (the ongoing process of interpreting their tradition) in which Muslims are embroiled. He added that, if it is accepted that a religious belief can be categorized under the five headings of "scripture, community, gnosis, reason, and charisma," Sunni Islam would lie somewhere between scripture and community, the latter being of paramount importance, because the major understanding of God is expressed through the acknowledgment of what happens inside the community. This means that each succeeding generation has to take into consideration the work of the preceding generations and that those thinkers who go back to the original sources of revelation without taking into account the accumulated experience of the community are liable to be met with rejection and exclusion.

MARIBEL FIERRO

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HEROES AND HEROISM

The terms *hero* and *heroism* have lost the cultural grounding of their ancient Greek provenance. In modern usage, they refer simply to the protagonist in any narrative or drama. In ancient Greek epic and drama, on the other hand, the heroism of the hero was clearly defined in terms of the interaction between character and plot in these genres, as Aristotle indicates in his *Poetics*. To the extent that the genres of literary traditions in medieval Islamic civilization are comparable to what we find in classical traditions stemming directly from ancient Greek civilization, the terms *hero* and *heroism* are also applicable for comparison.

Older modern scholarship on heroes and heroism in medieval Islamic civilization applied the classical models in negative ways, holding Islamic values up to the standards of Greek values in a mismatch between supposedly inferior and superior systems. The empiricism that is required for typological comparison was wanting. A case in point is the work of Ignaz Goldziher, who saw a sharp division between the Islamic notion of dîn (the faith-based code of Islam) and the pre-Islamic Arab system of conduct exemplified in the word *murûwwa*, which was defined in Greco-Roman terms as "virtus." Goldziher (1967) concedes, however, that this word *murûwwa* was still in use after the rise of Islam: hence the famous Islamic saying "there is no religion [dîn] without manly virtue [murûwwa]." More recent modern scholarship (Bravmann, 1972; Fares Izutsu, 1966) elaborates on the convergences as well as divergences between murûwwa and dîn, emphasizing the subtle changes and shifting associations in the meanings of these concepts over time.

Both pre-Islamic Arabia [Jahiliya] and the pre-Islamic Iran of the Sasanian dynasty have been regarded in the popular imagination as "heroic ages," providing fecund sources for the portrayal of heroes and heroism. Such foregrounding has led modern scholars to exaggerate a sense of rupture between the pre-Islamic and the Islamic eras. The exaggeration is less pronounced in the case of Iranian traditions,

which preserve genres that closely parallel what is known as epic in Greek terms. The *Shâhnnâma* of Ferdowsi is a case in point: greater in length than the Homeric *Iliad* and *Odyssey* combined, this monumental composition highlights the Iranian heroic ideal of *javânmardi* (youngmanliness), the meaning of which is roughly the equivalent of chivalry.

The exaggeration of differences between the pre-Islamic and the Islamic eras is far more pronounced in the case of Arab traditions. For example, von Grunebaum (1975) implies that the Arabs essentially lacked the concept of a hero because they did not produce any long epic poems. Even the Persians do not escape the negative comparison. Although von Grunebaum concedes that they had heroes like Rostam, Sohrab, Esfandiyâr, and so on, he insists that such characters were not tragic heroes; rather, the overriding fatalism inherent in the Persian epic precludes any possibility of tragedy. However, the heroism of Persian epic figures like Iraj or Siyâvosh derives precisely from the fact that, despite their foreknowledge, they do not swerve from righteous conduct.

In ongoing modern research on heroism and the hero, scholars have moved away from applying ethnocentric criteria and have gravitated toward the goal of finding ethical and esthetic norms from within Islamic civilization itself, which has its own critical vocabulary. The range of study needs to extend to genres that are quite different from epic and drama: examples include the *Maqamat* and popular prose narratives (Arabic) as well as the popular oral poetry of Central Asia, among many others.

Olga M. Davidson

See also Alexander; Biography and Biographical Works; Death and Dying; Epic Poetry; Epics, Arabic; Epics, Persian; Epics, Turkish; Folk Literature, Arabic; Folk Literature, Persian; Folk Literature, Turkish; Mahmud of Ghazna; Maqama; Mirrors for Princes; Nizami; Popular Literature; Saints and Sainthood; Sasanians: Islamic Tradition; Shahnama; Sira, Stories and Storytelling; Sufism and Sufis; Supernatural Beings; Women Warriors

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HILLI, AL-, AL-ALLAMA, HASAN IBN YUSUF IBNAL-MUTAHHAR

Al-Hilli was a prominent Twelver Shi'i theologian and jurist from a well-established family of Imami scholars who was born in al-Hilla on 27 or 29 Ramadan AH 648/23 CE or 25 December 1250 and died there on 20 or 21 Muharram 726/27 or 28 December 1325. Among his first teachers in al-Hilla were his father Sadid al-Din Yusuf al-Mutahhar al-Hilli (d. c. 665/1267) and his maternal uncle, al-Muhaqqiq al-Hilli (d. 676/1277). He subsequently spent some time at the Maragha observatory founded by Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (d. 672/1274), where he studied primarily philosophy and logic with al-Tusi and al-Katibi al-Qazwini (d. 675/1277). Presumably after the death of al-Tusi, al-Hilli left Maragha for Baghdad, where he studied with the Sunni scholars Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Kishi (d. 695/1296), Burhan al-Din Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Nasafi (d. 687/1288), Jamal al-Din Husayn ibn Ayaz al-Baghdadi al-Nahwi (d. 681/1282–1283), and 'Izz al-Din Abu al-'Abbas ibn Ibrahim ibn 'Umar al-Faruthi al-Wasiti (d. 694/1294–1295). For a short time, al-Hilli studied in Kufa with the Hanafi scholar Taqi al-Din 'Abd Allah ibn al-Sabbagh Kufi. From around 709/1309–1310 to 714/1314–1315 or perhaps 716/1316–1317, al-Hilli, together with his son Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqin (d. 771/1369), stayed at the court of the Ilkhan Öljeitü (r. 703/1304–716/1316). Some biographical accounts attribute Öljeitü's conversion to Shi'ism in Sha'ban 709/January–February 1310 to the influence of al-Hilli, although the historical sources

of the period do not confirm these reports. During his stay at court, al-Hilli frequently engaged in theological discussions with other scholars. He was on good terms with the vizier Rashid al-Din (d. 718/1312–1313), and he was highly regarded by Öljeitü, who appointed al-Hilli as teacher in the madrasa sayyara that accompanied the Ilkhan wherever he went. Al-Hilli also authored several works of Shi'i apologetics dedicated to Öljeitü. It is not clear when al-Hilli departed from court; the last years of his life were spent in al-Hilla.

Al-Hilli was a prolific writer on a wide range of religious topics. He composed more than a hundred works, of which nearly sixty are extant. The number of extant manuscripts as well as the amount of commentaries written about his works indicate the popularity of most of his writings. Of his works about theology, mention should be made in particular of his popular commentary on Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's *Tajrid al-i'Tiqad*, *Kashf al-Murad fi Sharh al-i'Tiqad*. His most extensive work in this discipline was *Nihayat al-Maram fi 'ilm al-Kalam*. One of his most popular works was his short creed *al-Bab al-Hadi Ashar;* this is indicated by numerous commentaries and translations. Of his philosophical works, only a few are extant, among them his commentary of al-Katibi al-Qazwini's *Hikmat al-'Ayn*, *Idah al-Maqasid fi Sharh Hikmat al-'Ayn*. In the field of legal methodology, his most extensive work is *Nihayat al-Wusul Ila 'Ilm al-Usul,* which was completed in 704/1305. Al-Hilli played a formative part in the development of Shi'i law; he composed numerous legal works, the most important of which are extant. His first work in the field, as well as his most extensive, was *Muntaha al-Matlab fi Tahqiq al-Madhhab,* although it only covers the field of acts of devotion ('ibadat). *Mukhtalaf al-Shi'a fi Ahkam al-Shari'a,* another extensive work of al-Hilli about jurisprudence, covers all fields of law; however, it merely describes various legal questions about which there was disagreement among the Shi'i jurists. His more concise legal writings, *Qawa'id al-Ahkam* and *Irshad al-Adhhan fi Ahkam al-Iman,* were extremely popular among later scholars as is indicated by the large number of commentaries on both. Among his last and very extensive works about fiqh were *Tadhkirat al-Fuqaha' 'ala Talkhis Fatawi al-'Ulama'* and *Nihayat al-Ihkam fi ma'Rifat al-Ahkam*. Among al-Hilli's biographical works, mention should be made in particular of his *Khulasat al-Aqwal fi ma'Rifat al-Rijal,* which lists reliable transmitters in the first part and unreliable ones in the second. None of al-Hilli's writings about grammar and tafsir are extant. Of his works about traditions, only *al-Durr wa-l-Marjan fi l-Ahadith al-Sihah wa-l-Hisan* is partly extant in manuscript form.

Sabine Schmidtke

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HIPPOLOGY

Numerous Arabic texts deal with horse knowledge from either a theoretical or practical point of view. This knowledge *(furusiyya)* refers to hippological matters or to the nature of horses *(khalq al-khayl)*, such as their different illnesses and cures *(baytara)* and equestrianism or horsemanship *(siyasa al-khayl)*. Among these Arabic texts are the following:

1. Religious works: The Qur'an exalts the horse. For example, it refers to "pure-bred horses" among the things of which man is fond (3:14); it mentions horses' efficacy during combat (8:60), and horses are also mentioned as divine favors (16:8). Religious tradition (hadith) praises horses for their usefulness, for the honor they produce, and also for their strength and speed, which distinguish them from other animals.

2. Juridical works: These include chapters or even entire treatises on warfare based on faith (Jihad) and horses' role in it, with praises for their fundamental intervention. For example, Ibn Abi Zamanin (d. 399/1009) describes "the model fighter" in his book *(Kitab qidwat al-gazi)*.
3. Military technical works: These deal with the horse with regard to its fighting strategies.
4. Lexicons: These are collections of terminology such as "books of horses" *(Kitab al-Khayl)*, like the famous one by Ibn al-Kalbi (d. 204/819 or 206/821). The numerous works about "horses' characteristics" (khalq al-faras/sifat al-khayl) are placed between lexicography and literature.
5. Adab: The adab encyclopedia gathers technical and scientific data, religious traditions, verses, and heroic anecdotes about horses within a cared-for literary framework. Examples of this styles are *The Book of Animals (Kitab al-hayawan)* by al-Jahiz (d. 255/868) and various works by Ibn al-Hudhayl al-Garnati (eighth/fourteenth century), especially his work *Kitab Hilyat al-Fursan wa-Shi'ar al-Shuj'an,* which includes fourteen chapters about horses that deal with, for example, their creation and taming; good habits and vices; management and care; colors; hair; and riding. In Arabic poetry, horses are seen with an outstanding frequency that shapes their characteristics and activities.
6. Scientific works: These deal with the physiology of the horse, in such works as veterinary (baytara) books, in which Fuat Sezgin and other authors bring forward abundant information. Arabic zoological and veterinary knowledge has incorporated elements from Greek and Latin science; later on it had its own contributions, which were handed down to Europe. Arabic agricultural treatises contain, at times, animal references, such as Ibn al-'Awwam's (fifth/twelfth century) *Kitab al-Filaha*, of which Chapters 31 and 33 clearly state many matters that are relevant to the horse.

All of these kinds of works form a large whole that contains an impressive quantity and diversity of data about horses, showing not only their real dimensions but also their symbolic ones, because they have been an indispensable element of Islam's defense and expansion. This high appreciation for horses imbues all kinds of Arabic sources, even the iconographic ones; there are numerous references to cared-for horse representations in various types of pieces of Islamic and Arabic art.

M.J. Viguera and T. Sobredo

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HIRABA, OR BRIGANDAGE

Hiraba or *qat' al-sabil* (brigandage; highway robbery) is one of a handful of crimes known in Islamic law as *hudud* (sing. *hadd*); its distinguishing legal feature is the mandatory nature of the penalties that are attached to these crimes. The Qur'anic origin of the

crime of brigandage is found in verse 5:34–5 *(Al-Ma'ida)* where the Qur'an states that "the recompense for those who wage war against God and His messenger and spread disorder throughout the land is either that they are killed, crucified, amputation of their limbs on alternating sides or banishment from the land, unless they repent before they fall under your control, in which case God is Forgiving, Merciful."

Qur'anic commentary reveals an interesting body of disagreement regarding the circumstances in which this verse was revealed. Although the majority of interpreters concluded that it dealt with an incident involving a group of Arabs that at least outwardly professed Islam, others believed that this verse dealt with an incident involving pagans or a group from the ahl al-kitab who violated the terms of their peace treaty with the Prophet Muhammad. All commentators agreed that, regardless of the circumstances involved in the revelation of 5:34–5, the substance of the verses applied to Muslims. Jurists were also of the view that the crime of brigandage applied not only to Muslims but also to non-Muslims who were permanently residing in an Islamic state as a protected group *(ahl al-dhimma)*.

According to the majority of commentators, a group of persons came to the Prophet in Medina and professed Islam. While in Medina, they grew ill (a condition that occurred frequently among Bedouins who visited Medina) and complained to the Prophet. In response to their complaints, the Prophet provided them with camels and shepherds and instructed them to depart to the outskirts of the city while they recuperated. When they recovered, however, they murdered the shepherds and made off with the camels. Historians reported that the culprits, in addition to killing the shepherds, also amputated their limbs and blinded them. The Muslims, however, were able to track them down and capture them before they returned to their home territory. Upon their return to Medina, the Prophet ordered their execution, which involved a combination of amputating their limbs on alternating sides, blinding them, and abandoning them in the lava plains outside of Medina until they died. The Prophet's treatment of the criminals raised many questions in the eyes of the commentators, including whether 5:34–5, as well as the Prophetic statement prohibiting mutilation, subsequently abrogated the Prophet's action in this case. Those who argued in favor of abrogation assumed that the verses in question were revealed after the aforementioned incident and represented divine reproach *('itab)*. Others, however, argued that the Prophet's actions went beyond the text of the verse and represented retaliation in kind *(qisas)* for the injuries inflicted by the culprits on the shepherds and that, accordingly, the verses did not abrogate the Prophet's actions.

Finally, commentators also point out that the verse includes an elided noun—friends *(awliya')* or servants *('ibad)* of God—because it is impossible for anyone to wage war against God in a literal sense.

Although the circumstances that were the occasion of 5:34–5 involved an element of treachery, jurists did not include treachery or deception (ghila) as an element of the substantive crime of brigandage. Instead, they focused on the effect of the crime on the security of the public. Accordingly, the brigand who was subject to the mandatory penalties for brigandage was defined by the Shafi'is, for example, as "an adult Muslim interdicting the public highways who relies on force to overpower [a victim in circumstances where the victim is] distant from succor [of the government], even if in a town, or who enters at night into a home and openly takes property and prevents [its residents] from seeking succor of the government." Later jurists also included other crimes of violence (e.g., rape) as instances of brigandage.

Despite the fact that the apparent sense of the verse seems to leave open the possibility for the exercise of discretion in the punishment of a brigand, Muslim jurists—with the exception of the Malikis, who preserved the state's discretion in all circumstances—obliged the government to enforce a particular penalty depending on the substantive conduct of the defendant. The Hanafis, for example, held that, if a defendant brigand took property but did not murder, he was subject only to the amputation of his hand and foot; if he murdered and did not take property, he was to be executed; if he murdered and took property, the government could either amputate him and then execute him or simply execute him (this latter was the position of Muhammad al-Shaybani and Abu Yusuf, the two leading students of Abu Hanifa); and, if he terrorized the public without taking property or killing, he was to be banished.

The law of brigandage, although nominally considered a species of hudud, functioned as public law. For example, considerations of status (e.g., religion, freedom) were irrelevant to the application of the law of brigandage; this is in contrast with the private law of retaliation. Accordingly, if a free Muslim brigand killed a protected non-Muslim person or a slave as part of his brigandage, he would be subject to execution, although he would not have been subject to retaliation (according to most Muslim jurists) had he killed a slave or a non-Muslim protected person in the context of a private dispute. Similarly, although in principle hudud penalties were not generally applicable to non-Muslim protected persons, the law against brigandage applied to any person who

"had undertaken to obey the law *(al-multazim bi-fal-ahkam)*," regardless of religion. On the other hand, non-Muslims from hostile states *(harbi)* could not be charged with brigandage; they would simply be treated as prisoners of war.

The public aspect of the law of brigandage makes it similar to the law governing murder by treachery or deception *(ghila)*. Because the defendant in both crimes is believed to threaten the public's security (as opposed to the security of a particular member of the public), the government's responsibility to protect the right of the public to safety trumps whatever private rights the victim or the victim's heirs may have. Accordingly, the government, in each of these two crimes, continues to have power to punish the defendant, even if the victim or his or her family has forgiven the perpetrator or otherwise reached a settlement with him.

MOHAMMAD H. FADEL

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HORTICULTURE

Gardens in the Arabo-Islamic world resulted from the association of a broad range of heterogeneous components. The *janna*, defined as a garden as opposed to the desert, was associated with the Persian concept of closed royal parks (*pairidaeza; paradeisos* in Greek) that are known, for example, through the Greek Xenophon (428/427–354 BC), and also with the Greco-Roman garden for the cultivation of flowers and vegetables. Gardens constituted an important component of Arabo-Islamic culture, first as a symbolic echo of paradise. Although rooted in the Persian tradition of parks for pleasure, the Arabo-Islamic garden was also influenced by Byzantine horticulture, particularly the gardens of Nestorian monasteries in Iraq. In most of the Arabo-Muslim world, the garden was essentially a response to terrain and climatic conditions, which were characterized by dryness and heat. Water was always an important element: in royal gardens, it was normally flowing from the highest point toward the entrance so that visitors faced it on arrival.

The ʻAbbasid caliphs built gardens first in Baghdad (762 CE) and later in Samarra (835), with magnificent architectural structures, ponds, lakes, pools, courts decorated with flowers, playgrounds, parks for wild and domesticated animals (zoos with animal houses), rivers (natural and manmade), basins, channels, and harbors for boats. However, the most important centers for Arabic horticulture were in Al-Andalus. Gardens—particularly those belonging to princes—were transformed into horticultural stations where experiments were made to acclimatize non-native species of oriental and tropical origin coming from the East and as far as the Near East (India and China). Such specialization of Andalusian horticulture dates back to the first Andalusian emir ʻAbd al-Rahmân I (756–788), who built the ar-Rusâfa garden near Cordoba on the model of his grandfather's residence in Syria. Closed to the north by a wood, it was bordered on its western side by a river. At the center, there was the palace and the vegetable gardens, where non-native species imported from Syria were acclimatized. At Medina Azahara, which was also close to Cordova, another garden with a similar vocation was built by the Caliph ʻAbd al-Rahmân III (912–961). Both gardens were destroyed in the attack on Cordoba in 1010. In the Taifa kingdoms, rulers had gardens built mainly in Toledo and Almeria but also in Sevilla. The Toledo garden (Bustân al-Nâʻûra; The Orchard of the Waterwheel) was made under the direction of Ibn Wâfid (d. 1075) from Toledo working in collaboration with Ibn Bassâl, who reported his horticultural experiments in his *Book on Agriculture*. In Almeria, the Sumadihyya garden was built under al-Muʻtasim (1052–1091) and had the twofold purpose of food production and experimental station. In Sevilla, the al-Buhayra was built in 1171 by the Almohad Caliph Abû Yaʻqûb Yûsuf (d. 1199), and fruits were brought from Granada and Guadix to be planted. Gardens were also built in Zaragoza, Valencia, and Tortosa and in private properties all over al-Andalus.

The arrangement of these princes' gardens is not known in detail. The species introduced to Spain from the East and acclimatized during the tenth century included eggplant *(Solanum melongea)*, henna *(Lawsonia inermis)*, cotton (*Gossypium* spp.), rice *(Oryza sativa)*, banana (*Musa* sp.), jasmine *(Jasminum officinale)*, and perhaps lemon *(Citrus limon)*, saffron *(Crocus sativus)*, sugar cane *(Saccharum officinarum)*, and mulberry (*Morus* spp.). During the eleventh century, acclimatized species included spinach *(Spinacia oleracea)*, sorghum (*Sorghum* spp.), lemon *(Citrus limon)*, and orange *(Citrus aurantium)*.

The eleventh-century *Book on Agriculture* of Ibn Bassâl mentions one hundred and forty different plant names, which probably correspond to a higher number of contemporary species. The most frequently quoted are fig tree, grapevine, almond tree, and olive tree. Next in number of mentions come a dozen different kinds of fruit trees, among which are pomegranate, apple, and plum. Vegetables follow, with eggplant, zucchini, onions, beans, cucumber, and cabbage

being mentioned, among others. After such fruit trees as lemon, orange, and palm tree come the legumes and cotton, and, finally, the aromatic herbs, with coriander, sesame, cumin, and saffron being mentioned, as well as some ornamental plants.

Experiments involving horticultural techniques were especially developed in the area of Sevilla in the so-called al-Sharaf *(aljarafe)*. This was an elevated table-land with a surface of approximately one thousand six hundred and fifty square kilometers that was bordered with water. Its soil was made of sand mixed with lime and local layers of clay, and it was highly fertile. The area, which was occupied by an estimated eight hundred to two thousand villages, was cultivated by a dense population working for the wealthy families of Sevilla who hired agronomists and agriculturists to improve cultivation techniques and production. Research relied on such earlier sources as the *Kitâb Filâhat al-Ard (Book of the Culture of Arable Land)*, the *Kitâb al-Filâha ar-Rûmiyya (Byzantine Book of Agriculture)*, and the *Kitâb al-Filâha an-Nabatiyya (Book of Nabatean Agriculture)*. According to such agricultural works as the books by Ibn Hajjâj (eleventh century) and Ibn al-ʿAwwâm (twelfth century) that reported local experiments, research dealt with such topics as the quality of earth, fertilizers, vegetable production, growing of flowers, improving the production of the olive tree, grapevine pruning, and viticulture.

The tradition of Arabic gardens and horticulture was perpetuated in the Ottoman world, including in the mosque gardens.

Alain Touwaide

See also Botany; Gardens

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HOUSES

Two words are commonly used in Arabic for a house: *dār*, derived from *dāra* (to surround, an enclosure), which is used to describe larger houses up to the palace of the caliph (*Dār al-Khilāfa*: House of the Caliphate), and *bayt*, derived from *bāta* (to spend the night), which is used for a small house or apartment or even a single room.

Evidently, the range of housing across the Islamic world is vast and cannot be characterized by brief generalizations. The form of the house is stylistically dictated by environmental conditions and the wealth of the occupants in addition to local culture. In terms of environmental conditions, the area stretches from the cold, green, and mountainous Anatolia and the Caucasus in the north to the hot deserts of Saudi Arabia and Saharan Africa in the south and from the Mediterranean coasts of Andalusia in the west to the monsoon-touched tropics of Bangladesh and Indonesia in the east. The climate and locally available materials dictated the format: wood and stone in the mountains of Anatolia and the Caucasus, unfired earth brick in many drier areas. The variety of environmental conditions also extends from the constricted urban dwelling within a walled city to the more extensive village complex and further to the open spaces of the desert edge dwelling of the seminomad. With regard to range of wealth, the poor commonly occupied one or two rooms, whereas the mansion of the wealthy of Samarra in the third/ninth century could well be two hundred meters long and contain one hundred fifty rooms. The House of the Caliphate in Samarra is one thousand three hundred meters long and covers one hundred twenty-five hectares.

In theory, the Muslim house was centered around a courtyard with a blank wall to the outside, a reception room at the entrance for outside visitors, and a reserved area for family life in the interior to preserve the segregation of women. In reality, practical reasons meant that only the very largest houses conformed to this ideal: for example, Topkapi Saray, the palace of Mehmed II in Istanbul (1482 CE), met these standards. In this palace, there is an outer public courtyard, an inner men's courtyard with reception room (the audience hall of Ahmet III), and the harem for the women and family life on the north side. Nevertheless, the courtyard surrounded by rooms, although by no means original to Islam, played an important role. Only the mountain houses of Anatolia (because of the climate) and the desert edge houses (where there was no pressure of land) lacked courtyards, although today the western model of a house has invaded nearly all of the Middle East.

The first Muslim house was that of the Prophet in Medina, which was at once the mosque of the nascent Islamic community and the residence of its leader. According to the *Sīra* (the biography of the Prophet), as the house existed at the time of the Prophet's death in the year AH 11/632 CE, there was a square courtyard of unfired earth that was one hundred cubits (c. fifty m) in length per side; three entrances; a covered area to the south with palm trunks supporting a roof of palm leaves to protect the faithful at prayer from the sun; four apartments (bayt) for the Prophet's wives, which were described as having partitions dividing them into several rooms; and about five other apartments for dependent women. The Prophet did not possess his own apartment but rather lived in public, preaching and receiving visitors in the courtyard while sleeping each night with a different wife.

This familial pattern was continued under the Umayyad caliphate (41/661–132/750), according to the archaeological evidence. Starting with the mosque of Kūfa, probably dating in its present form to the reconstruction by Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān in 50/670, the Dār al-Imāra (government house) was placed adjacent to the mosque until the beginning of the third/ninth century, when a separation became evident. The Umayyad Desert Castles (e.g., Qaṣr Kharāna, before 92/710) are characterized by a reception hall and a subdivision of the plan into a series of familial apartments, each having a reception room and four small chambers; these were called, by Creswell, "Syrian bayts." The smaller houses of the Umayyad period that were excavated at the Amman Citadel, 'Anjar, and elsewhere, have a Syrian bayt accompanied by rooms around a courtyard. The specialized room functions typical of Late Roman houses are no longer visible.

The basic house in early 'Abbasid architecture is made up of seven rooms on two sides of a courtyard. The palaces and great houses at Raqqa and Samarra

employ this unit as an apartment, whereas reception rooms often employ the īwān (vaulted reception room open to the courtyard) and are fronted by a portico to make a T-īwān. The īwān, which is commonly found in symmetrical four-īwān plans around a courtyard, first originated in Parthian second-century Iraq; it then became standard in palaces and large houses in Iraq and Iran, and it was later transferred to mosques and madrasas. The T-īwān version is found in early Islamic Fusṭāṭ (Old Cairo) in the third/ninth century, and from there it was transferred to Western architecture at Sabra/Mansūriyya in Tunisia (935) and Madīnat al-Zahrā' in Spain (936), although the form there is modified into a basilical hall.

Outside of the state-sponsored sector of the great capitals, fewer medieval houses have been excavated. Merchants' houses of the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries have been excavated at Sīrāf on the Iranian coast of the Gulf; these consist of four to eight rooms around a courtyard, probably supporting living rooms on a second story. The same plan is found again in Ayyubid Syria (seventh/thirteenth century) at Bālis/Meskene and Mayadine. At Bālis, smaller houses were again found, with one or two īwāns on a courtyard and few other rooms. The same constraints of urban space are found in the dense warren of earth construction of fourth-/tenth-century through fifth-/eleventh-century Nishapur in eastern Iran, reflecting earlier Central Asian construction of the eighth century at Pianjikent in Tajikistan.

By the eighth/fourteenth century, there were standing buildings in Mamluk Cairo. There the reception room *(qā'a)* is placed in the upper story, and, for the first time, the mashrabiyya is found; this is the wooden-grilled projecting window that permitted inhabitants—particularly women—to see out without being seen. From the ninth/fifteenth century in Cairo, there are examples of 'imārāt (multi-storied buildings with regularly planned apartments). One study of traditional houses of Baghdad has concluded that occupation of the courtyard house was not organized by specialized function of the rooms but by seasonal occupation of the cooler and warmer parts of the house. In the hot zones (e.g., southern Iran, the Gulf, Baghdad, Cairo), subterranean rooms (Persian: *sardāb*) are common, with wind towers (Persian: *bādgīr*) to direct airflow into the rooms. Only in the most extremist Islamic societies, such as the Wahhābī-influenced Sā'ūdī traditional palaces of Riyadh, is there found architectural evidence of female separation via harem bridges crossing public streets; however, tunnels crossing public areas are already known in third/ninth century 'Abbasid Samarra, but it is not certain that these are intended for women.

Alastair Northedge

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HUMANISM

That humanism is not incompatible with a revealed religion is clear from the existence of humanism in all its varieties within Christianity. The same is true for medieval Islam, which shared with Christianity not only its monotheism but also its high degree of urbanization, its well-developed educational system, and its sophisticated court life, all of which are essential for the emergence of humanism. Islam showed itself to be no less open than Christianity to humanistic tendencies; indeed, the encounter with classical Greek culture, which is generally seen as the defining quality of humanism in the West, took place in the Arab world some centuries before the European Renaissance.

In the secondary literature, seven different kinds of humanism have been mentioned, which will be dealt with here in the following order: (1) tribal humanism, (2) steppe humanism, (3) legal humanism, (4) philosophical humanism, (5) religious humanism, (6) literary humanism, and (7) intellectual humanism. The understanding of the term *humanism* varies in each

of these, ranging from absolute secularism to the deepest empathy with humankind in all its diversity.

Tribal humanism refers to a pre-Islamic secularism among the pagan Arabs, which was partly absorbed and redirected by the mission of Muhammad (e.g., the equation of fate *[dahr]* with Allah). This is of great importance for the evolution of an Arab-Islamic literary aesthetic, through which pre-Islamic poetry gradually acquired its "classical" status despite its heathen origins, rather like the Christianization of Latin and Greek literature. There is, as a result, a literary fiction of the desert Arab as a laconic and fatalistic nomad who at best combines eloquence with naive cunning and at worst is a simpleton to be treated with derision by the refined town dweller.

Steppe humanism is a marginal variety that may be considered as a subset of tribal humanism, because the term was applied to the world of the Mughul court as depicted in the autobiography of Babur (see Timurids), which portrays the society of that time as highly secularized and materialistic, with obvious similarities to the Renaissance courts of Europe.

A latent humanism has also been perceived in the vast corpus of legal literature. Here the humanism lies in the earthy pragmatism of Islamic law, which acknowledges and indeed seems to approve of (although this aspect is seldom emphasized) the complexity and unpredictability of human nature. The theory frankly admits the ad hoc quality of human judgment, and the case law abundantly documents the irrepressible ingenuity of ordinary Muslims. It has been claimed that the law represents the very essence of Islamic learning, and it is true that the institutions of higher education (see Madrasa) were principally devoted to the training of jurists and practitioners of the religious sciences. Hence it is reasonable to suppose that the textual and exegetical challenge of applying the holy texts to the events of everyday life would lead to a perception of man that can deservedly be considered humanistic.

Philosophical humanism (i.e., the purely Hellenistic type of humanism) appeared in Islam almost as soon as the translators had created an accessible corpus of Greek philosophical, ethical, and scientific literature in Arabic. By the tenth century, this classically derived intellectual mode was well enough established to allow the Arab philosophers a public role, and they attended the rulers at court, holding forth on the duties of princes and the way to achieve happiness. They found their inspiration in the writings of Plato and Aristotle and their Hellenistic commentators, but they also imparted a tradition of political and ethical theory that had come to them from the Persians. From this fusion of Greek and Persian culture emerged a uniquely Muslim perspective that has been labeled *philosophical humanism,* with Miskawayhi (d. 1030) as perhaps the most consistent adherent—in practice as well as theory—of the Greek ideal of virtue through education in an Islamic context.

Not every Muslim scholar felt the same admiration for Greek philosophy as it radiates from the works of Miskawayhi and his predecessor al-Farabi (the latter displaying the greatest commitment to the Platonic ideal of the philosopher as the indispensable moral guide of the monarch; see Al-Farabi [d. 950]). There was an unbridgeable gulf between the way of thought that regarded virtue, happiness, and truth as the inevitable consequences of correct reasoning and the deeply pious belief that all knowledge of the good and true was contained in revelation. However, those Muslims who rejected the universalism of (Greek) logic in favor of the particularity of the (Arabic) Qur'an did not at the same time abandon the use of their intellectual powers; instead, they applied their acumen to the study of Arabic, the history of the Arabs, and the preservation of Islamic values, with a mentality that has been labeled *religious humanism* and that is characterized as a complete acceptance of this and the next world in Islamic terms. The category is somewhat vague, and it would be difficult to single out individual Muslim representatives, but it may best be compared with the Christian scholars who saw themselves as members of a "textual community" with the responsibility of serving as guardians of the language (Latin, Arabic) and the faith articulated by and embodied in it (Christianity, Islam).

Literary humanism is the form that has the most similarities to its European counterpart and is usually understood when humanism is mentioned without qualification, except in a philosophical context, although the two are very closely related. What separates them is the degree of loyalty to the foreign sources (Greek, Persian) and the supremacy of the discipline of philosophy on the one hand as compared with the much broader basis of Arab culture and aesthetics and Islamic morality that underlies literary humanism on the other hand. They have in common the presumption that virtue can be acquired by training (or, even better, innate virtue enhanced by education), for which they share the term *adab,* loosely translated as "upbringing, discipline" (for other senses, especially literature, see Adab). This training corresponds closely with the Greek ideal of *paideia*, and the product of adab is a refined and well-educated individual, usually a courtier or scholar, who is a member of what Arkoun has called "an aristocracy of the mind."

The adib (one so educated) was not only acquainted with a broad curriculum of religious and secular literature but was also adept in the composition

of such works, in addition to which the adib was expected to display perfect manners both at court and in society at large. Indeed it is "manners" above all that are implied in the term *adab*, and books were written to prescribe the correct professional behavior of doctors, lawyers, ministers, judges, academics, and others. The founders (so to speak) of the largely secular Arabic literature that resulted are Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ (d. 758 CE) and al-Jahiz (d. ca. 868), who set the pattern for the prose style and the range of themes that together expressed the Islamic humanist ideal. Its inclusiveness, which sets literary humanism apart from the philosophical type, is seen in the works of writers such as Ibn Durayd (d. ca. 914), in which Greek, Persian, Christian, Muslim, and pre-Islamic pagan Arab sources are all mingled.

The term *intellectual humanism* is not widely recognized in the secondary literature, but it was proposed (Carter, 1997) to accommodate a form of humanism that seems to lie outside—or, rather, across from—those outlined above. Traditional adab, by definition, does not favor the outsider or the eccentric any more than orthodoxy does, but there were Muslim scholars who preferred to allow their curiosity to roam beyond the limits of conformity, exploiting the freedom of thought available to them in their day at the price of being labeled misfits or heretics. Their dissent did not lead to persecution, however, because it was recognized that by testing the boundaries of faith they might (as they in fact did) contribute to the reinforcement of its dogmatic integrity. The name Mu‘tazilite, meaning "one who stands apart," covers most of these individuals.

The most striking figure in this category is Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi (d. 1023), who is frequently labeled a humanist, although his manners fell far short of the standards of an adib; indeed, he despised the patronized subordination of the courtly litterateur. However, it was he who most succinctly expressed the humanist ideal: "Man is a problem for man." Ibn Jinni (d. 1002) is another such individualist: a free-thinking rationalist, boundlessly inquisitive about the workings of language, he reveals more than any other grammarian a deep sensitivity to the vagaries and illogicalities of human speech. An earlier contemporary, al-Rummani (d. 994), went the other way; true to his Mu‘tazilite position, he analyzed language as if it were totally rational and all its inconsistencies fully explicable.

These people might fit into the category of the literary or religious humanists (their works certainly range over the same fields), but their individualism justifies giving them a separate label. Medieval Muslims inhabited a fluid and adventurous environment; although an iron orthodoxy was being forged at the time, there was nevertheless a degree of intellectual liberty and experimentalism that gave free rein to the exercise of the powers of reason. This is, after all, the explicit duty of all thinking Muslims.

MICHAEL G. CARTER

See also Aristotle and Aristotelianism; Ethics; Mirrors for Princes; Political Theory; Scholarship

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HUMAYUN

Nasir ad-Din Humayun, the second ruler of the Mughal dynasty, was born in 1508 CE in Kabul, a few years after his father, Zahir ad-Din Babur, who had been displaced from the Timurid stronghold in Transoxiana, conquered the city. A favorite son, Humayun spent his early career assisting his father with the administration of Kabul and Badakhshan. He joined his father in his invasions of India, participating in the momentous battle of Panipat in 1526 at which Babur defeated the Afghan ruler, Ibrahim Lodi, and established his family's rule in India. Babur died four years later in 1530, leaving Humayun to succeed him as the ruler of a small but shaky state.



Shah Tahmasp receiving the Moghul Emperor Humayun (detail). Period of Abbas II. Sufarid mural in main hall, 1660s. Credit: SEF / Art Resource, NY. Chihil Sutun (Pavilion of Forty Columns), Isfahan, Iran.

Humayun spent the first decade of his rule trying to maintain control over the territories he had inherited from his father. On the one hand, he had to contend with challenges from his brothers who, at various times, rebelled against his authority and threatened to establish their own independence. His brother Kamran, in particular, betrayed him several times, although Humayun, as a forgiving elder brother, refused to have him executed. More threatening to his rule were the challenges he faced from two external forces that were gradually encroaching on his territory: Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat from the southwest and the Pathan leader Sher Khan Suri from the east. The threat from Sultan Bahadur disappeared when he was killed by the Portuguese. The threat from Sher Khan, however, turned out to be so serious that, after a series of defeats (starting with the battle in Bengal in 1539) Humayun had to flee north India, while Sher Khan, then known as Sher Shah, declared himself ruler. Humayun first sought refuge in Sind (ruled at that time by the Arghuns), where he was joined by Bairam Khan, a loyal friend of his father's who would eventually help him recapture the territory he had lost. It was in Sind that Humayun's son, Akbar, who would turn out to be one of the greatest of Mughal emperors, was born in 1542. From Sind, Humayun eventually went to Iran, where he sought help for his cause from the Safawid Shah Tahmasp. Shah Tahmasp was happy to provide him with military support as long as Humayun pledged allegiance to Shi'i Islam, which had been introduced as the state religion of the Safavid Empire.

In 1545, with the help of Persian forces, Humayun wrested control over both Kandahar and Kabul from his brothers. He spent several years consolidating his authority over his family resources in Afghanistan before finally turning his attention to territories in north India. Squabbles among the descendants of Sher Shah made it possible for Humayun's armies, under the able command of Bairam Khan, to recapture Punjab. In July 1555, he was able to defeat Sikandar Shah Suri and remount his father's throne in Delhi. The last year of his reign was relatively stable, allowing him to pursue his favorite hobbies, primarily poetry and painting. During his sojourn in Iran, he had met several outstanding miniature painters such as Mir Sayyid Ali, Dost Muhammad, and Abdussamad. Having regained control of Delhi, he

invited them to his court, where they were responsible for training Indian artists and for the eventual development of the Mughal style of painting.

Throughout his life, Humayun showed an interest in astrology and astronomy to the point that he has often been characterized as being superstitious. At one time, he had even unsuccessfully attempted to organize his empire along astrological lines. On January 24, 1556, he climbed onto the roof of his library to observe the rising of the planet Venus when he heard the call to prayer. As he bent down to kneel out of respect, he slipped and fell down the steep staircase; he died three days later as a result of his injuries.

Ali Asani

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HUMOR

The concept of humor is derived from the ancient Greek theory of the body fluids determining a person's character and temperament, and humor has often been defined as a quintessential human characteristic. Although humor, to a certain extent, denotes a mental disposition, its tangible effects are most evident in humorous behavior, itself resulting in the articulation of jocular verbal expression. Modern theory understands humor as a way of coping with the conflicts of human existence, aiming to solve the experienced incongruities through the application of humorous verbal aggression and eventually leading to their dissolution in laughter.

The medieval Islamic attitude toward humor and laughter has to a major extent been determined by both the Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammad's normative example. The Qur'an (53:43), on the one hand, mentions God as the one "who makes humans laugh or cry." Because this passage considers laughter as being created and intended by God, it falls within the range of legitimate human behavior. On the other hand, the Qur'an (49:11) unambiguously condemns satire and ridicule as acts that risk jeopardizing the unity of the true believers. The Prophet Muhammad's attitude toward humor is documented in some fifty traditions (hadith). It is well known that Muhammad liked to laugh, although his laughter was rarely of an aggressive kind; rather, he would smile benevolently, giggle understandingly, or laugh as an act of relief. At the same time, the sources do not fail to tell us about a few practical jokes on the part of the Prophet, such as when he addressed one of the *sahaba* (Companions) as "the one with the two ears" (although all human beings normally have two ears) and when he told an old woman that she would not enter paradise (although all women in paradise, by definition, are huris). Moreover, Muhammad is known to have laughed at times "until one could see his molar teeth." Hence, the Prophet's behavior is understood as legitimizing a humorous approach to life, including its practical consequences of joking and jesting. Alternatively, Muhammad is also quoted as having characterized people who enjoy a ringing laugh as "those who shorten the prayer and eat all kinds of food;" true believers, by contrast, should smile rather than laugh. This rule of intensity implies a degree of moderation, such as had been introduced by the Arabic translation of Aristotle's *Ethics* in the ninth century. An additional rule of frequency has Muhammad say that "frequent (or intensive) laughter kills the heart"; critical research has, however, proven that this rule is a later attribution, because the maxim had originally been uttered by the ascetic Hasan al-Basri (d. 728 CE).

Against the backdrop of the dual norms of the Qur'an and the sunna, later discussions within the Islamic community have mostly focused on two positions. On the one hand, ascetics, mistrusting human vanity, would not accept humor in the face of life's transitoriness and the imminent threat of judgment day; the best they permitted was laughter as an expression of happiness or of wondering about the marvels of God's creation. Pious opponents of the prohibition of laughter would, on the other hand, quote the example of prominent characters of Islamic tradition, such as the learned Ibn Sirin (d. 728), who is said to have laughed until his eyes became wet and saliva dropped from his mouth.

Notwithstanding the ambiguous attitude of learned Islam, joking and jesting have been the topics of authors of Arabic literature ever since its beginning. Early authors, such as al-Jahiz (d. 868), argued for a balance between the two aspects of *al-jidd* (seriousness) and *al-hazl* (humor): serious matters should be discussed as long as the readers or listeners could focus their attention; the subsequent presentation of humorous narratives was permissible so as to liven up serious discourse and serve as a relaxing interlude before the discourse would again return to serious topics. It was not long before this attitude resulted in the separate publication of jocular material, the presentation of which only superficially pretended to submit to the stricter standard. Although the traditional ambiguity is notably felt in the anecdotal compilations of Ibn al-Jawzi (d. 1201), already al-Abi

(d. 1030) had compiled a veritable encyclopedia of anecdotes and jokes that included several thousand items. Although his work starts with anecdotes about the basic Islamic tenets and about the early caliphs, already at the end of the second volume al-Abi treats the jocular types of *tufayli* (sponger) and greedy persons. The third volume, in addition to popular jesters, contains jokes about crazy and stingy people; the fifth volume has chapters about transvestites and homosexuals; and the seventh and final volume treats various professions, including stupid weavers and sweepers, preachers, thieves, and fanatics.

As a jocular monument of Arabic literature in the classical period, al-Abi's encyclopedia also implicitly documents a considerable degree of tolerance in terms of a humorous approach to the contradictions of social life. In addition to the mentioned works, a survey of humorous literature in the Islamic world would probably have to start from invective poetry (practiced since pre-Islamic times), and it would have to mention, above all, the *Maqamat* of Badi' al-Zaman al-Hamadani (d. 1007) and the pointed satire in the works of the Persian poet 'Ubayd-i Zakani (d. ca. 1371). Popular protagonists of jocular narratives in medieval times—in addition to numerous characters whose names are all but forgotten—include Juh, who, over the centuries, became the quintessential jester of Islamic tradition; Ash'ab, the stereotypical greedy person whose greed made him even believe his own lies; and Buhlul, the wise fool who would admonish the contemporary Caliph Harun al-Rashid in a manner similar to that of the European court jester. Numerous medieval jocular narratives lived on after the introduction of printing to the Islamic world, and numerous chapbooks of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries continued to exploit the traditional sources.

The topics of medieval Islamic humor, as much as anywhere else, exhibit two contrasting tendencies: on the one hand, a tolerant approach to the exigencies of human existence and to human foibles is regarded as exemplary; on the other hand, a moderate attitude is recommended so that the vanity implied in human nature should not gain the upper hand against the respect for God's omnipotence.

Ulrich Marzolph

See also Al-Jahiz; Companions of the Prophet; Hasan al-Basri; Ibn al-Jawzi; Maqama

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HUNAYN IBN ISHAQ (809–873 OR 877 CE)

A gifted translator, philosopher, and physician, Hunayn Ibn Ishaq came from the suburbs of Kufa to the center of ninth-century Baghdad's intellectual life. Hunayn's entire career must be understood within the context of the Translation Movement, which flourished during the Baghdad-based 'Abbasid caliphate (750–1258 CE). The Islamic conquest of the Near East during the seventh century brought under Muslim control areas with Christian scholars, such as Hunayn, who were capable of translating texts from Greek into Arabic. The earliest impetus for the Translation Movement was the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik's (d. 705) order for the imperial record books (Arabic *diwan*, pl. *dawawin*) to be translated from Greek and Persian into Arabic. Because native Arabic speakers would now be able to become viziers, there was a need for information, in Arabic, about geometry, arithmetic, and so on. Moreover, viziers could enhance their social status by patronizing translators, philosophers, and physicians such as Hunayn.

The nascent Translation Movement, with its socioeconomic origins, intensified during the 'Abbasid caliphate, because the 'Abbasid caliphs cultivated a mythical connection with the kings of the earlier Sasanian Empire as an appeal to Persian populist sentiments *(shu'ubiyya)*. A key component of this mythology was the inclusion of Hellenistic Greek philosophy and science within the Sasanian intellectual heritage. Recovering this heritage became a priority to the viziers who patronized Hunayn, and they paid a full-time translator as much as 24 thousand dollars per month. Analysis of Hunayn's autobiography has demonstrated that Hunayn's success aroused envy and jealously that in turn led to his temporary downfall.

Although medieval accounts of Hunayn's career method attributed his success in translating to his attention to the contextual meaning of a word or sentence rather than its literal meaning, recent scholarship has shown that he combined the literal and contextual techniques even within the same text. Additionally, sometimes he translated into Arabic directly from the Greek, and other times he first created a Syriac version for his own use or for a cotranslator. Hunayn's fame and the cooperative nature

of translation make a precise determination of his oeuvre impossible. By his own account, he translated more than a hundred texts from Galen alone, and these translations should be understood as creative acts in and of themselves.

As a philosopher and scientist, Hunayn's writings pioneered a technical vocabulary for medical literature and natural philosophy that became a foundation for future work. His writings about optics combined a knowledge of ocular anatomy with a theory of vision that was based on Aristotle's. Hunayn held that light is not a body but rather a state of a transparent medium, such as air, that makes that body receptive to color. In medicine, Hunayn's translations of Galen defended the value of both empirical and theoretical medical knowledge, and Hunayn's own compositions (e.g., *Questions on Medicine*) were thorough and thoughtfully organized. Accounts of his service as physician to the caliph attributed his prowess to both his adab (an awareness of how to behave at court) and his medical acumen.

ROBERT MORRISON

See also Translation: Pre-Islamic Learning into Arabic; Medical Literature, Arabic; Medical Literature, Syriac; Materia Medica; Medicine; Ophthalmology; Physicians; Aristotle and Aristotelianism

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HUNTING

The hunting exercised by the ancient Arabs was essential subsistence hunting or defense from wild animals in the Arabian desert. The Qur'an (in particular verse 3:4) and the traditions of the Prophet imposed laws on hunting in cases in which the meat is not lawful (i.e., cats, dogs, mammals with canine teeth, birds with claws, and animals without ritual killing). With the blooming of the Umayyad and 'Abbasid dynasties, a type of hunting done for fun and sport for the monarchs was developed using the example of the traditions of adjacent nations. This led to a specific vocabulary of falconry that was used in the Umayyad age (e.g., *bazi*, meaning "goshawk," a common name for falcons and hawks). Hunting was practiced with horses, arcs and arrows, swords, nozzles, and nets, and it was aided by trained hawks, dogs, and cheetahs. The main Arabic works depicting hunting range from the eighth to the fourteenth century.

Influences were noted in the hunting handbook of medieval Europe (*The First Book of Falconry* of Emperor Federico II, which was later translated into *The Book of Moamin*). The most ancient form of hunting, predating falconry, was practiced around 780 CE by al-Ghitrib ibn Qudama al-Ghassani, the master of hunting of the Umayyad monarchs, by the order of Caliph al-Mahdi. It was based on the acquaintances of Adham ibn Muhriz, on sources from Sasanian times, a Turkish handbook, and a Byzantine handbook received as a gift from al-Mahdi. These sources brought back the history of the origin of falconry, a description of the four types of birds used in falconry (hawk, peregrine, saker, and eagle), a classification based on the black or yellow colors of their eyes, training methods, and cures for diseases. A treaty about hunting and its many aspects was created by the poet al-Kushajim (ca. 961), author of the *Kitab al-Masayid as-l-Matarid (Book of the Traps and Hunting Spears),* in which literary aspects prevailed.

Decades later, the falconer of the Fatimid Caliph al-'Aziz Bi-llah wrote for the monarch a treaty about falconry, *al-Bayzara*, which contained two clearly distinguished parts. First, the author exposed technical matters, with descriptions of the fauna of the Egyptian Delta; in the second part, poems traced the work of al-Kushajim. A true summation of the falconry knowledge of the Muslims of the Middle Ages, it was entitled *al-Jamhara f 'Ilm al-Bayzara (Collection on the Science of Falconry),* and it was compiled by Isa al-Asadi (thirteenth century). This volume was not limited to birds but also described other animals, several hunting techniques, the various legal schools, specific vocabulary, hunting dogs, hunting with leopards, and the medical usefulness of specific animal parts. The Turk Ibn al-Mangli (fourteenth century) was an expert in the military arms that serviced the monarch slaves of al-Malik al-Ashraf; immense synthesis of the *Jamhara* of al-Asani was compiled, with the title *Uns al-Mala' bi-Wahsh al-Fala (Entertainment of the Audience [Speaking About] the Wild Animals of the Desert)*. According to the author, hunting is above all suited to the king and his dignitaries, and it involves ten merits: among these, it constitutes the best training for horses and physical exercise for the knights; it helps one acquire courage and distance from suffering and worries; and it removes vain thoughts and develops sharper sight.



Thirteenth century CE. Plate showing a knight with a falcon. Persian, Saljuq dynasty. Ceramic with polychrome point, unglazed. Photo: Herve Lewandowski. Credit: Réunion des Musées Nationaun/Art Resource, NY. Louvre, Paris, France.

The slaves preferred a form of hunting that involved pursuit by horses, with the participants forming a great circle *(halqa)* that locked on the prey. The preferred targets were gazelle, lions, panthers, ostriches, and cranes. Every animal demanded particular hunting techniques, which were meticulously described in the handbook (although sometimes the techniques were decidedly improbable). The Syrian nobleman Usama ibn Munqidh (thirteenth century) described his memories of falconry among noblemen and of capturing aquatic birds, gazelle, and wild donkeys. The products gained from hunting were then used for commerce in all areas of the Muslim world, and they also increased the desire of caliphs to possess exotic animals. Many citations of hunting poems are found in geographic works; in the zoology of al-Jahiz, al-Qazwini, for the Damiri; and in literary anthologies.

Preparation for hunting contained great meaning in that the Muslim hunter must undergo a purification ritual and invoke the name of God on the hawk and the prey. Dogs trained to obey—despite the impurity that Islam attributes to this animal and the curse on those from the black mantle—are used in hunting on the basis of verse four of the Qur'an. It is noted that the hunter was the saluki (a tall, slender dog): according to Arabic tradition, the name derives from Saluq, which is located in Yemen. South Arabia also deserves note, because hunting wild goats introduced a peculiar ritual that lasted from the pre-Islamic age. Even if medieval testimonies are insufficient, the traditions have maintained many elements of continuity. One form of hunting involved a great number of hunters with various tasks, such as pushing the animal and killing it. The hunting concluded with a procession of dances and songs and with the exhibition of the bodies of the wild goats, which were later placed on walls of edifices in proportional scope.

Scenes of hunting are frequent in ceramics, bas relief in wood and stucco, ivory and metal objects, and miniatures from the tenth to the fifteenth century. The most common type consists of the reconfiguration of falconry, on foot or by horse; it is represented in action or when a member of a court holding a hawk presents it as a reparation to the monarch (the Turk-Iranian). Other reconfigurations show a hawk in action to assault the prey. In manuscripts of the Shahnama, hunting scenes appear in illustrations in the text (e.g., Bahram Gur hunting the wild donkey) but without particular differences from those that describe the activity of the principals. Hunting by

monarchs is represented in the art of Turkish miniatures, the Saravidi, and the Moghuls during the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries.

GIOVANNI CANOVA

See also Hippology; Usama ibn Munqidh; Veterinary Medicine; al-Jahiz; al-Qazwini

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HUSAYN IBN 'ALI

Husayn ibn 'Ali was the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad and the son of Ali and the Prophet's daughter Fatima. He is regarded as one of the early imams of the Shi'is, and his defiance of the Umayyad Caliph Yazid, which led to his death and the massacre of his family and supporters at Karbala in 680 CE, has immortalized him in the Muslim—and particularly Shi'i—imagination as one of the great martyr figures of Islam.

Husayn was born in Medina in 626 and as a child is believed to have been held in great affection by the Prophet. As a young man, he participated in the work of his father, Ali, including in his military campaigns. After the death of his father in 661 and the accession to power of Muawiyah, Husayn maintained a low profile and, although dismissive of the usurpation of power by Muawiyah, did not seek to foment open rebellion. However, when Muawiyah sought to impose his son Yazid as successor and thereby to institutionalize the rule of the Umayyad dynasty, Husayn declined to offer allegiance *(baya)*. He was approached by the people of Kufa to oppose Yazid and accept the mantle of leadership, which they believed was his right. In response to their call, Husayn—together with a small band of followers and members of his family—left Mecca for Kufa. On his way, he learned of the executions of some of his closest supporters by the Umayyads and decided to urge those from his group who were not willing to put their lives at risk to voluntarily depart. He continued on his way to Kufa with the rest of the group, and he camped at a place called Karbala. In the meantime, a contingent from Yazid's army of about four thousand members arrived at the scene and ordered the small band to acknowledge Yazid's authority while also cutting off their access to the river for water.

The final confrontation as recorded by Muslim historians is the tragic account of the encirclement and massacre of Husayn and his small army, which was said to number seventy-two men. They fought gallantly, but they were soon overpowered, and Husayn, his brother, and some of his closest relatives were slaughtered. Husayn's head was taken to Damascus to be displayed before Yazid and his court.

The events of Karbala and the death of Husayn catalyzed opposition to the Umayyad dynasty and rallied support around the family of Husayn and the general cause of the Alids. Husayn's son, Ali, who was spared in the battle, assumed the role of leader and imam of Husayn's followers, thus crystallizing further a distinctive Shi'i identity.

Although there are differing accounts regarding where Husayn's remains were taken, it is generally believed that he was buried at Karbala, where, in time, a mausoleum was built to honor his memory. The mausoleum at Karbala is the most visited pilgrimage center in Shi'i Islam after the Ka'ba. It is the center of prayers, devotions, and rituals associated with Husayn's memory and death, which is commemorated in particular and with great religious fervor and intensity during the first ten days of Muharram, known as Ashura.

The devotions during Ashura have evolved to represent two major ritual expressions. The first, known as *rawzeh-khani,* involves preaching that is based on the Karbala narrative, and, over the ten-day period, a formal recounting of the events is made in the context of the Shi'i interpretation of Muslim history, with a special focus on notions of persecution, suffering, resistance, and martyrdom. Another major ritual expression developed much later in history and is known as *taziyeh,* a form of passion play that reenacts the events of Karbala. During these rituals, some participants express their internal grief through acts of chest beating and flagellation. Taziyed processions can be highly stylized and may include structures representing Husayn's bier and a riderless horse.

Husayn's life and death are also evoked in special poems of remembrance that have been composed to

highlight key themes such as justice, devotion, and courage in the face of oppression. Recitations of these poems, accompanied by music, have also developed into a special genre. Although a significant part of the focus of these expressions is found in Shi'i literature and cultural life, Husayn's example has pervaded all periods of Muslim history, thought, and culture, and it transcends geographic and ethnic differences. Shrines, mosques, and places of remembrance are found throughout the Muslim world. Among the Shi'is, special structures called *Husayniyah* are built to commemorate Ashura and to hold sessions of remembrance for other imams and martyred figures.

In situations of historical conflict and warfare, Husayn's example is often invoked to gain support for particular political and religious causes. This is illustrated in the appropriation of the Karbala narrative, for example, during the Iranian revolution in 1979 and during the conflicts in Iraq in the 1990s and 2000s. However, the more enduring aspects of Husayn's life are the ones that continue to inspire Muslims: selfless leadership, commitment to justice, courage in the face of oppression, and, above all, devotion to God and the cause of Islam.

Azim Nanji

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I

IBADIS

Ibadis (whites) were a moderate *madhhab* (school) of the Kharijite sect who had survived the defeat of the more extreme 'Azraqite' Kharijite sect in Iraq in 699 CE. The Kharijite center in Basra, Iraq, then became the center of an extensive network of Ibadite propagandists—*hamalat al-'ilm* (transmitters of learning). As with other Kharijite-inspired sects, Ibadites made headway only on the fringes of the caliphal lands where the sect's leadership and common goal often helped coalesce otherwise fissiparous "tribal identities." In the later eighth century until the end of the ninth century, Ibadites maintained an independent *imamate* in 'Uman (Oman). There was a brief 'Umani Ibadite resurgence in the eleventh century and the development of an Ibadi *madhhab* (theological school), and 'Umani activity in Indian Ocean trade led to the establishment of Ibadi colonies on the East African coast. During the seventeenth century, Ibadite Omanis became a considerable force in the Indian Ocean.

However, it was in the Maghrib where Ibadis were to have their most significant impact. Kharijite emissaries from Basra, both Sufrite (yellow) and Ibadite (white) Kharijites, are reputed to have appeared in Qayrawan in Ifriqiyya circa 719. Kharijite doctrine provided the ideological leadership for the great Berber Kharijite revolt in North Africa that began in Tangier in 740.

In North Africa, Ibadites were first strongest in Tripolitania, and following the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate and prior to 'Abbasid consolidation, an Ibadite imamate was proclaimed—probably also in reaction to the rival Kharijite Sufrite sect's conquest of Qayrawan in 756. The Ibadites then briefly conquered Qayrawan in 758 and installed the (Iranian) Ibadite missionary *Imam* Ibn Rustman. However, the new 'Abbasid caliphate forced Ibadite tribes to move westward. Although the new 'Abbasid caliphate managed to wrest back power over Ifriqiyya in the Maghrib proper, the unity of Islam had been destroyed. *Imam* Ibn Rustman, forced from Qayrawan, founded an Ibadite confederacy of Berber tribes with a capital at Tahart (ca. 761–762). Tahert became the de facto imamate and capital of Ibadite Berber tribes across North Africa.

Trade was vital to the Kharijite success in the Maghrib, and the dynamic of conquest and rebellion reified old trade routes and connections between communities in North Africa dormant since the Arab conquest. Pushed to the fringes of caliphal power, Kharijite communities survived at the oases that were important to the growing trans-Saharan trade. Merchants were prominent members of the original Ibadite community, perhaps accounting for its moderate and pragmatic stance in comparison with other Kharijite sects. Many Ibadite emissaries or missionaries were also merchants, and in the ninth century the persecution of the Ibadite community in the 'Abbasid east forced more of them westward. By the ninth and tenth centuries, merchants from Basra, Kufa, and Khurasan from the old Kharijite strongholds were present in the new Kharijite centers of Tahert, Zawila, and Sijilmasa. Trade routes from Tahert reached the rich Sudanic kingdoms of Gao and Ghana.

The Fatimids brought an end to the Ibadite imamate of Tahert in 909, but Ibadite communities maintained their strong role in trans-Saharan trade and dominated the commercial towns along the route, such as Zawila, Tadmekka, and Awdaghust. Ibadite merchants and missionaries converted some of the first sub-Saharan Africans to Islam, and one community elected a "black slave" as their *Imam*.

CEDRIC BARNES

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IBN AL-'ADIM, KAMAL AL-DIN ABU HAFS 'UMAR B. AHMAD

Ibn al-'Adim was a prominent religious, political, and literary figure of the North Syrian city of Aleppo. He was born in Aleppo in AH 588/1193 CE into a family celebrated for supplying *qadi*s (Islamic judges) to the city over generations. Ibn al-'Adim was trained in *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) and became director of one of Aleppo's principal Islamic schools, the Madrasah al-Hallawiyya. Successive Ayyubid rulers of Aleppo entrusted him with a number of diplomatic missions. The last of these was in AH 658/1260 CE, in which he went to Egypt to seek help against the Mongols, shortly before they took Aleppo. He died in exile in Cairo two years later.

Ibn al-'Adim wrote a number of works, not all of which have survived. They include a treatise on handwriting, a thesis on the preparation of perfumes, and an address to a ruler of Aleppo on the birth of his son. But he is best known to modern scholarship for his chronicle of Aleppo and northern Syria, the *Zubdat al-halab fi ta'rikh Halab (The Cream of the Milk as Regards the History of Aleppo)*. This is the principal source for events in the area during the author's lifetime.

In his own day, however, Ibn al-'Adim was celebrated for his *Bughyat al-talab fi ta'rikh Halab (What Is Desirable in the Pursuit for the History of Aleppo)*. A characteristic production of the medieval *adab* (belles-lettres) tradition, the *Bughyat al-talab* is a biographical dictionary of notable people associated with Aleppo, from remotest antiquity to the compiler's own times. In addition to factual information, an entry often contains examples of the subject's verse, or transmission of *hadith* (Prophetic tradition). The original work, of which only a quarter survives, apparently filled forty volumes containing seventeen thousand pages of twenty lines each, and is believed to have been penned by Ibn al-'Adim himself during the last two years of his life.

DAVID MORRAY

See also Adab; Aleppo; Ayyubid; Biography and Biographical Works; Madrasa

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IBN AL-ATHIR, 'ALI ABU 'L HASAN 'IZZ AL-DIN

Ibn al-Athir was a scholar (1160–1232 CE) who spent most of his life in Mosul (present-day northern Iraq), with short spells in Syria. Details of his life are hardly known because he rarely referred to himself in his writings. He was the scion of a notable Mosulian family that had acquired some wealth by engaging in trade and owned real estates. His father and two of his brothers played an active role in political life by serving Zankid and Ayyubid rulers in northern Iraq and Syria. It is not clear whether Ibn al-Athir himself had official positions, but he enjoyed at least the patronage of members of the Zankid dynasty and their high officials and served as the dynasty's envoy to Baghdad.

Ibn al-Athir's fame has rested with his universal history *al-Kamil fi al-ta'rikh (The Perfect History)*, which reports events from the creation of the world until shortly before the author's death. The scope of this voluminous work was unusual for its period

because most chronicles tended to be local histories that concentrated on the immediate past (such as those by Abu Shama, Ibn al-'Adim, and Ibn Wasil). The *Kamil* was regarded by its contemporaries and following generations as an outstanding achievement in the field of history for several reasons. The coherent account focuses on the main events by artfully integrating a variety of sources. At the same time Ibn al-Athir strove to treat also events in neighboring regions of the Islamic world, such as Egypt and Persia. Although the chronicle followed the period's dominant annalistic scheme of organizing the material, Ibn al-Athir transgressed this rigid framework when necessary. He drew together elements of events, which stretched over several years, under one heading in order to avoid the continuous interruption of the narrative. Finally, as the author eschewed explicit partisanship to political or sectarian causes he was able to reach a broad readership.

Shortcomings of his work, for example, that he hardly covered more distant areas such as the Maghrib, did not alter its popularity. However, from a modern perspective the chronicle poses several problems, chief among them the author's method of omitting his sources to avoid interrupting the narrative. Consequently, the bulk of his work prior to his own lifetime, while retaining its literary value, can hardly be used for historical purposes. The parts contemporary to him are of greater historical value, but the implicit support of the Zankid dynasty has to be kept in mind when reading the text.

The Crusades play no particular role in the *Kamil*'s narrative because they hardly altered the chain of events as laid out by Ibn al-Athir. However, in a famous passage the author linked the advent of the First Crusade in the late eleventh-century Middle East to the Christian advances into Muslim territories in Andalus/Spain and Sicily, an insight of historical broadness rarely found among his contemporaries.

Ibn al-Athir composed another chronicle, *al-Ta'rikh al-bahir (The Splendid History)*, on the Zankid dynasty of his hometown of Mosul, which due to its limited geographical and chronological focus, as well as its more explicit partisanship for the Zankids, did not reach the reputation of the *Kamil*. Ibn al-Athir's fame in history did not only rest on his chronicle but also on biographical works, especially his account of the Companions of the Prophet. This work's virtues, again, were its coherent account and its focus on main issues.

KONRAD HIRSCHLER

See also Historical Writing; Biography and Biographical Works

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IBN AL-FURAT

Nasir al-Din b. 'Abd al-Rahim b. 'Ali b. al-Furat al-Misri al-Hanafi (d. 1404–1405), was the Mamluk-era author of a universal history titled *Ta'rikh al-Duwal wa-l-Muluk*. The work has proved valuable for modern historians, particularly for its coverage of the **Ayyubid** and **Mamluk** periods—including details of the late Crusade period—although there are gaps in the surviving manuscripts. The *Ta'rikh al-Duwal wa-l-Muluk* was subsequently used by later Mamluk-era historians, notably **al-Maqrizi** (d. 1442). An analysis of portions of his work reveals Ibn al-Furat to have been interested primarily in the recording of significant political and economic events and the associated activities of the ruling elite.

WARREN C. SCHULTZ

See also Ayyubids; Mamluks; al-Maqrizi

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IBN AL-HAYTHAM, OR ALHAZEN

The polymath Abu 'Ali al-Hasan ibn al-Haytham (ca. 965–1039 CE), known in Latin as Alhazen, was born in Basra, Iraq. After completing his studies in Iraq, he

settled in Egypt, wherein he was commissioned to design a dam on the Nile. The failure of this project led him to feign madness until the death of his erratic patron, the Fatimid caliph al-Hakim (1021 CE). Although his prolific contributions covered a variety of disciplines in mathematics, astronomy, and mechanics, his impact was greatest in the field of optics. His chef-d'œuvre *Kitab al-Manazir (The Optics*, ca. 1027 CE*)*, which was translated into Latin as *De aspectibus* (ca. 1270 CE), decisively shaped the emerging theory of perspective in medieval and Renaissance science and art. His influence is noticeable in medieval scholars such as Roger Bacon, John Peckham, and Witelo and in Renaissance theorists such as Leon Battista Alberti and Lorenzo Ghiberti. In medieval science in Islam, Kamal al-Din al-Farisi's *Tanqih al-Manazir (The Revision of the Optics)* advanced the most substantive critical interpretation of Ibn al-Haytham. His theory of vision constituted an outstanding achievement in optics in the period between Claudius Ptolemy and Johannes Kepler. He resolved the ancient Greek dispute over the nature and causation of vision, which had either been derived, in physical terms, from the intromission of the form of a visible object into the eye or from the mathematical model of the extromission of a cone of light from the eye. Following physicists like Aristotle, Ibn al-Haytham argued that vision occurs by intromission of the luminous form of the visible object into the eye. However, in elucidating this process he employed the model of the cone of vision as formulated by mathematicians such as Euclid and Ptolemy. He thus demonstrated that vision results from the intromission of a luminous form by way of the rectilinear propagation of light through a transparent medium; there is a virtual cone whose vertex is in the center of the eye and whose base is on the surface of the visible entity. He also held that visual perception is not a mere sensation but is primarily an inferential act of discernment and judgment. Moreover, he supplemented his *Optics* with *Treatise on Light (Risala fi l-Daw')*, which further investigated the essence and comportment of luminosity and its radiant dispersion through various transparent and translucent media. His ocular observations were founded on anatomical examinations of the structure of the eye, as well as being supported by experimental installations devised to detect errors and illusions in visual perception and to explore phenomena like the *camera obscura* (the darkroom principle behind the pinhole camera). Ibn al-Haytham also investigated meteorological aspects related to the rainbow and to the density of the atmosphere, as well as inquiring about the nature of celestial phenomena such as the eclipse, the twilight, and moonlight. In this endeavor, he relied on his accounts of refraction and on catoptrical experimentations with spherical and parabolic mirrors and magnifying lenses. He also presented a thorough critique of the conception of place *(topos)* as set in Aristotle's *Physics*, wherein it was stated that the place of something is the two-dimensional boundary of the containing body that is at rest and is in contact with what it contains. In contrast with this definition, Ibn al-Haytham rather attempted to demonstrate in his *Risala fi'l-makan (Treatise on Place)* that place *(al-makan)* is the imagined three-dimensional void between the inner surfaces of the containing body. Consequently, he showed that place was akin to space in a manner that prefigures Descartes's *extensio*. Building on the legacy of Euclid, and partly informed by the works of the mathematician Thabit ibn Qurra (d. 901 CE), Ibn al-Haytham further systematized the arts of analytical geometry (linking algebra to geometry), infinitesimal mathematics, conics, and number theory. In addition, he studied the mechanics of the first law of motion according to which it is held that a body moves perpetually unless prevented from doing so by an external force that arrests it or alters its direction. In examining the attraction between masses he also seems to have been tangentially aware of the magnitude of acceleration due to a principle akin to the force of gravity. Pioneer in his pursuits, he also strived to develop rigorous experimental methods of controlled scientific testing in view of verifying theoretical hypotheses and substantiating inductive conjectures.

NADER EL-BIZRI

See also Algebra; Aristotle and Aristotelianism; Astronomy; Geometry; Mathematics; Meteorology; Optics; Ptolemy; Thabit ibn Qurra

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IBN AL-JAWZI

Ibn al-Jawzi, 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Ali b. Muhammad Abu 'l-Faraj, a legal scholar, theologian, preacher, and historian, was one of the most prominent figures of twelfth-century Baghdad. Born around 1126 CE to a fairly wealthy family, he lived in the city a life of great intellectual, religious, and political activity. His life, which lasted to the end of the twelfth century, illustrates major characteristics of the political and religious milieu of Baghdad during the so-called Sunni Revival. In particular, his career and activities as a Hanbali master and preacher reflect the significant role played by Hanbali popular preachers of this period in shaping the city's public sphere. Seen in the broader perspective of the medieval Islamic civilization, the century during which he lived was a particularly productive and significant period in the history of Islamic preaching, comparable to the twelfth century in the history of preaching in the Latin West.

By the twelfth century, Baghdad had become a major scene in the development of the madrasa and the crystallization of the Sunni schools of jurisprudence. Ibn al-Jawzi's teaching career began as an assistant to his master in his two madrasas and culminated in the directorship of five prestigious madrasas erected in the city for adherents to the Hanbali school. His prominence in Baghdad's official and public spheres was due to his preaching as to his teaching activity at the Hanbali law colleges. Not only did he deliver the official sermons of the Palace mosque but he also preached many popular sermons to very large and enthusiastic crowds. His sermons vigorously defended the Sunna against all those whom he considered to be schismatic and criticized those Sunni scholars who, in his view, did not fully adhere to the uncompromising demand of Hanbali scholars for conformity and uniformity among the "people of the Sunna" in accordance with the perfect integrity of the simple original faith. At the same time, he called for the restoration of the caliphate—an institution commonly perceived as the symbol of legitimate government and unity among Muslims. For many years he was closely associated with the 'Abbasids who supported and encouraged his teaching and preaching activities in Baghdad's public arena. However, toward the end of his life, he was exiled and put under house arrest by decree of the caliph al-Nasir, whose policy he had refuted. Soon after his triumphant return to Baghdad, Ibn al-Jawzi died in 1200.

Ibn al-Jawzi was clearly one of the most prolific and versatile authors of medieval Arabic literature. Several medieval authors place the number of his writings at nearly a thousand. While this is probably an exaggerated figure, enough information is available to indicate that the extent of his literary corpus is very considerable indeed. A glance at the titles of his works that are extant indicates that they range across the entire spectrum of the great Islamic and literary disciplines.

His outstanding work, *al-Muntazam,* is a universal history, relating the history of the world in chronological order from its beginnings to the year 1179. Following each year entry, he provides richly documented biographies of all prominent people who died during that particular year: caliphs, viziers, judges, high officials, scholars, and pious men. His two other major historical works belong to the biographical genre, one of the most productive genres of the Islamic literary tradition. His *Sifat al-safwa* is a collection of biographies of those whom he considered to be true Sufis, that is, the ascetic worshipers who followed faithfully the teaching of the Prophet and his Companions. His *Manaqib* is a collection of panegyric biographies of the historic figures he regarded as models of proper Islamic creed and conduct.

Ibn al-Jawzi's zeal as a defender of true faith appears with particular fervor in his *Talbis iblis*, one of the major works of Hanbali polemic. In this work he launched an attack not only on the various heretical sects but also on all those whom he considered responsible for introducing *bid'a* (negative innovations) into Sunnism, and of these, particularly, the Muslim mystics. His views and tenets are no more clearly expressed than in his collections of homilies consisting of the four subgenres that make up the medieval Arabic homily: the *khutba* (hymn of praise), the *qissa* (pious story), the *wa'z* (admonition), and the *khawatim* (concluding verses of poetry). Furthermore, the collection of sermons he left reflects his prominence in the society within which he was embedded and his significant contribution to the evolution of the Islamic art of sermon composition and preaching.

DAPHNA EPHRAT

See also Sunni Revival

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IBN AL-MUQAFFA‘

Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ (c. 723–759 CE) was a prolific translator and the author of original works on ethics and statecraft. He was born in Fars (Southwest Persia, today Iran) to a family of local notables. In the course of his education he mastered the various scripts used to write Pahlavi, an archaic written form of Persian. He was thus able to read the epic histories, works of advice to kings, and other genres of wisdom literature left behind by the Sasanian Empire that had once ruled Southwest Asia.

After studying in the southern Iraqi city of Basra to perfect his knowledge of Arabic, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ held a series of secretarial posts under the Umayyad governors of Shapur and Kirman. Unlike many of his colleagues, he escaped persecution when the ‘Abbasid revolution (750) overthrew the Umayyad dynasty. Returning to Basra, he served as a secretary to the brothers of the reigning caliph al-Mansur. When one of the brothers made an abortive bid for the throne, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ was asked to draft a letter asking the caliph not to retaliate against his rebellious relative. The terms of the letter angered the caliph, who expressed the wish that someone might rid him of this troublesome secretary. Taking the hint, the governor of Basra had Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ executed, reportedly by being chopped to pieces.

In the course of his short career, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ translated numerous works of Sasanian literature from Pahlavi into Arabic. The most famous of these is *Kalila and Dimna*, a collection of fables that had been translated from Sanskrit into Pahlavi. The stories, which feature both human and animal characters, show how foresight, self-restraint, and trickery can be used to one's advantage. The book's preface, which claims to be the autobiography of the Persian physician who translated the book from the original Sanskrit, contains a searching critique of institutionalized religion. The work inspired at least seven direct translations from the Arabic into other languages. The most influential was the second Hebrew translation, which was made around 1270. It inspired versions in German, Spanish, and Italian, the last of which served as the basis of the first English rendering (1570).

In addition to *Kalila and Dimna*, Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ translated Pahlavi works on history, statecraft, and ethics. None of his translations survives in its entirety, although one *(The Letter of Tansar)* is known through a later rendering into New Persian. The rest are widely quoted by classical Arabic authors, and even in this fragmentary form constitute an important source of information on pre-Islamic Iran. He has also been credited with a translation of an Aristotelian work on logic, but the attribution is erroneous.

Of the works he himself wrote in Arabic, the most famous is his work on *adab*. *Adab* means "the right way of doing something," and his book offers advice on how to win friends, prosper in one's career, and avoid incurring the wrath of one's superiors. Due to the influence of this work (as well as an imitation of it commonly misattributed to him), *adab* came to mean not only "social skills" but also "books about social skills," and eventually "secular literature," which, along with "good manners," is the meaning of the term in modern Arabic.

Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ is also famous for his letter of advice to the Abbasid caliph al-Mansur **(AH 136–158/754–775 CE)** recommending that the latter promulgate an official statement of the Islamic creed, adopt a uniform code of law, and pay the army regularly. The recommendations were not adopted, but the diagnosis of the state of the empire proved strikingly prescient.

To Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ also are ascribed a defense of Manichean dualism and a few lines of prose written in imitation of the Qur'an. Authentic or not, these texts contributed to his posthumous reputation as a heretic, which clung to him despite his conversion from Zoroastrianism to Islam.

Industrious, unsentimental, and often irreverent, Ibn al-Muqaffa' deserves much of the credit for preserving the literary legacy of the Sasanian empire and, in the process, creating a precedent for the use of Arabic as a vehicle for secular prose literature.

MICHAEL COOPERSON

See also 'Abbasids; Adab; Aristotle and Aristotelianism; Basra; Sasanians, Islamic Traditions; Umayyads

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IBN AL-NAFIS

'Ala' al-Din 'Ali ibn Abi l'Haram al-Qurasi, commonly known as Ibn al-Nafis, was a renowned physician and an author of and commentator on medical works. He also wrote about the fields of grammar, rhetoric, logic, religious sciences, and, famously, of religious philosophy. Ibn al-Nafis was born probably in the second decade of the thirteenth century and grew up and was educated in Damascus. At some point, he moved to Cairo, where he practiced and taught at a hospital of unknown identity, perhaps the Bimaristan al-Nasiri, and eventually attained the post of chief of physicians *(ray'is al-aibba)* of Egypt and the influential honor of being personal physician to the Mamluk sultan, probably al-Zahir Baybars (r. 1260–1277). One of his contemporary and compatriot students was the surgeon Ibn al-Quff (1233–1286). Ibn al-Nafis may have crossed paths with Ibn abi Usaybi'a (d. 1270) in Cairo, but it does not figure in the latter's biographical collection of Arabic medicine. Toward the end of his life, Ibn al-Nafis bequeathed his house and library to the Mansuri hospital, founded by the sultan al-Mansur Qallwun (r. 1279–1290) in 1284. He died in Cairo on Dec. 17, 1288.

Ibn al-Nafis was extolled by his admiring biographers and colleagues as a "second Avicenna"; his prominent position in the scholarly heritage of the Arabs until today is reflected in the fact that many hospitals in the Arab world are named after him. In fact, the breadth of his scholarship, his ability for synthesis, and his independent judgment, an indicator of which is the scarcity of his literal references to preceding scholarly literature, are remarkable. More decisive is the fact that Ibn al-Nafis, with his treatment of Avicenna's *Qanun*, inaugurated a long series of commentaries and supercommentaries to this medical encyclopedia and helped to establish its dominant position for some centuries to come. Of his extant commentaries on medical writings a number deal with the *Corpus Hippocraticum*: the *Aphorisms*, the *Prognostics*, the *Epidemics* (for which cf. the essay by P. Bachmann), and *De natura hominis*; the writings of Galen do not seem to have attracted Ibn al-Nafis' solicitude, because, according to his biographer, al-Safadi, and contrary to his Damascene teacher, Muhaddib al-Din al-Dahwar (d. 1230), "he loathed the style of Galen and described it as weak and profuse with nothing in it." Apart from a commentary on the famous medical catechism *al-Masa'il fi l-Ôibb* by Hunayn b. Ishaq (d. 873 or 877), he dealt markedly with Avicenna's *Qanun*, first in the form of an epitome, *Mujiz*, treating all parts of medicine as they are dealt with in the *Qanun*, except for anatomy and physiology; and second, a commentary, *Sarh al-Qanun*. The *Mujiz* gave rise to a host of commentaries, and one Hebrew and two Turkish translations are known. Among the commentators, the most widely read authors are SadÍd al-Din al-Kazaruni (d. 1357); Gamal al-Din al-Aqsara'i (d. 1378); Nafis b. 'Iwad al-Kirmani (wrote in 1437), whose commentary in turn was repeatedly commented on into the nineteenth century; and Ibn al-Amsati (d. 1496). Ibn al-Nafis' *Sarh al-Qanun,* as well as at least one of his manuscripts, written before 1242 and bearing the separate title *Sarh tasrih al-Qanun*, contain the earliest account

of the pulmonary blood circulation, which contradicts both common theories of a visible passage and the Galenic assumption of an invisible passage of the blood between the two cavities of the heart and which antedates the publication, in 1553, of the pertinent account by Michael Servetus, possibly through the communication of Ibn al-Nafis' ideas by the translator Andrea Alpago (d. 1520), by three centuries. The anatomical observation that the cardiac wall is impermeable leads Ibn al-Nafis to the logical postulation that "when the blood [in the *right* cavity] has become thin, it is passed through the arterial vein into the lung, in order to be dispersed within the substance of the lung and to mix with the air, whereupon the finest parts of the blood are refined and, after mixing with the air and becoming fit for the generation of *pneuma*, are passed through the venous artery into the *left* cavity" (cf. Iskandar 1970–1980: 603, and Ullmann 1970: 173–176; for the recent discussion of Ibn al-Nafis' theory, cf. Iskandar 1970–1980: 605 f.). Ibn al-Nafis' construction of the pulmonary blood circulation was received scarcely, if at all, by later scholars of Islamic medicine. Equally small was the visible reception of his comprehensive handbook on ophthalmology, *K. al-Muhaddab fi l-kuhl al-mugarrab*. Of his medical *Summa*, the *K. al-Samil fi l-sina al-tibbiyya*, projected to consist of three hundred volumes, only eighty were completed, and a number of manuscripts are extant, some of them autographs of the author.

In his *Muhtasar fi 'ilm uÈÚl al-hadir*, Ibn al-Nafis gives a short summary (some twenty-four folia) of the principles of the science of Tradition, "a reminder for the advanced student and an auxiliary manual for the beginner," which is informed by the school of al-Safr'i and makes extensive use of al-Harib al-Bagdadi's *Kifaya* and, particularly, al-Gazali's *Mustasfa*.

Certainly the most original of Ibn al-Nafis' works is his *Risala al-kamiliyya fi l-sira al-nabawiyya*. The two predecessors of this philosophical allegory are Avicenna's *Risalat Hayy b. Yaqzan* and a work with the same title (but different intention) by the Andalusian physician and philosopher Ibn Tufayl (d. 1185). While Avicenna's tale, with its programmatic title hero who comes into being by spontaneous generation, grows up on an island without fellow human beings, and, by his own observation and reasoning, attains the natural, philosophical, and theological truths, clearly is the inspiration for both Ibn Tufayl's and Ibn al-Nafis' accounts, the relationship between these two latter authors vis-à-vis Avicenna is much closer. This shows in the similar treatment of the hero's anatomical observations, which proceed toward a study of the plants, the meteorological phenomena, the celestial bodies, the Creator and His attributes, and a number of other parallels, as the hermeneutical issue of why the Divine Law is mediated to the common people in the form of allegories. In turn, Ibn al-Nafis' account deviates significantly from that of Ibn Tufayl insofar as his hero, Kamil, "the Perfect," deduces not only the rules of the religious law, the duties of man in worship and social relations—hence the editors' title of the edition of Ibn al-Nafis' text, *Theologus Autodidactus*—but also the historical events from the Prophet Muhammad down into the author's lifetime, not from information given by visitors to the island from outside, as Ibn Tufayl had related a hundred years before, but by his own reasoning. Ibn al-Nafis links his theological and historical ideas by the concept that the divine providence is bound to produce a course of history that is *asiah* for the community, "that which is best and most proper," a concept that is informed both by Mu'tazilite thought and Galen's anatomical ideas, as famously represented in his *De usu partium*.

Hans Hinrich Biesterfeldt

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IBN AL-RAWANDI, ABU ’L HUSAYN AHMAD IBN YAHYA

Perhaps the most notorious freethinker of medieval Islam, Ibn al-Rawandi was born in Khurasan around 815 CE. He started out as a respected Mu‘tazilite theologian but later became estranged from his former colleagues, perhaps due to the association with his mentor, the Manichaean Abu ‘Isa al-Warraq. From that point on Ibn al-Rawandi is depicted by most (though not all) of our sources as a heretic who maliciously scoffs at all religions, particularly Islam... He left Baghdad, apparently to escape persecution by the authorities, and died in 860 (or, according to other sources, in 912).

Although one can see this image as a distorted picture composed by his opponents (as suggested by Josef van Ess), the accumulated information provided by the texts suggests that the image had a firm base in reality, and that Ibn al-Rawandi had indeed outstepped the boundaries of Islam. He is said to have written numerous books, none of which is extant. Extensive quotations in later Muslim sources, however, allow us to reconstruct many of his arguments. In his *Book of the Emerald* he argued that the human intellect makes revelation superfluous. God has provided humanity with the intellect. This intellect, which is part of the definition of humanity, is given equally to all human beings and is sufficient to guide them. The pretenders to prophecy are thus nothing but impostors and charlatans who exploit their knowledge of natural phenomena in order to manipulate and delude simple people. In this book, those who serve as Ibn al-Rawandi's mouthpiece and who present his antiprophetic lore are the so-called Brahmans: Indian polemicists who uphold the intellectual and spiritual equality of all humans. This literary device may reflect actual contacts with Indian philosophy, but it may also have been conceived to ward off accusations of heresy, and as a protective device against persecution.

Apart from a strong skeptical tenor, it is difficult to attribute to Ibn al-Rawandi any identifiable positive belief. He spared no religion, but his most severe criticism was directed against Islam. His sharp, sarcastic censure of the Qur'an is characterized by mocking and irreverent style. He pointed out apparent inconsistencies in the text, as well as to its illogical, immoral concept of a vengeful God who acts arbitrarily. He was preoccupied by questions of theodicy, to which he dedicated one of his books.

Ibn al-Rawandi's mastery of the art of dialectical disputation is recognized by his fiercest opponents. They claim, however, that he put this talent to ill use. His image of an *enfant terrible* is enhanced by lists of his books, from which it appears that he cultivated a habit of writing books on various topics, and then writing refutations of the same books. Muslim heresiographers and polemicists are baffled by this practice, which they see as the mark of senseless nihilism. Thus, they depict Ibn al-Rawandi as motivated by mercenary malice alone. But the quotations from his books transpire with genuine existential anxiety, which must have driven him to his rebellious ideas.

SARAH STROUMSA

See also Freethinkers; Heresy and Heretics; Mu‘tazilites; Al-Razi (Rhazes)

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IBN ‘ARAB

Muhyi al-Din Muhammad (1165–1240 CE) was born in Murcia (present-day Spain) and spent his formative years in Seville. After receiving an excellent religious and secular education, he embraced Sufism and traveled widely in search of authoritative Sufi masters in both Andalus and North Africa. In 1201, Ibn ‘Arabi set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca, never to come back. Although Ibn ‘Arabi spent the first half of his life in al-Andalus and North Africa, his talents came to full bloom in the East—the Hijaz, Anatolia, and Syria. There he composed the bulk of his works—including his controversial masterpieces, *Bezels of Wisdom (Fusus al-hikam)* and *Meccan Revelations (al-Futuhat al-makkiyya)*—and trained his foremost

disciple, Sadr al-Din al-Qunawi (1207–1274), who spread his ideas among the scholars of Anatolia, Egypt, and beyond. Ibn ʻArabi died and was buried in Damascus, where his tomb is still in evidence. Although he occasionally counseled rulers on religious matters, Ibn ʻArabi generally eschewed close contacts with secular authorities and amassed no fortune. His written legacy consists, in his own estimation, of some 250–300 works. Nowhere in this vast corpus of writings did Ibn ʻArabi provide a succinct and unequivocal account of his basic tenets. On the contrary, he was deliberately elusive in presenting his ideas and prone to offset them with numerous disclaimers. In conveying to the reader his personal mystical insights, Ibn ʻArabi made skillful use of "symbolic images that evoke emergent associations rather than fixed propositions." Although familiar with the syllogistic methods of reasoning of Muslim philosophers and theologians, he always emphasized that they fell short of capturing the dizzying dynamic of oneness/plurality that characterizes the relationship between God and his creation. To capture this subtle dynamic, Ibn ʻArabi availed himself of shocking antinomies and breathtaking paradoxes meant to awaken his readers to what he regarded as the real condition of the universe, namely, the underlying oneness and identity of all its elements. The intuitive, supersensory awareness of this oneness constituted for Ibn ʻArabi the essence of mystical gnosis *(maʻrifa),* which he restricted to the perfected Sufi "gnostics," or "saints." His mystical teachings strike us as a mishmash of seemingly disparate themes, images, and motifs borrowed from scriptural exegesis, love poetry, mythology, jurisprudence, and speculative theology. Ibn ʻArabi explored such controversial issues as the status of prophecy vis-à-vis sainthood (the latter, in his view, being more encompassing), the concept of the perfect man (identified as the supreme Sufi "gnostic" of the epoch), the parallelism between the human "microcosm" and its cosmic counterpart—the universe, the ever-changing self-manifestation of the Divine in the events and phenomena of the empirical universe, the different modes and realms of the divine will (namely, the existential as opposed to the normative), and the allegoric aspects of the Muslim scripture. He addressed these issues in ways that were "never really repeated or adequately imitated by any subsequent Islamic author." The goal of this deliberately devious and polyvalent discourse was to "carry the reader outside the work itself into the life and cosmos which it is attempting to interpret." His writings thus function "as a sort of spiritual mirror, reflecting and revealing the inner intentions, assumptions and predilections of each reader… with profound clarity." It is hardly surprising that each Islamic century produced new interpretations of Ibn ʻArabi's ideas and works, especially his controversial *Bezels of Wisdom,* resulting in an entire "industry" of commentaries aimed at bringing out and elucidating the true teaching of the "Greatest Master," as he came to be known among his numerous followers across the Muslim world. Given Ibn ʻArabi's deliberately elusive style it is very difficult to summarize his complex metaphysical ideas. Suffice it to say that he viewed the universe as a product of God's self-reflection that urged his unique and indivisible essence to reveal itself in the things and phenomena of the material universe as in a giant mirror. All divine perfections that are dispersed in the universe are brought together in the persona of the "perfect man" *(al-insan al-kamil)*, who thus serves as their epitome and allows God to contemplate himself in his full beauty and glory. This idea scandalized many medieval Muslim divines who accused Ibn ʻArabi of admitting the substantial identity of God and world—a concept that contravened the doctrine of divine transcendence, which was so central to mainstream Islamic theology. In Ibn ʻArabi's teaching, God's absolute otherworldliness and inscrutability is postulated, paradoxically, alongside the notion of his imminent and immediate presence in the empirical world. His identity/nonidentity with the latter is just a matter of perspective, which should reflect the constant changes in the fluid modes of divine existence. Ibn ʻArabi's complex synthesis of Sufi moral and ethical teaching, Neoplatonic metaphysics, gnosticism, and mainstream Sunni theology (Ashʻarism) and legal theory aptly capture the astounding diversity of post-classical Sufism. This diversity allowed it to effectively meet the intellectual and spiritual needs of a broad variety of potential constituencies—from a pious merchant or craftsman in the marketplace to a refined scholar at the ruler's court. Contrary to a commonly held assumption, his philosophical and metaphysical system was not a "foreign implant" grafted onto the pristine body of "traditional" Sufism. Rather, it was a natural development of certain tendencies inherent in Sufism from its very inception. With Ibn ʻArabi these tendencies evolved—probably under the influence of Ibn Sina and al-Ghazali—into a vision of God not just as the only agent but also the only essence possessing real and unconditional existence. This vision, which may loosely be defined as "monistic," was rebuffed by the great Hanbali scholar Ibn Taymiyya (1263–1328), who condemned its followers as heretical "unificationists" *(al-ittihadiyya)* bent on undermining divine transcendence and blurring the all-important borderline between God and his creatures. A fierce polemic between the champions of Ibn ʻArabi and his detractors ensued that has not quite abated down to the

present. It has divided Muslim intellectuals into two warring factions, one of which has declared Ibn ‘Arabi to be the greatest “saint” *(wali)* and divine “gnostic” *(‘arif)* of all time, while the other has condemned him as a dangerous heretic who undermined the very foundations of Islamic doctrine and communal life.

ALEXANDER KNYSH

See also Andalus; Ash‘aris; al-Ghazali; Gnosis; Ibn Sina; Ibn Taymiyya; Plato and Neoplatonism; Saints/Sainthood; Theology

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IBN ‘ASAKIR

Abu al-Qasim ‘Ali ibn al-Hasan ibn ‘Asakir is the most notable figure of the ‘Asakir family, whose members occupied prestigious positions as judges and scholars of the Shafi‘i school of Sunni law in Damascus for almost two centuries (AH 470–660/1077–1261 CE). Ibn ‘Asakir was born in 499/1105 and died in 571/1176. He started his pursuit of religious education at a very young age (six years old), accompanying his father and elder brother to the teaching circles of several renowned Damascene scholars. Between 520/1126 and 535/1141, Ibn ‘Asakir embarked on two ambitious educational journeys that took him to the most influential learning centers in the Islamic world, from Egypt and the Hijaz (Mecca and Medina) to Iran and Central Asia (Khurasan and Transoxiana); he wrote a three-volume work, *Mu‘jam al-shuyukh*, in which he mentioned some fourteen hundred teachers whom he met and studied with, including approximately eighty women. The enormous knowledge that he acquired, especially of *hadith*, law, and scriptural exegesis, earned him the title of *Hafiz* (great memorizer), and he became the most learned and renowned scholar of his day.

Shortly after Ibn ‘Asakir returned from his travels to settle in his hometown of Damascus, Nur al-Din occupied the city (549/1154). Nur al-Din’s political and religious ambition had two focuses: first, on the unification of Syria and Egypt under the banner of Sunni Islam and on putting an end to the Fatimid Shi’i dynasty; second, on mounting an effective military campaign against the Crusaders. Nur al-Din found in Ibn ‘Asakir the perfect scholar who could help him achieve his goals: an ardent defender of Sunni Islam, in particular the Ash‘ari branch. He ordered that a *madrasa* be built for Ibn ‘Asakir, known as *Dar al-Hadith* (School of Hadith). Also under Nur al-Din’s patronage, Ibn ‘Asakir composed several books, among them the largest work of history ever produced by a medieval Muslim scholar: *Ta’rikh madinat Dimashq (The History of Damascus and Its Environs),* which he started in 529/1134. The *History of Damascus* is primarily a biographical dictionary—now published in a partially complete edition in seventy five volumes plus indices—that celebrates the holiness of Syria, with Damascus as its center, by documenting the lives and achievements of the scholars who lived in it or passed by it. It is one of the treasures of medieval Islamic historiography, in that it preserves extensive excerpts from hundreds of now-lost works authored by historians and religious scholars before the time of Ibn ‘Asakir. The first two chapters of the *History of Damascus* focus on the sanctity of the city and its environs and list the sites and events that make it holy. Ibn ‘Asakir did not restrict his work to Muslim figures. He included biblical prophets and figures as well: Abraham, Sarah, Hagar, David, Jesus, Mary, and John the Baptist, to name a few. This is the only Muslim biographical dictionary that features substantial biographical notices for pre-Islamic figures.

In addition to the *History of Damascus*, Ibn ‘Asakir authored several other politically motivated works. With respect to theology, he authored two books in defense of the theologian al-Ash‘ari and his school *(see* Ash‘aris*)*, which was under attack by rival Sunni groups in Damascus, especially the Hanbalites (see Ibn Hanbal). The two works are *Manaqib ash‘ariyya (Ash‘arite Virtues)* and *Tabyin kadhib al-muftari ‘ala Abi al-Hasan al-Ash‘ari (Exposing the Slanderer’s Mendacity against Abu al-Hasan*

al-Ash'ari). Ibn 'Asakir also composed two other works on the virtue of *jihad*: *Arba'in fi al-ijtihad fi iqamat al-jihad*, which is a collection of forty *hadith*s attributed to the Prophet Muhammad, which emphasize the duty and obligation to wage *jihad*; and *Fadl 'Asqalan (The Merits of Ascalon),* which was written in reaction to the fall of Ascalon to the Crusaders in 548/1153 and as an appeal for the Muslims to recapture it. Ibn 'Asakir obviously used religion to serve the political agenda of his patron, Nur al-Din, and used politics to promote his religious conviction. Exalting the holiness of Syria (Damascus, Jerusalem, Ascalon) and urging the Muslims to wage *jihad* against the Crusaders are, therefore, to be seen as his contributions as a scholar to the success of Nur al-Din's campaign and, subsequently, to the triumph of Sunni Islam in Syria and Egypt.

Ibn 'Asakir's eldest son, al-Qasim (d. 600/1203), followed in his father's footsteps. He composed a continuation of the *History of Damascus* and authored a treatise on the merits of Jerusalem, titled *al-Jami' al-mustaqsa fi fada'il al-masjid al-aqsa (The Verified Compendium on the Merits of the Aqsa Mosque)*. The works of Ibn 'Asakir, especially the *History of Damascus*, inspired later Syrian scholars to follow his lead, like Ibn al-'Adim (d. 660/1262), who composed a biographical dictionary of the notables of Aleppo and its environs, and a chronological history of the city. They were also heavily used by scholars such as al-Dhahabi (d. 748/1348).

SULEIMAN A. MOURAD

See also Ash'aris; Ibn al-'Adim; Ibn Hanbal; Jihad; Madrasa; Nur al-Din

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IBN BABAWAYH, MUHAMMAD IBN 'ALI AL-QUMMI, AL-SHAYKH AL-SADUQ

Ibn Babawayh (d. AH 381/991–992 CE) was a Twelver Shi'i compiler of *Man la Yahdaruhu al-Faqih (He Who Has No Jurisprudence with Him),* which was later considered the second great collection of Twelver Shi'i *hadith*, after Kulayni's *al-Kafi*, and numerous other collections of the Imams' traditions. Ibn Babawayh collected many traditions from his father, a contemporary of al-Kulayni, but he also traveled throughout the region collecting traditions. His *'Uyun Akhbar al-Rida (Sources of the Traditions of al-Rida),* was the product of a sojourn to Khurasan in search of the traditions of the eighth Imam 'Ali al-Rida (d. 202/818).

ANDREW J. NEWMAN

See also al-Kulayni; al-Tusi, Muhammad ibn al-Hasan

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IBN BATTUTA

Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Lawātī, known as Ibn Battuta (1304–1368 or 1369 CE), was born in Tangier, Morocco. In 1325, at the age of twenty-one, Ibn Battuta embarked on his first journey to perform the Muslim pilgrimage *(Hajj)* in Arabia. This voyage would end up lasting almost twenty-four years (1325–1349) and would take him to lands on three continents: Africa, Asia, and Europe. He returned to his native Morocco in 1349 and within a year decided to cross the Strait of Gibraltar for a visit to Granada, Spain (1350). Three years later, he joined a caravan crossing the Sahara Desert and arrived in West Africa. By 1354, he settled in Morocco, where news of his travels reached the Marīnid ruler Abū 'Inān Fāris (r. 1348–1359), who entrusted Ibn Juzayy (d. ca. 1358), a native of Granada at his employ, with the composition of Ibn Battuta's account of his travels. The result was a work titled *Tuhfat al-Nuzzār fī Ghara'ib al-Amsār wa-'Ajā'ib al-Asfār*, commonly known as the *Rihla* (journey or travel narrative) of Ibn Battuta. Not much is known of Ibn Battuta's life after he settled down in his native Morocco, other than that he held a judgeship in "some town" and that he died around AH 720/1368–1369 CE. Ibn Battuta's account was received with skepticism and incredulity by his contemporaries, as stated by the Tunisian-born Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406).

Ibn Battuta traveled from Morocco, through North Africa, to the Middle East, Anatolia and Constantinople, the Indian subcontinent and Southwest Asia, several islands in South Asia, China, Transoxiana, and areas north of the Black Sea. After returning to Morocco he took two additional trips to Spain and West Africa. His longest continuous stay (almost nine years) was in India, where he was appointed a Malikite judge by the sultan of Delhi, Muhammad Tughluq Shāh (r. 1325–1351). In his travels, Ibn Battuta pursued the medieval Muslim learning tradition of joining

the lecture circles of several teachers and collecting certificates *(ijāzāt)* from them to serve as scholarly credentials or as qualifications for future employment, especially in the legal profession. He took advantage of the existence of the *Akhī* and *Futuwwa* networks in Anatolia and of the 'ūfī brotherhoods elsewhere to secure lodging and, at times, material help. In 1348, he witnessed the effects of the Black Death while in Aleppo, Syria.

The degree of reliability of Ibn Battuta's *Rihla* is open to argument. This travel narrative is the product of a joint effort: Ibn Battuta as the source of information and Ibn Juzayy as the ghostwriter. It has been long assumed that Ibn Battuta dictated the content from memory and that the inconsistencies, factual errors, and confusing chronology are due to the failings of his memory. This assumption originated with the first complete edition of the text, which emphasized, based on a misinterpretation of a passage, that the entire *Rihla* was dictated from memory. However, this view is now losing ground and recent studies tend to show, through internal evidence, the existence of written notes of unequal quality in Ibn Battuta's possession and that the *Rihla* is therefore the combination of his recollections, written notes, and occasional exaggeration, if not outright boasting, on the one hand, and the finishing touches of Ibn Juzayy on the other.

The first complete edition of the *Rihla* was made by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti and published with a French translation in four volumes between 1853 and 1858, under the auspices of the Société Asiatique. In 1866, the Hakluyt Society published Sir Henry Yule's abridged English translation of the section on Bengal and China. Between 1958 and 1971, the same Hakluyt Society published H. A. R. Gibb's English translation in three volumes. This English translation was completed by C. F. Beckingham (vol. 4, published in 1994) and followed by an index compiled by A. D. H. Bivar (vol. 5, published in 2000).

In 1953, Mahdi Husain published an English translation of the section on India, the Maldive Islands, and Sri Lanka. Finally, the part on West Africa, translated by Said Hamdun and Noël King, was published in 1994.

ADEL ALLOUCHE

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IBN EZRA, ABRAHAM (1089–1164 CE)

Ibn Ezra's life was divided among many areas: poet, grammarian, biblical commentator, philosopher, and physician. Born in Tudela, Spain, Ibn Ezra had two very different periods in his life. The first period began in Spain, from where he seems to have traveled through North Africa, seeking the company of scholars in the present-day lands of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia. He had a specifically close relationship with the scholar Judah Halevi, and legend even says that Ibn Ezra married Halevi's daughter. Although five of Ibn Ezra's sons are mentioned, only one of them is known, whereas the others may have died young.

The second period of Ibn Ezra's life was from 1140 until his death in 1164. Regarding that period, he stated that he had left Spain for Rome in restless wandering, supposedly "in a troubled spirit" because of the real, or alleged, conversion (ca. 1143) of his only surviving son, Issac, who had lived in Egypt and Baghdad. Most of his work was done in the latter part of his life, partly in Rome, where he wrote a poem that expressed his bitterness against the Jewish community there. He went on to Lucca and from there to Mantua. Then he left Italy for Provence, and later on traveled to northern France, where he

wrote a great deal. According to one writer, Ibn Ezra is said to have written no fewer than 108 books. From Spain to the north and east, Ibn Ezra introduced some very needed important works on Hebrew grammar, which most scholars there had never learned previously.

As a poet he wrote both secular and religious poems, introducing them to eastern and northern European scholars. He did so both in the Spanish poetic school, as well as in the Arabic of Jewish poets who therefore tried to write poems in the Spanish meter and imitate its school of structure, form, and style. As a commentator on the Bible, he also began this activity in Rome in 1140, but a number of his books there are not extant.

Although he did not create any new or original grammatical systems for newer generations, he was considered one of the fathers of Hebrew grammar, both because he collected the conclusions of the eastern philologists and those of Spain, and because he wrote in Hebrew, unlike earlier grammarians. Only two of Ibn Ezra's works on mathematics and astronomy are available; the latter was only discovered and published in the twentieth century. His philosophical areas were essentially Neoplatonic, strongly influenced by Solomon Ibn Gabirol, with views, for example, that like God, the intelligible world is eternal, while the terrestrial world was created in time from preexistent matter. The universe was in three "worlds": the "upper world" of intelligibility or angels; the "intermediate world" of the celestial spheres, and the "lower, sublunar world" that was created in time.

William M. Brinner

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IBN EZRA, MOSES BEN JACOB (CA. 1055 TO AFTER 1135 CE)

Moses Ibn Ezra (also known as Abu Harun), a Spanish Hebrew poet and philosopher born in Granada, appears to have held an honored position. Moses Ibn Ezra encouraged Judah Halevi in his early poetic efforts, supporting him and forming a lasting friendship. A very decisive change took place in his life in 1090, when the Almoravids captured Granada, its Jewish community was destroyed, and the members of the Ibn Ezra family were dispersed. For some reason he remained in Granada for a while, but only after much effort and suffering was he able to flee to Christian Spain in the North. He was, however, unable to return to his native city for which he yearned the rest of his life. His later years were full of misfortune and disappointments, wandering through Christian Spain and seeking the aid of patrons for whom he had to sing and write their praise. Unable to adapt himself to the manners of the northern Jewish population in its low cultural standards in Christian Spain, he could not adapt himself to all those ways and died far from his native city. Moses Ibn Ezra was one of the most prolific poets of the Spanish school, and the rhetoric of his poetry was seen for many years as a model of perfection that greatly appealed to many. Some modern writers have seen him as having an exaggerated desire for a beautiful poetic form, replete with ornamentation, restricting the flow of free poetic expression. However, many of his poems are perfect in every aspect, with their main themes belonging to love, wine, and nature, and served as a model for medieval poets.

One of his earliest works on Hebrew poetics is found in his treatise on rhetoric and poetry, one of the earliest works on Hebrew poetical literature. This eight-chapter work was written in his old age in an answer to questions on Hebrew poetry posed by a friend. It was published in more modern times: first in a small part of the Arabic original in 1895, then translated into Hebrew in 1924. This was a valuable historical source for Spanish Hebrew poetry and relates to the poet and his environment. Using many metaphors from the Bible, Moses Ibn Ezra showed an appreciation for literary charm and beauty but neglected Jewish writers until recently. Although some seemed perfect, his poetic images and linguistic patterns are so intricate that only other poets can unravel their complexity. Some themes deal with rural life, infidelity in friendship, old age, vicissitudes in luck, death, trust in God, and the beauty of poetry. In his old age, though bitter and dejected, his mood neither impeded his poetic sense nor undermined his joyful poetry. In his great corpus of poems, the *Selihot* (penitential prayers) are so impressive that he was called *Ha-Sallah* (the writer of prayers). Some of his sacred poetry shows signs of ideas, images, and idioms from his secular verse, directly influenced and interwoven with Arabic

literature. Many of his poems are scattered in the prayer books of different rites of Judaism.

William M. Brinner

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IBN GABIROL, SOLOMON

Solomon ben Judah ibn Gabirol (ca. 1021–1058 CE), known as Abu Ayyub Sulayman ibn Yahya ibn Jabirul in Arabic, was one of the most important Jewish literary and religious intellectuals of eleventh-century al-Andalus. Scant biographical details of Ibn Gabirol's life survive in brief reports from Ibn Sa'id al-Andalusi, a contemporary Muslim intellectual of Toledo, and from the late eleventh to twelfth century Andalusi Jewish scholar Moses ibn Ezra. Following the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate, Ibn Gabirol's family made its way from Málaga to Saragossa. There the young Solomon established himself in the social and intellectual circle of the Jewish courtier Abu Ishaq Yequti'el b. Isaac ibn Hasan. Yequti'el met an untimely death by execution in 1039, but Solomon also found patronage and developed a relationship, sometimes strained, with the leading Andalusi Jewish sociopolitical and intellectual figure of the period, Samuel ibn Naghrela (Samuel the Nagid) of Granada. Despite his associations with Andalusi Jewish notables Ibn Gabirol seems to have been reclusive and socially alienated and was certainly so preoccupied with the advanced study of philosophy that he expressed considerable disdain for mundane social concerns. According to the testimony of his poetry, Solomon suffered from a serious skin ailment. He died in Valencia in 1058.

Ibn Gabirol's literary production includes highly original devotional and social poetry he composed in Hebrew and philosophical works written in Arabic, some of which are no longer extant in the original. A treatise on ethics, *Islah al-akhlaq (Improvement of the Moral Qualities)*, includes citations from the Hebrew Bible, Greek philosophers, and Arabic poetry. An Arabic metaphysical work on cosmology, *The Source of Life*, survived only in Latin translation *(Fons Vitae)* and in a few Hebrew fragments. The Cairo Genizah also yielded fragments of a collection of Arabic aphorisms attributed to Ibn Gabirol. Entitled *Mukhtar al-jawahir (Choice of Pearls)*, the full compilation survived only in Hebrew translation. Ibn Gabirol's philosophical writings addressed the general rather than specifically Jewish concerns of a Neoplatonic intellectual during the classical age of Islam. In particular Ibn Gabirol seems to have been a reader of the classical encyclopedia *Rasa'il ikhwan al-safa (Epistles of the Brethren of Purity)* that arrived in al-Andalus from the Muslim East during the eleventh century. At the same time, the philosophical vocabulary and speculative orientation of his Arabic prose works inform the language and conceptual framework of Ibn Gabirol's idiosyncratic and enigmatic occasional Hebrew poetry that celebrates his quest for wisdom. An Arabo-Islamic literary and intellectual background is equally apparent in Ibn Gabirol's verse written specifically for recitation in the synagogue about the soul's craving to be restored to its sublime source. Studies of Ibn Gabirol's liturgical verse have also shown the Hebrew poet to be a devotee of contemporary Sufi poetry. A masterful synthesis of Ibn Gabirol's intellectual and literary creativity is the Hebrew philosophical poem *Keter malkhut (Kingdom's Crown)*.

Ross Brann

See also Samuel ibn Naghrela; Neoplatonic; Epistles of the Brethren of Purity

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IBN HAMDIS

Abd al-Jabbar Ibn Hamdıs, the most notable and prolific of Arab Sicilian poets, was born in Syracuse in 1055 CE to a noble family of the Azd tribe. He spent his childhood between the privileged life of landed gentry and the first rumblings of the Norman Conquest of Sicily. He chose self-imposed exile in 1078, seeking fame and fortune as a court poet and panegyrist.

His thirteen-year sojourn at the 'Abbasid Court in Seville (1078–1091) gave him the security of royal patronage and exposure to wider spheres of poetic experimentation that shaped his literary sensibilities and talents. His praise poems and celebratory odes to al-Mu'tamid on his victory at the Battle of al-Zallaqa in 1086 against Alfonse VI illustrate the perils of life in frontier areas ravaged by civil unrest and threats of the Christian Reconquest, as well as on the diction, themes, and motifs the poet chose to poeticize his life experiences.

The Almoravid invasion of Seville and the expulsion of his patron forced Ibn Hamdis to flee again, this time along the North African littoral where he settled in the province of Ifriqiyya. He spent the second half of his long life shuffling to and from the Zırid court at al-Mahdiyya (modern Tunisia), singing the praises of new patrons and lamenting the loss of his beloved homeland, themes that often collapse into a single poem.

Ibn Hamdis bequeathed to Arabic literature an anthology *(Diwan)* containing 370 poems, from two lines short to eighty lines long. The multiple genres of panegyric, elegy, love poem, devotional poem, wine song, description, and celebratory ode underscore his artistic versatility. The preponderance of the panegyric, from his earlier to his twilight years, calls attention to a career financially and professionally dependent on the political whims and winds of his time.

Ibn Hamdis's poetics is intricately connected to the neoclassicism of the later 'Abbasid period, one that revamped old forms to convey new meanings. His reworking of the stock phrases, imagery, themes, and motifs of the poetic canons, his conscious tampering with the early tripartite and later bipartite structure of the qasida, and his playful manipulation of the rhetorical devices of the new poetry *(al-badi')*, that is, of punning and antithesis, disclose influences by poets such as Abu Tammam and al-Mutannabi.

Ibn Hamdis is best known for his verses celebrating the life of and lamenting the loss of his beloved Sicily. Themes of nostalgia for the homeland, lost youth, the vicissitudes of time, and Islam's struggle against the infidel enemy coalesce around imagery of a paradise lost.

> I remember Sicily as agony stirs in my soul memories of her.
> An abode for the pleasures of my youth, now vacant, once inhabited by the noblest of people.
> I have been banished from Paradise and I long to tell you her story.
> Were it not for the saltiness of my tears, I would imagine them to be her rivers.
> I laughed at twenty years old out of youthful passion. Now I cry at sixty for her crimes.

William Granara

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IBN HANBAL

Ibn Hanbal, Abu 'Abd Allah Ahmad ibn Muhammad, a hadith collector, critic, jurisprudent, and dogmatist, was born in Baghdad circa 780 and died in Baghdad in 855.

Ibn Hanbal's father, who died when Ibn Hanbal was three years old, was a military officer in Khurasan. An uncle apparently oversaw Ibn Hanbal's early education in Baghdad. At age fifteen, he chose not to become a bureaucrat but rather devoted himself to hadith. He first studied in Baghdad, then traveled to Kufa, Basra, Mecca, Yemen, and Syria. He finally settled down in Baghdad again after 820. His first and second wives each bore one son and predeceased Ibn Hanbal. A concubine then bore him one daughter and four sons. They all lived together in a large house, supported mainly by urban rents.

Ibn Hanbal famously suffered in the Inquisition that the caliph al-Ma'mun instituted in 833, requiring men of religion to testify that the Qur'an was created. The caliph's point seems to have been that he was the arbiter of Islamic orthodoxy. Ibn Hanbal was one of the few to refuse the orders. He was imprisoned, then tried probably two years later before al-Ma'mun's successor, al-Mu'tasim (r. 833–842). He was finally flogged and released. Mu'tazili sources assert that he first testified as bidden, but Hanbali sources state that he lost consciousness (and so could not have been responsible for anything he said).

At the accession of al-Wathiq (r. 842–847), Ibn Hanbal briefly emerged from his house to teach hadith again. He was threatened by the caliph's agents and stayed out of sight until the accession of al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–861), who dismantled the Inquisition over the next five years. Near the end of this period, al-Mutawakkil summoned Ibn Hanbal to Samarra to teach; however, he was unhappy to have anything to do with the ruler, refused to eat, and was finally sent home. There ensued many bitter quarrels with his oldest sons, who were willing to accept the caliph's gifts in spite of their father's objections.

Ibn Hanbal's greatest literary monument is by far *Musnad,* a collection of almost twenty-eight thousand hadith reports (about 80% repeats with variant chains

of transmitters; compare the *Sahih* of Bukhari with 7400 hadith reports, about 60% repeats). He generally evaluated hadith reports by comparing variant chains of transmitters. If someone's transmissions were too often uncorroborated by parallels from contemporaries, Ibn Hanbal considered the transmitter unreliable.

Various followers transmitted Ibn Hanbal's legal opinions. He strongly preferred to infer rules from hadith, from the Prophet if possible and from Companions if necessary. Confronted with two contradictory hadith reports, he tested their chains of transmitters to see which was more reliable. If they seemed equally good, he would simply state the alternatives without presuming to impose his own opinion.

Also extant are several collections of his comments on hadith transmitters and two sayings he transmitted concerning the pious life, mainly by early renunciants. In theology he rejected almost all speculation that went beyond what was expressly stated in the Qur'an and hadith. He recognized 'Ali as the legitimate fourth caliph but staunchly rejected Shi'i assertions that some of the Companions had been unrighteous.

Christopher Melchert

See also Hadith; al-Ma'mun

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IBN ISHAQ

The traditionalist and historiographer Muhammad b. Ishaq b. Yasar is one of the main authorities in the biography of the Prophet. He was born in Medina ca. AH 85/704 CE, and died in Baghdad in ca. 150/767. Like other authors of this genre, he sprang from a family of manumitted slaves *(mawali)*. His grandfather, probably a Christian Arab, was, at the taking of 'Ayn Tamr in Iraq in 12/633, sent with other prisoners to Medina. Ibn Ishaq collected most of his material in Medina and Egypt. He was accused of having Shi'i tendencies and of being a Qadarite (that is, professing free will and not absolute predestination).

The great work of Ibn Ishaq on the life of Muhammad, related historical, pseudohistorical, and legendary topics, pertains to the historical and hagiographical genre *(historia sacra*, or salvation history*)*. It bears the title *The Book of the Military Campaigns [of the Prophet] (Kitab al-Maghazi)*. The most known recension of this work is the rescript/abridgment *(tahdhib)* of ['Abd al-Malik] Ibn Hisham (d. ca. 218/833), known as *The Life of the Prophet* (al-Sira al-nabawiyya), who wrote it on the basis of the transmission of one of Ibn Ishaq's immediate students, al-Bakka'i (d. 183/799). Ibn Hisham undertook omissions in order to reduce the volume of the work. Therefore, he left out the biblical history from Adam to Abraham, and also named of the progeny of Ismael only those who are supposed to have been direct ancestors of Muhammad. Further on, "he has left out some tales recorded by Ibn Ishaq in which the Prophet is not mentioned, to which there are no allusions in the Qur'an." He made in it sundry emendations and additions of manifold and genealogical and lexical import. He has also discarded "such poems as were known to no connoisseur of poetry questioned by him; besides allegations whereof the mention was malicious, or likely to be disagreable to certain people" (Foreword of Ibn Hisham, according to Horovitz).

Ibn Ishaq's work was originally divided into three main sections:

1. The beginning *(al-Mubtada')*: a pre-Islamic history of Revelation. It was divided into four parts:
   a. The pre-Islamic Revelation from the creation of the world till Jesus
   b. The history of Yemen in pre-Islamic times
   c. Arabian tribes and their idol worship
   d. The immediate ancestors of Muhammad and the Meccan cult
2. The sending *(al-Mab'ath)*: the youth of Muhammad and his activity in Mecca.
3. The military campaigns: the Medinan period.

It has been often said that the "complete book" of Ibn Ishaq is no more extant. The problem is that he never wrote or published such a "complete" book, as it has been shown by the Iraqi scholar Sadun Mahmud Al-Samuk for whom: "There never existed a unified text for the traditions of Ibn Ishaq to which the transmitters and later authors could have referred," because Ibn Ishaq has delivered them, often orally, at different times and occasions. It is for this reason that we find different traditions according to the transmitters. Besides al-Bakka'i's recension used by Ibn Hisham, there was that of Salama b. al-Fadl al-Razi (d. 191/806) to which Tabari (d. 3010/923)

had access both in his *Annals* and his Qur'anic commentary, and that of Yunus b. Bukayr (d. 199/815), and so on.

As for the sources of Ibn Ishaq, his weightiest teacher was the traditionalist and jurist Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri (d. 124/742), who is credited with a book on the Campaigns of the Prophet. He also received information from several adherents of the house of al-Zubayr. Of course, he quotes the Qur'an, Islamic connoisseurs of Hadith, Qur'anic exegesis, and poetry and poets. He turns also to non-Islamic learned men concerning Jewish, Christian, and Parsi traditions, a thing for which he has been criticized. Apart from Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 110/728 or 114/732), he appears to be the oldest Arabic author who gives passages of the Old and New Testament in literal translation, sometimes in the so-called Palestinian–Christian translation.

Claude Gilliot

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IBN JUBAYR, ABU'L-HUSAYN MUHAMMAD B. AHMAD

Ibn Jubayr was an Andalusian traveler, author, and *muhaddith* (recounter of Prophetic tradition). He was born in Balansiya (Valencia) in AH 540/1145 CE, in the last days of Almoravid rule in Sharq al-Andalus (eastern Andalusia), into an Arab family that had settled in Spain soon after the Muslim conquest. He was educated in the religious sciences and *adab* (belles-lettres) at Shatiba (modern Xàtiva south of Valencia), where his father worked as an official during the unsettled period between Almoravid and Almohad rule. Ibn Jubayr himself was a *katib* (chancery secretary) in Sabta (modern Ceuta on the northern Morocco coast) and Granada for 'Uthman Abu Sa'id, brother of the second Almohad ruler, Abu Ya'qub Yusuf I, and governor of Granada.

In AH Shawwal 578/February 1183 CE Ibn Jubayr left Granada on the first of three journeys that he was to make in the course of his life. It is the only one that he wrote about, or at least the only one of which the account survives. He first went to Egypt, traveling by sea from Ceuta via Sardinia, Sicily, and Crete. After landing at Alexandria, he went south to Cairo, and thence, after crossing the Red Sea, to Jedda. He stayed in Mecca for nine months, and performed the *hajj* (pilgrimage). He then made the desert crossing to Kufa in western Iraq. From there he went north to Baghdad and Mosul, and crossed the Jazira (northern Mesopotamia) to Aleppo in Syria. He next turned south to Damascus, from where he made for Acre on the coast of Palestine. He returned to Spain by sea via Sicily, arriving in Granada in AH Muharram 581/April 1185 CE.

Ibn Jubayr is supposed to have made the pilgrimage to Mecca to expiate the sin of drinking wine. This, perhaps, accounts for the emphasis on the rigors of travel in the account of his first journey, titled *Rihla (Journey)*. At the same time, Ibn Jubayr gives a vivid picture of the eastern Mediterranean and beyond in the late twelfth century. His book is an abundant source of information about religious practices, social customs, commercial life, modes of travel by land and sea, and the principal monuments of the towns and cities that he visited. From Ibn Jubayr we learn, for example, about the formalities to which arrivals by sea at Alexandria were subjected and about the details of the pilgrimage to Mecca. His description of Damascus, meanwhile, is the fullest contemporary account that we have of the medieval city. He also offers a firsthand (Muslim) view of Frankish Palestine: among the places in Frankish hands when Ibn Jubayr visited them were Acre and Tyre.

Encouraged by the news of Saladin's capture of Jerusalem in AH 583/1187 CE, Ibn Jubayr set out on his second journey to the east in AH 585/1189 CE, returning to Granada two years later. He lived successively there and at Malaga, Ceuta, and Fez, devoting himself to the study of *hadith* (prophetic tradition) and *tasawwuf* (Sufism). After the death of his wife in AH 614/1217 CE, he left Spain on his third journey to the east, dying at Alexandria in the same year.

David Morray

See also Andalus; Autobiographical Writings; Hajj; Muslim–Crusader Relations; Travel

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IBN KHALDUN

The jurist and historian Abu Zayd 'Abd al-Rahman Wali al-Din al-Hadrami, known as Ibn Khaldun, was born in 1332 in Tunis. He is best known as the author of *Muqaddima (Introduction)*, the first part of his universal history titled *Kitab al-'Ibar*. This introduction serves as prolegomena to the study of history, in which Ibn Khaldun developed the concepts he felt were necessary to comprehend human civilization. While his universal history is generally considered not to have met the standards detailed in the introduction, his work *Muqaddima* is commonly regarded as one of the most significant works of medieval Muslim civilization.

Ibn Khaldun was concerned with the history of civilization *('umran)* in all its complexity, and *Muqaddima* outlines the importance of social, economic, and natural factors, as well as political and religious factors. (Ibn Khaldun is thus labeled by some modern scholars as a founder of "scientific history," as well as of sociology.) A major theme of *Muqaddima* is the rise and fall of states, or dynasties (he used the word *dawla* for both). States, as explained by Ibn Khaldun, rose and fell in a cycle similar to human life: birth, maturity, decline, and death. Central to Ibn Khaldun's discussion of the life cycles of states was the concept of *'asabiyya*, variously translated as solidarity, group feeling, or group consciousness. A group with strong *'asabiyya* (established through means such as blood relation, religious solidarity, or other means) would be able to achieve supremacy over other groups and establish a state. However, once predominance was achieved, *'asabiyya* would eventually fade, leading to the overthrow of that *dawla* and the establishment of a new one.

It is likely that Ibn Khaldun's views were shaped in part by the events he witnessed in his own life. Born in **Hafsid** Tunis, his early career as scholar and public official involved him in the politics and struggles between the Hafsids of Tunis, the **Marinids** of Fez, and the Nasrids of Granada. He left public life for a four-year sojourn in Tunis (1378–1382), which he devoted to scholarship. (Details of his career are known primarily through his autobiography, *Ta'rif bi-Ibn Khaldun.*) It was in this period that he completed his first versions of both the *Muqaddima* and the *'Ibar*, although he continued to revise these texts for the remainder of his life. In 1382, he moved to Cairo, the capital of the **Mamluk** Sultanate, where he had a second career in education and as the occasional state official. He was an acquaintance of the Mamluk sultan Barquq (r. 1382–1389 and 1390–1399). While in the service of Barquq's son Faraj (r. 1399–1412 with a brief interregnum), Ibn Khaldun traveled to Damascus as part of an expedition to counter the invasion of **Tamerlane (Timur)**. Ibn Khaldun met with Timur after the latter had taken Damascus, and subsequently wrote a detailed account of his interview, which is preserved in the *Ta'rif*. Ibn Khaldun returned to Cairo where he died in 1406, shortly after his sixth appointment as chief Maliki *qadi*.

WARREN C. SCHULTZ

See also Mamluks

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The scholarship devoted to Ibn Khaldun is abundant. A search of his name in the Mamluk online bibliography (*www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/su/mideast/mamluk/*) maintained by the University of Chicago's Middle East Documentation Center, for example, yields almost six hundred titles. Useful starting points include the following:

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IBN KHURRADADHBIH

Abu 'l-Qasim Ubaydallah ibn Abdallah is the author of, among other works, the influential geographical treatise *Kitab al-masālik wa-l-mamālik (The Book of Routes and Kingdoms)*. Little is known of his life, and even the most basic biographical details have eluded scholars. He has been referred to as Ubaydallah or Abdallah, ibn Abdallah or Ahmad, and Ibn Khurradadhbih or Khurdad(h)bih—a

name of uncertain meaning, presumably of Persian, Zoroastrian origin. The son of a former governor of Tabaristan, Ibn Khurradadhbih was born either in 820 or 825 CE in Khurasan and grew up in Baghdad, where he received a thorough education in a wide range of subjects. He served as chief of the *Barid* postal service in the Jibal region and, according to some authors, subsequently in Samarra and Baghdad. Importantly, Ibn Khurradadhbih also served as a *nadim* (boon-companion) and close confidante of the caliph al-Mu'tamid (r. 870–82 CE). Hence, the bibliographer Ibn al-Nadim includes him in his chapter on boon-companions and courtiers, rather than in the chapter on state secretaries and administrators (where such "geographers" as Qudama ibn Ja'far, Abu Zayd al-Balkhi, and al-Jayhani are featured). Ibn Khurradadhbih died in 912 CE.

The breadth of his interests and knowledge is reflected in the nine works attributed to him. These include expositions on the etiquette of listening to music, Persian genealogy, cooking, drinking, astral patterns, boon-companions, world history, music and musical instruments, and descriptive geography. Only the latter two have been published; the former *(Kitab al-lahw wa-l-malahi)* is a slim volume on the history of musical instruments, especially in the pre-Islamic period; the latter will be the focus of what follows.

Ibn Khurradadhbih is known primarily for his work *Book of Routes and Kingdoms*, composed in its original version during the reign of the caliph al-Wathiq (r. 842–847 CE) and continuously revised until the reign of al-Mu'tamid. The work is among the earliest extant books on descriptive geography composed in Arabic; a man named Ja'far ibn Ahmad al-Marwazi (d. 888 CE) is said to have embarked on a similarly titled work at an earlier date, but his work remained incomplete at the time of his death. Having few, if any, prototypes with which to work, Ibn Khurradadhbih drew heavily on foreign sources in his description of the world. Claudius Ptolemy (d. 170 CE) is named as an influence both by modern scholars and by the author himself, and there is internal textual evidence that Greek geographical notions shaped Ibn Khurradadhbih's understanding of the universe. However, Ptolemy's mathematical approach manifests itself more obviously in the Arabic works of, for example, Musa ibn Ahmad al-Khwarizmi (d. 847 CE) than it does in *Book of Routes and Kingdoms*. Furthermore, the frequent use of Persian administrative terms, the attention given to pre-Islamic Iranian history, and the division of the world according to Iranian cosmological divisions point to the existence of Iranian sources at the core of the work.

Aside from the pioneering nature of Ibn Khurradadhbih's project, the book is of unique importance for a number of reasons. First, the work contains exhaustive itineraries of the caliphal road system, as well as descriptions of the routes, both overland and maritime, to foreign lands. Such information was of practical use for couriers, armies, pilgrims, merchants, and other geographical writers, some who openly admit to having taken a copy of the work on their travels. Second, the author includes detailed information on the revenue yielded by the various tax regions of the caliphate, information that has been invaluable to historians of the social and economic conditions of the period. Third, the work treats non-Muslim lands in great detail, providing descriptions of China, Byzantium, and the Indian Ocean region atypical of comparable Arabic works that were often limited to the lands of Islam or those aspects of non-Muslim countries that were of direct relevance to rulers and administrators at the time. Finally, Ibn Khurradadhbih provides miscellaneous data for which he is the only—or at least the original—source, including, most famously, passages on an official expedition to the fabled wall of Gog and Magog, and the activities of the Rus merchants and the Radhanite Jews. The passage on the Rus has played a pivotal role in the Normanist debate, while that on the Radhanites has provoked controversy and extensive commentary.

Ibn Khurradadhbih's *Book of Routes and Kingdoms* had a perceptible influence on later writers; some quote the author directly, whereas others preferred to pass off entire passages as their own work. The genre of "Routes and Kingdoms" matured in subsequent centuries, but the content of these later works was often Islamo-centric and laconic on details of the non-Muslim world.

Adam Silverstein

See also Human Geography; Mathematical Geography; Merchants, Jewish; Road Networks

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IBN NAGHRELA, SAMUEL

Samuel ibn Naghrela (993–1056), known in Andalusi–Arabic historiography as Isma'il ibn Naghrila and in Jewish history as Samuel the Nagid, was a rabbinic scholar, Hebrew poet and grammarian, and a Jewish communal leader in eleventh-century Muslim Granada. He assumed the role of the unofficial head (*Nagid* or prince) of the Jews of Granada around 1027. Thereafter, Ibn Naghrela cultivated extensive contacts with the leaders of various Jewish communities under Islam as far as the Muslim East, and he became a patron of other Jewish literary and religious intellectuals and the communal institutions supporting their activities. Because he was also an ambitious and opportunistic Arabic court secretary who rose through the ranks of the state bureaucracy to prominence as vizier in the service of the Zirid Berbers of Granada, Ibn Naghrela arguably came to be the most eminent Jew in Andalusi social and political history. Reliance on non-Muslim administrators such as Ibn Naghrela was not uncommon throughout the lands of classical Islam, but it seems to have been especially pronounced during this period in Andalusi political history. Indeed, Samuel was succeeded by his son Joseph in the office of vizier, as well as in his role as Nagid of the Jews of Granada.

Ibn Naghrela's position in the affairs of the Muslim state as the highest fiscal and administrative official of Granada, from 1038 until his death in 1056, is discussed in important Andalusi sources such as Ibn Hayyan al-Qurtubi, as preserved in Ibn al-Khatib's history of Granada and in *The Tibyan*, a political memoir by 'Abd Allah b. Buluggin, the last Zirid king to rule Granada. The famous and unconventional Muslim polymath Ibn Hazm also reports having come into contact with Samuel when they were young men and engaging him in polemical debate on matters of religion. Both Arabic and Jewish sources credit Ibn Naghrela's rise to position and influence to his legendary mastery of Arabic language and learning, and it is on account of this accomplishment that the figure of Ibn Naghrela became typological among Jews and Muslims. According to his Hebrew poetry, Samuel served Granada in some unspecified military capacity, although recent research raises serious questions about the nature and even likelihood of such service.

Ibn Naghrela was probably the most significant Jewish cultural mediator of eleventh-century al-Andalus, in part because his social and political status among Andalusi Jews and Muslims conferred legitimacy on his production of and support for Judeo-Arabic culture and its fusion of Jewish and Arabo-Islamic elements. His many intellectual endeavors included two works that survive only in fragments: an Arabic treatise on biblical Hebrew grammar, and an Aramaic rabbinical compendium on Jewish law. However, in terms of literary production Ibn Naghrela is remembered principally for his three collections of Arabic-style Hebrew poetry that were edited by his sons. The first highly accomplished poet of the "Golden Age" of Jewish culture in al-Andalus, Ibn Naghrela established the new style of Hebrew verse by drawing fully and creatively upon the prosodic forms, genre conventions, and rhetorical style of Arabic poetry, applying them to biblical Hebrew with all of its important textual associations and allusions. A twelfth-century Hebrew historiography acknowledged Ibn Naghrela's unique position in the history of Hebrew poetry in al-Andalus, by noting that during the two generations before him "the bards began to twitter, and in the days of R. Samuel the Nagid they burst into song."

Ibn Naghrela's distinctive style and range opened Hebrew verse to all of the major genres prominent in Arabic poetry: love lyrics and wine songs, many of which are exercises on a theme, panegyric in the form of epistolary poems of friendship, laments, boasts, satire and invective, gnomic poetry, reflective verse on the vicissitudes of life and human mortality, and "war poems" devoted to Samuel's involvement in the affairs of state. In particular, Ibn Naghrela stands out as a poet for the ways in which he used many of these genres to reflect poetically on his experiences, aspirations and concerns, his achievements and frustrations, and to publicize his claims to unique status and authority among the Jews and to display his grandiose sense of destiny.

Ross Brann

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IBN QĀḌĪ SHUHBA

Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar (d. 851/1448) is, for modern historians, the most prominent member of the Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba family. This family, known for its religious scholars, resided in Mamluk Damascus. The name derives from an ancestor who had been a qāḍī in the village of Shuhba in the Ḥawran district of southern Syria. Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad, most widely known by the appellation Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, was a noted jurist (he was chief Qadi of Damascus for most of AH 842–844/1438–1440 CE) and author. Of his works, he is best known today for his biographical dictionary, *al-Tabaqāt al-shāfiʿiyya*, and a work of history, *Taʾrīkh ibn qāḍī shuhba*. The published edition of this work covers the years 741–800/1340–1397, although a manuscript (Chester Beatty 5527) subsequently found extends to 810/1407. The work is an important source for the decades following the death of the Mamluk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (whose third reign ended with his death in 741/1340), years marked by intense struggle for political power within the sultanate and by the appearance of bubonic plague in Mamluk lands, to name just two significant developments.

The historical work *Taʾrīkh ibn qāḍī shuhba* is considered as part of the so-called Syrian School of Mamluk historiography. This loose designation refers to the tendency of Mamluk-era Syrian historians to place more emphasis on the biographies of the ulama than the more court-centered histories of the "Egyptian School." Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba's work is also part of the *dhayl* (continuation) genre of medieval Muslim historiography, in which the historian envisioned the work as continuing (and frequently modifying) a history written by an earlier author. In this case, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba built upon a historical work by Ibn Hijjī (d. 816/1413), one of his teachers. While he maintained Ibn Hijjī's annalistic structure of yearly coverage, with each year divided into months, and a list of biographies (in alphabetical order) attached at the end of each year, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba extensively reworked Ibn Hijjī's text with additional material, and subsequently abridged his version at least twice.

Warren C. Schultz

See also History, Mamluks

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IBN QAYYIM AL-JAWZIYYA, SHAMS AL-SHAMS AL-DĪN ABŪ BAKR MUHAMMAD IBN ABĪ BAKR AL-ZAR'Ī (AH 691–751/1292–1350 CE)

A prolific writer and a much-appreciated Hanbali scholar, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya is mostly known as the devoted disciple and exegete of the salient Hanbali theologian and jurist, Ibn Taymiyya. His nickname, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, which may be rendered approximately as "the son of the superintendent of *al-Jawziyya,*" indicates his father's occupation and social status. *Al-Jawziyya* was a *madrasa* (religious school) and court in Damascus.

Biographical details on Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya can be found in the works of Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) and Ibn Rajab (d. 795/1397), two prominent scholars who were also his closest students. However, their description of their teacher, although favorable and admiring, is scanty. It seems that ever since Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya first met Ibn Taymiyya, at the age of twenty-one, until the latter's death in the year AH 728/1328 CE, their lives were interwoven. The major events of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's life are connected to the turbulent religious polemics that Ibn Taymiyya conducted with his rivals. The rationale of these polemics lies in Ibn Taymiyya's overall view, which demands an utterly devout adherence to the precepts and exact wording of the Qur'an and *hadith* (the traditions related to the Prophet and his Companions), as well as to the *ijmāʾ* (consensus) and the teachings of the *salaf* (ancestors, that is, the followers of the Prophet in the first two centuries of Islam), along with a laborious effort to integrate them with some of the doctrines of *kalām* (speculative theology). However, Ibn Taymiyya was most hostile to the methods, theses, and convictions of the traditionalist Ash'ari *kalām*, widely implemented by most of the religious senior officials of the Mamlūk state. By publicly demonstrating the ignorance of his opponents in the content of religious literature, Ibn Taymiyya gained a lot of enemies within the highest ranks of

the religious traditionalist establishment of Damascus and Cairo. He also condemned the extreme form of Sufism, embodied in the *Ittihadiyya*, namely the followers of the Sūfī Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 637/1240).

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, who shared his master's extreme views, although not his zealous style, also shared his fate of persecutions. In the year 726/1326, he was imprisoned in the citadel of Damascus with Ibn Taymiyya, after the latter was accused by his rivals of holding anthropomorphist views.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya was arrested at least twice after his master's death for defending Ibn Taymiyya's teachings and *fatāwā* (formal legal opinions given by a muftī) and refusing to recognize *al-Khalīl* (Hebron) as a site for Muslim pilgrimage.

During his imprisonments Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya deepened his interest in the mystic theories and practices of Sufism. While Ibn Taymiyya tended toward a moderate form of Sufism as a part of his efforts to combine all doctrines of Islam into one, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya was extensively preoccupied with Sufism. He also wrote one of the most important commentaries to al-Ansārī al-Harawī's (d. 482/1089) Sufi manual, *Manāzil al-sā'irīn (The Stations of the Travelers).* His commentary, titled *Madārij al-sālikīn (The Roads of the Travelers)* combines not only Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's own mystic concepts but also a meticulous theological analysis. Nevertheless, following his master's footsteps, in this work Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya does not hesitate to attack several aspects of al-Ansārī's Sufi doctrine, which seem to him extreme and even wrong.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya wrote works in almost every branch of the Islamic sciences. In the field of theology his works are an elaborated arrangement of his master's work. For example, an extensive part of his theological treatise, *Shifā' al-'alīl fi masā'il al-qadā' wa-l-qadar wa-l-hikma wa-l-ta'līl (Healing the Person with Wrong Concepts about Predetermination and Causality),* cites freely from Ibn Taymiyya's fatwas and epistles, although it is clear that he has succeeded in developing an original thought. In most cases, he uses Ibn Taymiyya's assertions and ideas as a platform to introduce his own ideas, even though they are hard to trace between the heavily ornamented phrases he inserts, which are the trademark of his eloquent writing.

In the field of jurisprudence, his *Ahkām ahl al-dhimma*, which deals with laws regarding Jewish, Christian, and Sabaean subjects of the Muslim state, is a frequently cited work. His interest in medicine is reflected in *al-ibb al-nabawī,* which deals with remedies for mental and physical illnesses mentioned in *hadith* literature.

LIVNAT HOLTZMAN

See also Ash'aris; Ibn 'Arabi; Ibn Hanbal; Ibn Taymiyya; Mu'tazilites; Sufism and Sufis

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IBN QUTAYBA

Ibn Qutayba (828–889 CE) wrote books in a wide range of fields but was prized by later generations primarily as a scholar of language and literature. Ibn Qutayba pursued a lifelong scholarly interest in Arabic language and literature, an interest that grew out

of and remained closely tied to his early study of religious texts, above all the Qur'an and Hadith.

The close connection between language study and the study of religious texts emerges very clearly in Ibn Qutayba's early writings, which concern problems in the language of the Qur'an and Hadith. It was a book that he wrote around the year 851, however, that secured him 'Abbasid court patronage in the form of a judgeship, a posting that took him from his native Iraq to Iran. That book, the *Adab al-katib (The Chancery Secretary's Handbook)*, furnishes 'Abbasid chancery secretaries, or those who aspired to be secretaries, with a broad range of information about correct Arabic usage, including general matters of style and vocabulary, technical terms in official correspondence, penmanship and orthography, appropriate diction in official correspondence, and the semantic implications of Arabic morphology. The *Adab al-katib* also likely sought to redirect the cultural interests of Persophile bureaucrats back to the intricacies of Arabic as a worthy vehicle of cultural sophistication and appropriate idiom of imperial splendor. The work came to be considered fundamental for the study of Arabic literature *(adab)* by later writers, such as Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406).

The *Adab al-katib* also marked an intellectual turning point in Ibn Qutayba's writings, which thereafter take up a broader range of topics, including traditional Arab astronomy and other pre-Islamic Arab customs, dream interpretation, history, and literary anthologies. One such anthology is the *Kitab al-shi'r wa-l-shu'ara' (The Book of Poetry and Poets),* which collects Arabic poetry up through the early ninth century and also contains an important contribution to Arabic poetics, in its introduction. Another is the *'Uyun al-akhbar (The Jewel-like Anecdotes)*, which collects prose anecdotes, stories, and other literary excerpts under topic headings that range from politics to asceticism to food.

A final group of writings, composed after Ibn Qutayba's retirement from the judiciary (ca. 870), directly addresses matters of theological dogma. In these works, and consistent with his earliest writings on the language of religious texts, Ibn Qutayba declares himself against speculative theology *(kalam),* analogical reasoning *(qiyas),* and the doctrine of the createdness of the Qur'an.

Later writings of Ibn Qutayba never achieved the stature of his works on language, literature, and culture. Perhaps his discussion of theological matters was not sufficiently nuanced or rigorous for those preoccupied exclusively with such questions. On the other hand, in these and in his other works, Ibn Qutayba made a variety of topics accessible to a newly emerging class of private readers, a trait that has led some to refer to him as a popularizer. For all that he insisted on grounding the high culture of his time in the Arabic and Arabian heritages, Ibn Qutayba's wide-ranging interests and inclusive view of literature inaugurate the characteristic universalism and humanism of classical Islamic civilization.

Joseph E. Lowry

See also Archives and Chanceries; Education; Grammar and Grammarians; Historical Writing; Intellectual History; Judges; Scholars; Scriptural Exegesis, Islamic; Stories and Storytelling; Theologians

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IBN QUZMAN, ABU BAKR IBN 'ABD AL-MALIK

Despite the fact, or perhaps because he defied the norms of classical Arabic poetry, Ibn Quzman has come to embody the essence of Hispano-Arabic poetry. Indeed, he has become for modern scholarship the best-known literary figure from the entire 780-year Arabo-Muslim presence on the Iberian Peninsula (modern Spain and Portugal). Ibn Quzman, whose full name was Abu Bakr ibn 'Abd al-Malik, was born in the Andalusian city of Cordoba in AH 470–472/1078–1080 CE, where he also died in 555/1160.

Little of Ibn Quzman's biography has been documented. However, as is the case with many premodern literary figures, much biographical information, reliable or unreliable, has been extrapolated from Ibn Guzman's poetry.

Before Ibn Quzman's time, the traditional means of livelihood for professional poets in both the East and West was the composition of panegyrics in praise of contemporary rulers. On the Iberian Peninsula this situation changed abruptly with the arrival of the Almoravids, led by Yusuf bin Tashfin (489/1096). The Almoravids' conquest and occupation of territories previously held by the fragmented "factional kings" *(muluk al-tawa'if)* led to the displacement of professional court poets employed by the Almoravids' predecessors. Because the Berber-speaking Almoravids had little appreciation for the encomia composed in classical Arabic, poets were compelled to earn a living by composing praise poetry for the lesser aristocracy, or to redirect their efforts into nonpanegyric forms of poetry. Although Ibn Quzman was not the first to compose *zajals* (Ibn Bajja [d. 533/1138] was the most probable originator), he is considered the genre's foremost practitioner. In the context of a volatile social and cultural environment, Ibn Quzman interjected and popularized the *zajal*, a genre of poetry very different from the classical praise poetry that preceded it.

Ibn Quzman's *zajals* represent a radical departure from the seriousness of the classical panegyric that had been the standard poetic form in both the East and West of the Arabic-speaking world. Instead of the formalized, ritualized praise of rulers common in the encomia, Ibn Quzman's *zajals* constitute a highly ironic countergenre to established norms. Ibn Guzman's *zajal* substitutes the bombastic, florid praise of the panegyric with parodic, tongue-in-cheek, faint praise of individuals who in earlier times never would have been the object of serious poetry. This emphasis on the popular, lower strata of society is also apparent in Ibn Quzman's depiction of popular events, such as carnivals, jugglers' entertainment, marketplaces, and foods. Transgressive elements, such as drunkenness, seduction, fornication, adultery, divorce, and slapstick violence are prominent features of his *zajals*.

The *zajal*, as practiced by Ibn Quzman, not only dealt with subject matter alien to classical poetry, but also, the *zajal's* form and language differed significantly from those found in the classical variety. In its structure the *zajal* resembles its counterpart, the classical *muwashshaha*, a form consisting of five to seven strophes with a complicated rhyme scheme. However, the *zajal* differs from the *muwashshaha* in the use of an introductory strophe rather than a concluding envoi. The most striking feature of the *zajal* is its language. In contrast to the highly formal diction of all classical poetry, the *zajal* subverts the classical norm by introducing often-lengthy passages of the written representation of colloquial speech of Ibn Quzman's time and locale. Ibn Quzman's *zajals,* therefore, not only constitute an innovation on poetic language but also his representations of colloquial speech serve as valuable documentation of Hispano-Arabic, a dialect that often incorporated words and structures from the Romance dialect that coexisted with Arabic in the Iberian Peninsula.

Douglas C. Young

See also Adultery; Alcohol; Almoravids; Andalus; Cordoba; Decadence; Divorce; Gender and Sexuality; Markets; Nawrus; Popular Literature; Romance, Iberian; Shadow Plays; Wine

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IBN RUSHD, OR AVERROES

Born in 1126 in Cordoba to a family of distinguished jurists, Abû al-Wahîd Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Rushd served as Qadi at Seville and Cordoba and studied deeply works of Sharî'ah (religious law), Kalâm (theological discourse), Aristotelian philosophy, and medicine until his death in 1198. In dialectical religious writings he upheld natural causality in the face of Ash'arite occasionalist assertions of absolute divine power, denied that the Qur'an teaches creation ex nihilo, argued that Divine knowledge is prior to all forms of universal or particular knowledge, and asserted that the Qur'an commands the study of philosophy as obligatory for those capable. In understanding different human beings to be swayed to assent by rhetoric, dialectic, or demonstration, he was able to deny that there can be any "double truth," one of religion and another of philosophy and science, by arguing for the unity of truth. In his *fatwa*-like *Decisive Treatise* on religious law and philosophy, Ibn Rushd insisted that philosophical demonstration, with its necessary character, can be

the ultimate arbiter of the meaning of religious statements and even of Qur'anic passages, saying "Truth does not contradict truth but rather is consistent with it and bears witness to it," a surreptitious quotation of Aristotle (*Prior Analytics* 1.32, 47a8–9). That confidence in philosophical method is even more prominent in his work *Incoherence of the Incoherence*, a detailed commentary on *Incoherence of the Philosophers* by Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, arguably Islam's greatest theologian. Working to refute many of al-Ghazali's attacks on the philosophers, Ibn Rushd also pointed out the non-Aristotelian excesses of al-Farabi and Ibn Sina (Avicenna). In his work *Kashf al-Mahanij* and other dialectical writings he appears to reflect the rationalism of the religious reformer al-M̧dî Ibn Tûmart (d. ca. 1129–1130), who held for the essential rationality of the Qur'an and the ability of human rationality to apprehend the created nature of the world.

While in some early philosophical works Ibn Rushd followed the Neoplatonic teachings of his famous predecessors, al-Fârâbî and Ibn Sina, in his mature works he rejected emanationism and vigorously defended many teachings that he held to be geniunely those of Aristotle, such as the eternity of the world, the transcendent and separate nature of the human material and agent intellects, the mortal nature of individual human existence, and the final causality of God as Unmoved Mover subtly argued to be appropriately called "Creator." Although he wrote many valuable short treatises, his philosophical thought is predominantly found in his commentaries on works of Aristotle. Medieval Jewish philosophical thought was powerfully influenced by the dialectical works, a number of his early synthetic *Short Commentaries* and his paraphrasing *Middle Commentaries*, as well as his detailed *Long Commentaries* on the *Posterior Analytics* and *Physics*. In contrast, the Latin translations of the thirteenth century were, for the most part, of *Long Commentaries*, with those on natural philosophy, psychology, and metaphysics prominent; none of his dialectical religious writings were translated. In these commentaries the Latin West discovered the power of philosophical reasoning apart from religious belief, something that scandalized some Christian thinkers, led others to uphold the value of independent reason, and generally compelled a rethinking of the relation of faith and reason. Though he taught a controversial theory of the unity of human material intellect, Ibn Rushd had many Western admirers and some followers through the period of the Renaissance, when additional works translated from Hebrew became available in Latin.

Toward the end of his life, he was condemned, his books were burned, and he was sent into a brief exile. After his death, philosophy was suppressed in Andalusia, and in Islamic lands no school developed following his Aristotelian approach. After a nineteenth-century revival of interest in his dialectical thought, various social and educational reformers in the Arabic-reading world have drawn on his work to provide a way for the conciliation of Islamic religion and the methods of scientific reasoning prominent in the West.

Richard C. Taylor

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IBN SA'D

Ibn Sa'd (784–845) was among the pioneers of biographical writings in Arabic. He was born in Basra and studied Hadith before moving to Baghdad. Unusual for a Hadith scholar, he was also familiar with Arab genealogy, pre-Islamic tribal lore, and Jewish and Christian narrative traditions. In Baghdad, he apprenticed himself to al-Waqidi (d. 823), a collector of reports on the early history of the Muslim community. After al-Waqidi's death, Ibn Sa'd devoted the rest of his life to arranging his teacher's notes and his own into a book. The result was the *Tabaqat (Generations)*, the earliest biographical and historical compilation to be preserved in its entirety.

Before Ibn Sa'd's time, Arabic biographical writing had consisted largely of name-lists or collections of anecdotes about notable personalities. The only work that resembled a proper biography, at least by later standards, was the *Life of the Prophet* by Ibn Ishaq (d. 767). The remaining biographical material at Ibn Sa'd's disposal consisted of historical legends, name-lists, and reports on the Prophet's contemporaries and their successors. By putting all of this material

together, Ibn Sa'd's *Generations* became one of the earliest Arabic works to present a coherent (if implicit) vision of universal history.

The work begins with a brief history of the prophets from Adam to Muhammad, intended to establish the latter's descent from the founders of monotheism. It then offers biographies of Muhammad's ancestors, who are represented as devout and courageous men despite being pagans. The biography of Muhammad himself, which takes up approximately one-fourth of the book, follows his career from birth to death. It includes accounts of his childhood and marriage, his reception of the Qur'an, his preaching in Mecca, his emigration to Medina, his negotiations with the tribes of Arabia, his military campaigns, and his final illness. There are also sections (with no parallels in Ibn Ishaq) on the Prophet's appearance, habits, clothing, diet, and personal possessions.

As a biographer of the Prophet, Ibn Sa'd follows the convention of citing first-person reports rather than narrating in his own voice, although he occasionally admits to having combined several reports into a single account. He seems to have been scrupulous in reporting everything he was told, including mutually contradictory reports of the same event. He has no hesitation about miracle stories, which appear in profusion. For these reasons his biography of the Prophet is hardly reliable as a source of documentary evidence. However, it is an indispensable source of information on early Islamic history as it was remembered or imagined in the mid-ninth century.

Unlike Ibn Ishaq, whose work ends with the death of Muhammad, Ibn Sa'd continued his account with biographies of the Prophet's successors, that is, the men and women who took part in the transmission of Hadith. These biographies, which number more than four thousand, are arranged in sections and subsections according to generation, tribal affiliation, and place of residence, with all the women appearing together in a section of their own at the end. Some of the entries, such as those on the first four caliphs, are quite long. The majority, however, consist of short notices giving the names of the subject's teachers and students (that is, the persons from whom and to whom he or she transmitted Hadith), as well as a date of death, if known.

Modern scholarship has tended to assume that *Generations* was used as a work of reference. Given its content, the book could certainly have served as a basis for the validation of *isnads* (the lists of transmitters that precede a Hadith report). Nevertheless, it also contains a good deal of anecdotal information with little evident relevance to Hadith transmission. Clearly, then, Ibn Sa'd was not simply a recordkeeper working for the benefit of Hadith scholars. Rather, he seems to have been a historian whose vision of history happens to give pride of place to the transmission of Hadith.

Ibn Sa'd's *Generations* exerted a formative influence on Arabic historical writing. The arrangements he used for organizing entries were adopted and modified by the authors of subsequent biographical works, many of which were arranged by generation or by place of residence. (The only system of organization Ibn Sa'd did not use was the alphabetical one, which was developed independently at approximately the same time.) Most important, perhaps, *Generations* offered a vision of history writing that was based on the collection of individual life stories. This understanding of historiography remained dominant, or at least influential, until the beginning of the modern period.

In 833, Ibn Sa'd was summoned to affirm the createdness of the Qur'an. This controversial opinion had been raised to the status of official state doctrine by the caliph al-Ma'mun (813–833), who sought to rein in the power of the religious scholars by forcing them to proclaim assent to it. Ibn Sa'd gave his assent, although it is likely that he did so under duress. Thereafter, he seems to have been left in peace until his death in Baghdad at the age of sixty-two.

Michael Cooperson

See also Biography and Biographical Works

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IBN SHADDAD

Baha' al-Din Abu'l-Mahasin Yusuf b. Rafi'

Baha' al-Din Abu'l-Mahasin Yusuf b. Rafi', a leading scholar, writer, and official of the Jazira and Syria, was born in the northern Mesopotamian city of Mosul in AH 439/1145 CE. After a period in Baghdad as *mu'id* (assistant teacher) at the *madrasa* (Islamic school), the celebrated Madrasa al-Nizamiyya, founded by the Seljuk vizier Nizam al-Mulk, he was made *mudarris* (professor) in one of his native city's *madrasa*s.

During this period Baha' al-Din was appointed by the Zankid rulers of Mosul to several diplomatic missions, including two embassies to Saladin. In AH 584/1188 CE, on his return home from the pilgrimage, he was received by Saladin, who was besieging the northern Syrian stronghold of Krak des Chevaliers. The judicious presentation to the sultan by Baha' al-Din of a treatise he had written, titled *Fada'il al-Jihad (The Virtues of Holy War)*, resulted soon after in Baha' al-Din's appointment as Saladin's *qadi al-'askar* (Islamic judge of the army). He was later given judicial and administrative responsibilities in Jerusalem. Baha' al-Din became a close companion and confidant of the sultan, remaining so until Saladin's death at Damascus in AH 589/1193 CE. He then played an important part in negotiating the division of power among Saladin's heirs.

After two years in the service of Saladin's eldest son al-Malik al-Afdal 'Ali, ruler of Damascus, in AH 591/1195 CE, Baha' al-Din moved to Aleppo. There he was appointed *qadi* (Islamic judge) of the city by its ruler, al-Malik al-Zahir Ghazi, who was another of Saladin's sons. In AH 601/1204 CE, he founded his own religious school in Aleppo, the Madrasa al-Sahibiyya, adding to it a *dar al-hadith* (school for the study of prophetic tradition). Linking the two foundations was a mausoleum that he prepared for himself.

Meanwhile, Baha' al-Din's diplomatic skills proved useful to the ruler of Aleppo: He made several visits to Cairo on behalf of al-Malik al-Zahir in an effort to resolve disputes among the Ayyubids. He continued to serve al-Zahir's heir, al-Malik al-'Aziz. In AH 629/1232 CE, he headed the delegation that went to Cairo to bring the daughter of the Ayyubid ruler of Egypt back to Aleppo to marry al-Malik al-'Aziz. Baha' al-Din died at Aleppo in AH 632/1235 CE, at nearly ninety years of age.

Baha' al-Din's most important work is his biography of Saladin, *Sirat Salah al-Din*, also called *al-Nawadir al-sultaniyyah wa-l-mahasin al-Yusufiyyah (The Sultan's Rare Qualities and the Excellences of Yusuf [that is, Saladin])*. It combines elements of hagiography, propaganda, history, and autobiography. The first part of the work describes the sultan's accomplishments and moral excellence. Throughout the work Saladin is presented as exhorting the Muslims not to slacken their efforts against the Crusaders. The second part of the book is an account of Saladin's career from AH 558/1163 CE, when he accompanied his Uncle Shirkuh's expedition to Egypt, until his death in AH 589/1193 CE. For events after the summer of AH 584/1188 CE, when Baha' al-Din joined the service of the sultan, the narrative becomes the eyewitness account of someone in Saladin's inner circle, and a commensurately valuable source for the events of the Third Crusade.

David Morray

See also Biography and Biographical Works; Diplomacy; Excellences Literature; Historical Writing; Madrasa

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IBN SHAHIN, NISSIM BEN JACOB (C. 990–1062)

Nissim was a Talmudic scholar of Qayrawan who studied under his father, Rabbi Jacob ben Nissim, and Rabbi Hushiel, an illustrious scholar of Italian origin. Nissim was supported financially by the famed poet and patron of Jewish learning, Samuel Ibn Naghrela. The latter composed a poem of consolation upon the death of Nissim's young and only son and married his son Joseph to Nissim's daughter. Several works (some fragmentary) by Nissim survive in addition to commentaries on tracts of the Talmud and a compilation of legal rulings. Composed in Judeo-Arabic, his *A Key to the Locks of the Talmud* is a reference work of quotations found in the Talmud, and his *Revelation of Mysteries* is a topical treatment

of subjects such as biblical exegesis, religious polemics, responsa, and explications of sections of the Talmud and Midrash. These works exhibit tendencies toward systemization and had profound effects on Jewish intellectuals in the Islamic and Christian domains. The Judeo-Arabic collection of rabbinic tales titled *Kitab al-faraj ba'd al-shidda (Book of Relief after Adversity)* is addressed to console a relative called Dunash who had requested a book to relieve him following the death of a son. Dunash had mentioned that the "heretics" (that is, Muslims) possessed such a book on the subject of relief after adversity, possibly referring to al-Tanukhi's *Kitab al-faraj ba'd al-shidda* or a similar work. Al-Tanukhi's work is an *adab* collection on various species of relief (foretold in omens, realized through dreams, freedom from prison or execution, and so on) and aphorisms concerning relief from Qur'an, hadith, and poetry. Ibn Shahin's book is an anthology of stories, mostly gleaned from rabbinic sources, that assures the reader of God's justice (despite its mysteries) and discusses the qualities of scholars, virtuous and perfidious women, the wickedness of hypocrites, and the duty to pursue kindness and charity while abstaining from evil. The book also draws on apocryphal Jewish books (such as *Ben Sira*) and, in all likelihood, stories from Islamic literature; the book bears some earmarks of Arabic storytelling techniques. It enjoyed great popularity in the medieval period (as testified by Geniza letters) and had direct influence on later Jewish works, such as Joseph Ibn Zabarah's *Book of Delights* and Moses de Leon's *Zohar*.

Jonathan P. Decter

See also Adab; Judeo-Arabic; Ibn Naghrela, Samuel; Qayrawan; al-Tanukhi

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IBN SINA, OR AVICENNA

Abu 'Ali al-Hasan Ibn Sina (ca. 980–1037 CE), known in Latin as Avicenna, was a physician, natural philosopher, mathematician, poetic mystic, and princely minister. Of Persian descent, he was born in Afshana in the province of Bukhara. His philosophical chief work, *Kitab al-shifa' (Book of Healing),* which was known in Latin as *Liber Sufficientia*, together with its condensed revision, *Kitab al-najat (Book of Deliverance),* led many to regard him as being the authoritative Neoplatonist integrator of the Aristotelian corpus. However, his intellectual acumen elevates his station beyond that of a commentator and lets him stand as an insightful thinker in his own right. His philosophical investigations covered mathematics, music, logic, physical and psychical sciences, as well as metaphysics and theology. In geometry, he critically examined Euclid's *Elements* and attempted to prove its fifth postulate. In his Aristotelian intromission conception of vision, he showed that the velocity of light had a finite magnitude. Partly influenced by Porphyry's *Isagoge*, Aristotle's *Organon*, and Galen's logical investigations, he eventually developed intricate forms of propositional logic. Furthermore, he founded a prototheory of meaning that was partially embodied in his work *Kitab al-hudud (Book of Definitions)*, wherein he arrived at definitions by way of a rigorous distinction among concepts while, unlike most Platonists, he celebrated the merits of the art of persuasion and rhetoric. In astronomy he endeavored to systematize his observations that were grounded by Ptolemy's *Almagest*, and in mechanics he built on the theories of Heron of Alexandria while also seeking to improve the precision of instrumental readings. In his physical inquiries he studied different forms of energy, heat, and force, while presenting a more coherent account of the interconnection between time and motion than what is habitually associated with Aristotle's *Physics*. One of his important achievements in natural philosophy is attested to in his account of the soul in *Kitab al-nafs (Treatise on the Soul)*, which was preserved in his *al-Shifa* and *al-Najat*, and was translated into Latin under the title *De Anima*. Therein, he presented an affirmation of the existence of the soul that rested on a radical mind-body dualism in an argument that is customarily referred to as "the flying person argument," which anticipates Descartes's "*cogito ergo sum*." He also elucidated the notion of "intentionality" in the workings of the internal sense of the faculty of estimation *(wahm)* and its pragmatic entailments. Ranking among the most influential of metaphysicians in the history of philosophy, Ibn Sina offered an original elucidation of the question of "being" *(al-wujud)* that was mediated by a methodical distinction between essence and existence and oriented by an ontological consideration of the modalities of necessity, contingency, and impossibility. Taking the contingent to be a mere potentiality of being, whose existence or

nonexistence did not entail a contradiction, Ibn Sina construed all creatures in actuality as being necessary existents due to something other than themselves. Consequently, any contingent had its essence distinct from its existence while being existentially dependent on causes that are external to it, which lead back to the One Necessary Existent due to Itself Whose Essence is none other than Its Existence. In this, Ibn Sina eschewed Aristotle's reduction of "being" into the Greek conception of *ousia* (substance or essence), and he conceived the Deity as being the *metaphysical* First Cause of existence rather than being the *physical* Unmoved Cause of motion. Although his consideration of Divine creation was primarily mediated by an attempt to found a synthesis between Aristotle's *naturalism* and monotheistic *creationism*, his ontology remained more akin to Neoplatonist *emanationism*, which took the One Necessary Existent to be the Source of all existential effusion. In this processional hierarchical participation in "being," the Active Intellect played a necessary role in the genesis of human knowledge. Following Plato, Ibn Sina held that knowledge, which consisted of grasping the intelligible, did ultimately determine the fate of the rational soul in the hereafter. Believing that the universality of our ideas was attributed to the mind itself, he additionally held that our passive individual intellects are in a state of potency with regard to knowledge, unlike the Active impersonal and separate Intellect that is in a state of actual perennial thinking. Consequently, our passive intellect *qua* mind acquires ideas by being in contact with the Active Intellect without compromising its own independent substantiality or immortality. In a mystical tone that becomes most pronounced in *Kitab al-isharat wa-l-tanbihat (Book of Hints and Pointers)*, Ibn Sina also maintained that certain elect souls are capable of realizing a union with the Universal Active Intellect, thereby attaining the station of prophecy. His philosophical views were debated by Averroes and Maimonides, criticized by al-Ghazali, and integrated by intellectual authorities in medieval Europe, such as Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and Roger Bacon. His thinking also impacted the course of development of the ontotheological systems of prominent Muslim scholars such as Suhrawardi, Tusi, and Mulla Sadra. In all of this, his philosophical wisdom did not outshine his celebrated reputation as a physician, and his classic *Kitab al-qanun fi'l-tibb (The Canon in Medicine)*, which was translated into Latin in the twelfth century CE *(Liber Canonis)*, commanded an authority that almost surpassed that of Hippocrates and Galen and acted as the decisive compendium of the Greco-Roman-Arabic scientific medicine, and as the reference *Materia Medica*, throughout the medieval period and up to the Renaissance.

NADER EL-BIZRI

See also Aristotle and Aristotelianism; Astronomy; al-Farabi (Alfarabius or Avennasar); al-Ghazali; Ibn Rushd (Averroes); Illuminationism; Maimonides; Materia Medica; Medical Literature, Arabic; Medicine; Meteorology; Mulla Sadra; Mysticism; Optics; Physicians; Plato and Neoplatonism; Ptolemy; al-Suhrawardi, Shihab al-Din 'Umar; Theology

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IBN TAGHRI BIRDI, ABU 'L-MAHASIN YUSUF (C. 1410–1470 CE)

Ibn Taghri Birdi was a historian of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (1250–1517) known for his close ties to the Mamluk elite. His father, Taghri Birdi, was a mamluk *amir* (holder of military rank)

who rose through the ranks during the reigns of the Mamluk sultans Barquq (r. 1382–1399) and Faraj (r. 1399–1412), achieving the position of Viceroy in Damascus prior to his death in 1412. Ibn Taghri Birdi's eldest sister was married to Faraj, and Ibn Taghri Birdi was a close companion of a son of sultan Jaqmaq (r. 1438–1453). Ibn Taghri Birdi received a grant of land revenues from Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (r. 1412–1421) and accompanied Sultan Barsbay (r. 1422–1437) on a military campaign in Syria. He also knew Turkish quite well and was familiar with court life in Mamluk Cairo. These and other connections served him well during his career as religious stipendiary, scholar, and author.

Ibn Taghri Birdi wrote several works, but he is best known today for his biographical dictionary and two historical chronicles. The dictionary, *Al-Manhal al-Safi wa al-Mustawfi ba'd al-Wafi,* written in early adulthood, provides biographies of rulers, scholars, and amirs for the period 1248–1451, with scattered additions dating as late as 1458. His chronicle *Al-Nujum al-Zahira fi Muluk Misr wa-al-Qahira* surveys Egyptian history from the Muslim conquest in 641 up to 1468, although the sections post-1441 are mainly summaries taken from his second major chronicle, *Al-Hawadith al-Duhur fi Mada al-Ayyam wa-al-Shuhur*, a detailed account of Mamluk history covering the period 1441–1469. Ibn Taghri Birdi considered this second work a continuation of al-Maqrizi's important history, *Kitab al-Suluk li-Ma'rifat Duwal wa-al-Muluk*.

Ibn Taghri Birdi's chronicles are focused on the elite segments of Mamluk-era society. As a *walad al-nass* (Arabic "son of the people," meaning literally a son of those who mattered, that is, the Mamluks), it is perhaps not surprising that comparative studies of his work have indicated a tendency by Ibn Taghri Birdi to defend the actions and policies of the Mamluk rulers who were frequently criticized by other observers such as al-Maqrizi. That said, his work also contains frank and critical comments about specific officials both living and dead, for which it is possible that Ibn Taghri Birdi suffered both verbal and physical attacks.

Warren C. Schultz

See also Historical Writing

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IBN TAYMIYYA

Taqi al-Din Ahmad Ibn Taymiyya (1263–1328) has been called both the most important figure from the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (1250–1517) and the most significant Hanbali *'alim* after Ahmad b. Hanbal himself. The author of numerous fatawa and many longer works, he was also imprisoned by the Mamluk state six times for a cumulative period of more than six years between 1294 and 1328, including the last two years of his life.

Ibn Taymiyya's family moved to Damascus when he was a boy, fleeing from Mongol advances in upper Mesopotamia. Ibn Taymiyya was educated within the Hanbali madhhab and by 1284 was teaching in a major madrasa in Damascus. His subsequent career was marked by several brushes with state power, the rivalry and admiration of other jurists, and significant popularity among the Damascene population. His public life was marked by zealous devotion to the principals he held dear and the courage to face those whom his statements disturbed, even if that meant imprisonment. It has also been argued that his popularity with the populace disturbed the Mamluk rulers who found it threatening, and this may have contributed to his frequent imprisonment. His contemporary biographers, most of them also jurists, write of his personal piety, devotion to justice, and defiance of authority. There is a suggestion, however,

particularly in the writings of al-Dhahabi (d. 1339), that Ibn Taymiyya had a difficult personality.

Known first as a Hadith scholar, Ibn Taymiyya's written output ranges far and wide. He wrote about and preached the importance of jihad against enemies of the Muslim world, in particular against the Mongols. (When Il-Khan Ghazan invaded Syria in 1300, Ibn Taymiyya was a spokesperson of the resistance in Damascus.) He stressed the important example of the pious ancestors *(al-salaf al-salih)* and condemned what he saw as the excesses of some Sufi practices. In one of his major works, *al-Siyasa al-Shar'iyya,* Ibn Taymiyya argued that since state and religion were inseparable, the temporal power and the revenues of the state must be harnessed to the path of God. A primary goal of the state was to ensure the centrality of the shari'a, and this required the maintenance of order. Central to the state's mission to maintain order was its ability to use coercive power to enforce the Qur'anic injunction "to command the good and forbid the wrong."

After his death, Ibn Taymiyya's ideas were further disseminated by his chief pupil Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 1350), an individual who also shared in some of his teacher's punishment. Many of Ibn Taymiyya's ideas remain influential today, notably as refracted through the writings of the eighteenth-century founder of Wahhabism, Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab.

Warren C. Schultz

See also Hanbali; Mamluks; Mongols

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IBN TUFAYL

Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Abu Bakr Ibn Tufayl was born in Guadix, not far from Granada, in 1110. Reputed for his learning in philosophy, jurisprudence, theology, and logic, as well as natural science, he gained the favor of the Almohad ruler, Abu Ya'qub Yusuf, whom he served for many years as a political advisor and physician. Apart from his philosophical novel, *Hayy Ibn Yaqzan (Living the Son of Awakened)*—the only writing of his that has survived—Ibn Tufayl is known for the important role he played in presenting Averroes to Abu Ya'qub as the person most capable of commenting on the works of Aristotle, this being a task Ibn Tufayl considered beyond his own reach. He died in Marrakesh in 1185.

Ibn Tufayl focused on the relationship between the rational acquisition of knowledge and the path to it pursued by those who favor mysticism or Sufism in the philosophical introduction to *Hayy Ibn Yaqzan.* The work consists of three major parts. In the introduction, Ibn Tufayl explains his reasons for writing a book such as this and provides a general critique of philosophy, theology, and mysticism within the Arab world during his time. It is followed by the story of Hayy and by a formal conclusion in which Ibn Tufayl returns to the main theme of the work.

As he explains in the introduction, the tale of Hayy ibn Yaqzan comes as a response to a request from a friend that he unfold what he knows "of the secrets of the Oriental wisdom mentioned by the master, the chief, Abu 'Ali Ibn Sina." The question, he says, moved him to a strange state and caused him to discern a world beyond the present; it also caused him to discern the difficulty of speaking intelligently and circumspectly about this state. To prove the latter point, Ibn Tufayl passes in review what mystics and philosophers have said about it. Desirous of avoiding their foolishness, he speaks about the state only to the extent necessary, all the while pointing out the errors of his predecessors. He insists it is to be reached by "speculative knowledge" and "deliberative inquiry" and intimates that at least one philosopher—Ibn Bajja—reached that rank or perhaps even managed to go beyond it.

Ibn Bajja did not describe this state in a book; nor has any other philosopher—either because they had no awareness of it or because it is too difficult to explain in a book. Ibn Tufayl dismisses as useless this task that has come down from Aristotle, Alfarabi, Avicenna, and all Andalusians prior to Ibn Bajja. Even Ibn Bajja, capable as he was of providing an account, failed to do so.

To meet his friend's request, Ibn Tufayl promises to expose the truth and knowledge he has learned from Alghazali and Avicenna, plus what he has gained from the philosophically inclined people of his time via study and reflection. Even so, he hesitates to give the results of what he has witnessed without

also providing the principles, lest his interlocutor be content with a lower degree of insight. To arouse his interlocutor's longing and encourage him to move along the path, Ibn Tufayl offers the tale of Hayy ibn Yaqzan. In other words, to leave us short of the end, it will indicate what the path is like.

Hayy is either self-generated from a lump of clay or comes into being as do all humans but is then put into the sea in a basket because his mother, the sister of a very proud monarch, has wedded beneath her status in secret and fears for the fruit of this union should her brother learn of Hayy's existence. However generated, Hayy grows up on a deserted island, nursed by a doe until he can fend for himself. During seven periods of seven years each, he discovers his natural surroundings and the way they interact, ascending by a series of inductions to embrace physics and its many divisions, as well as mathematics and its parts. He also gains insight into the nature of the heavenly bodies and into the character of the creator, as well as of his messenger and prophet, Muhammad.

Hayy's education is all the more wondrous, for his enforced solitude deprives him of language. Only when he encounters Asal, the inhabitant of a neighboring island who is discontent with the way his fellow citizens practice religion, does Hayy learn to speak. They return to Asal's island intent upon showing people the correct path, but they fail miserably. Only Salaman, a friend of Asal's who discerns that most people cannot appreciate the truths Hayy wishes them to grasp and who is content to let them flounder, understands the limits of human reason. He is also too complacent for Hayy and Asal, not to mention most of Ibn Tufayl's readers.

The tale ends with Hayy and Asal deciding to return to the desert island to spend their remaining days meditating about divine matters. The people on the mainland are left without a solution to the problems that plague them, just as Ibn Tufayl's interlocutor is left without a clear answer to his quest. We readers, having been enticed by this story, must now figure out for ourselves what it can possibly mean for us.

Charles E. Butterworth

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IBN TULUN

Ibn Tulun, also Ahmad b. Tulun, was the founder of the Tulunid dynasty that ruled Egypt and Syria during the late ninth and early tenth centuries CE. Following the example of the Tahirids in Khurasan and the Aghlabids in North Africa, Ibn Tulun exploited his position in Egypt, establishing a semiautonomous state a secure distance from the ʻAbbasid capital in Baghdad while the caliphs battled rebellions and independence movements in the East.

Ibn Tulun's father, Tulun, entered the caliphate's service as a Turkish slave, reportedly sent to the caliph al-Ma'mun from Bukhara. He formed part of a large cadre of Turks who served in important military and administrative positions during his time. He eventually rose to become chief of al-Ma'mun's personal guard.

Ibn Tulun received training in military affairs and distinguished himself for his bravery. His widowed mother's marriage to the Turkish general Bakbak gave him new opportunities for advancement. The caliph al-Muʻtamid appointed Bakbak over Egypt in 868. Ibn Tulun became his stepfather's lieutenant.

Ibn Tulun increased his power through scheming, marriage, and fortuitous circumstances. He cultivated good relations with the caliph al-Muʻtamid. After having the infamous controller of finances, Ibn al-Mudabbir, removed, he assumed primary responsibility for Egypt's treasury, especially payments of tribute to Baghdad. When Ibn Tulun's stepfather was assassinated, the new governor, Yarjukh, to whom he was related by marriage, kept him as lieutenant governor. The revolt of the governor of Palestine shortly afterward offered him a pretext to purchase military slaves, though he did not actually put down the revolt. These slaves were fiercely loyal to him and formed the core of his army. He soon gained control of the financial administration of Syria, as well as Egypt.

The appointment of the caliph's son, Jaʻfar, over Egypt and other Western provinces in 872 CE led to Ibn Tulun's bid for autonomy. Jaʻfar was a minor so Ibn Tulun exercised nearly independent authority. The caliph's brother, al-Muwaffaq, who controlled the East and held most of the caliphate's effective power, was preoccupied with repelling Turkish incursions and quelling independence movements. When Ibn Tulun failed to send a satisfactory sum of tribute, al-Muwaffaq dispatched an expedition to remove him. The expedition, however, returned without achieving its purpose. The ongoing rebellion of the Zanj in southern Iraq prevented al-Muwaffaq from pressing the matter further.

Ibn Tulun consolidated his power in the years afterwards. He occupied Syria following al-Muwaffaq's

failed expedition and led raids against the Byzantines in Anatolia. These raids enhanced his stature as a leader of holy war against the infidel. He later inscribed his name on his coinage, in addition to that of the Ja'far. He never openly opposed the authority of the caliph. The prosperity of Egypt and Syria under his rule owes in part to his skill as an administrator. He showed restraint in his taxation. He kept, in addition, most revenues in these provinces rather than remitting them to Baghdad. Upon his death in 884, rule went to one of his sons, Khumarawayh.

STUART SEARS

See also Tulinids

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IBN TUMART

The founder of the al-Muwahhidun confederation, Abu Abdillah Muhammad b. Abdillah b. Tumart, a Masmudian Berber, was born (AH 471/1078 CE or AH 474/1081 CE) in the city of Sus, located in Morocco's Anti-Atlas Mountains. We do not have much information about his youth. Observing negative developments such as moral and social decadence, the abandonment of religious principles, and the spread of the anthropomorphist conception of God under the al-Murabitun dynasty, Ibn Tumart was convinced of the necessity of social reform. He went to Cordoba to study theological sciences (499/1106). After taking lessons for about a year from Abu Abdillah Muhammed b. Ali b. Hamdin, Kadhi of Cordoba, he traveled to Mahdiya in Tunisia; there he participated in theological congregations of Abu Abdillah al-Mazeri. Studying with Ibn Abu Rendeka et-Turtushi in Alexandria, Kiyâ el-Herrâs in Baghdad, Abu Bakir Muhammed b. Ahmed al-Shashi, and Mubarek b. Abdilcabbar, Ibn Tumart also read Imam Malik's *al-Muvatta'* with Abu Abdillah Muhammed b. Mansur al-Hadhrami. He traveled back to Maghreb from Alexandria in 510–511/1116. He also served his duty of pilgrimage to Mecca in this traveling period of eleven years. Traveling first to Bougie, and then to Beni Mallal, he met his first disciple and future successor Abdulmu'min al-Kûmî. His courageous personality caused him to be expelled from Vansharîs, Tlemcem, Shubat Enlil, and Fez; so he went to Marrakech, the capital of the al-Murabitun dynasty, but his activities there also caused him to be expelled to Aghmat. He then went on to Tin Mal and continued his "common knowledge and forbid from denied" *(al-amr bi'l-ma'rûf wa al-nahy an al-munkar)* activities. Rejecting Ali b. Yusuf b. Tashfin's invitation to return to Marrakech, he retreated to a cave, the Ghar al-muqaddas, and in Maghreb he began to spread the idea that Mahdi's appearance was near (515/1121).

That same year, his disciple Abdulmu'min and nine other men declared that Ibn Tumart was the Mahdi and that they would be loyal to him for all their lives. Ibn Tumart then started a violent rebellion in the command of Abdulmu'min el-Kumi ve Abu Muhammed al-Bashir against al-Murabitun, claiming that they supported an anthropomorphist conception of God, that they were unjust and causing the corruption of society, they had designs upon people's lives and properties, and that they had thus given up the Islamic faith. There were many battles in the Anti-Atlas region and the city of Sus for the next two years. Against al-Murabitun's efforts to build up their strength, Ibn Tumart moved to Tin Mal to have a stronger defense (517/1123).

Ibn Tumart began a large campaign in the command of Abu Muhammed al-Bashir to acquire Marrakech in 524 AH/1130. However, al-Muwahhidun could not gain hold of the city after a siege of six weeks and was defeated in the battle of Buhayra; five members of the council of ten were lost in this battle. Ibn Tumart passed away several months after this defeat in 14 Ramadhan 524/August 21, 1130. His successor, Abdulmu'min, and close friends concealed his death for about three years.

His works include: (1) *Kitâbu Aazzi mâ yutlab* (edited by Ignaz Goldziher) Algeria 1903 and AmmAr ÙAlibi (Algeria, 1985); (2) *al-Murshida* (published by Goldziher with a French translation *(ZDMG,* XLl, 72–73; XL1V, 168–170); (3) *al-Aqide.* In addition to the Egypt edition (Cairo, 1328), another edition is also available in French, translated by Henri Masse (Paris, 1928); (4) *Muhâzzi'l-Muwaùùa'* (Hizânatu'l-Karawiyyin, no. 40/181; Rabat el-Hizânetul-èAmma, no. 840c, 1222c; published by Goldziher as *Muwatta'u'l-Imâm al-Mahdî* (Algeria,

1905). (5) *Mukhtasaru Sahihi Muslim* (Ibn Yûsuf Library, Marakesh, no. 403).

Thinking himself a religious reformist, Ibn Tumart emphasized the notion of unity and doctrine of the imamate in his theory of faith. He defines knowledge, which he takes as the only basis for faith, as "the divine radiance in the heart which allows us to make a distinction between facts and qualities," thus suggesting that only the qualities of objects and events can be known, not their essences. Because of Ibn Tumart's emphasis on the unity of God, his followers were known as al-Muwahhidun (that is, Unitarians). God's existence was known from intelligence; however, this knowledge was not innate, but deductive. Ibn Tumart ascribed some negative and demonstrative attributes to Allah. However, he gave intelligence no function in his definition of the relationship between the individual and his attributes. Therefore, his approach to this problem cannot be taken as the suspension of all attributes but a distinctive approach that avoided comparison and solidification. According to Ibn Tumart, predicative attributes in the dogmas must be believed, without trying to look for analogies.

Ibn Tumart considered the imamate as a religious obligation and maintained that Imam was innocent *(maèsum)*, therefore, we can assert that Ibn Tumart was influenced by Shi'i doctrine. However, he considered only the first three caliphs as legitimate Imams. Ibn Tumart received the acknowledgment of fealty through his disciples, who acknowledged him as the Mahdi, and he named only those who obeyed him as al-Muwahhidun; all others were regarded as infidels. He accepted the idea that the only creator is Allah and believed that the power of acting in a good or bad way was given by Allah to mankind; thus empowerment is the act in the place of the power of the human being.

According to Ibn Tumart, all canonical judgements originated only from the Qur'an and Sunnah, all convictions and conventions reached by syllogisms were not primary, but supplementary; intelligence had no law-making authority. Ibn Tumart accepted ideas of several religious sects on some matters: He was more like an Ash'ari in subjects concerning faith, a Maliki in subjects of fiqh, and also followed Ibn Hazm's zahiri-salafi thought on some matters. However, the movement initiated by him can be regarded as a political movement to put an end to Al-Murabit's confederation more than being a movement of religion and faith.

Hüseyin Sarioglu

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IBN WASIL, MUHAMMAD B. SALIM JAMAL AL-DIN

Ibn Wasil (1208–1298) was a Syrian scholar most renowned for his chronicle *Mufarrij al-kurub fi akhbar bani Ayyub (The Dissipater of Anxieties on the Reports of the Ayyubids)*, which covers, in detail, historical events of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth century. This work has drawn modern interest because it presents succinctly the main Crusading campaigns from a Middle Eastern point of view. Although Ibn Wasil relied on an array of earlier sources for the earlier parts of his work, some of which has been lost since then, he based his account of thirteenth-century events (such as the Crusade of Louis IX, King of France, to Egypt in 1249–1250) on eyewitnesses or his own experiences.

Ibn Wasil was well placed to observe the political developments and military events in the Middle East during his lifetime, as he was widely traveled and closely linked to the ruling echelons of society. Originating from Hama in northern Syria, he visited or dwelled in the main urban centers such as Baghdad, Cairo, and Damascus. Although descending from a family of relatively low prominence, he forged close relationships with prominent administrators and military commanders, as well as with Ayyubid and Mamluk rulers. In his sixties he returned to his hometown, where he led a low-profile life as the town's chief judge.

His educational and professional specialization was law, but no writings of his in this field are traceable. Rather, his extant oeuvre focuses on history,

poetry, logic, and astronomy, all of which were of profit to him at various courts. For example, in 1261, while staying in southern Italy at the court of Manfred, the Staufer ruler of Sicily and son of Frederick II, as ambassador of the Mamluk ruler Baybars I, his knowledge of logic gained him the ruler's praise. It is the immersion into these fields of knowledge that allowed him throughout his life close contacts with non-Muslim scholars. Consequently, one finds in his aforementioned chronicle passages where he discusses, for example, the conflict between the emperor and the papacy in thirteenth-century Europe, which is rarely found in other medieval chronicles by Muslim authors.

Ibn Wasil's chronicle did not enjoy wider popularity in the following centuries and was only "rediscovered" in the late nineteenth century with the rising interest in Crusading history.

KONRAD HIRSCHLER

See also Historical Writing

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IBN YÛNUS, 'ALÎ IBN 'ABD AL-RAHMÂN, D. FUSTAT, EGYPT

Ibn Yûnus was the leading astronomer of medieval Egypt and perhaps the most important of the entire Muslim world. He was a careful observer, a highly competent mathematician and calculator, and proposed much that was original. He was also the principal initiator of a tradition of astronomical timekeeping (*'ilm al-mîqât)* in Islamic society, which is of prime importance because it included the regulation of the times of prayer. He compiled a monumental *zîj*, or astronomical handbook with tables, some four times the size of that of his predecessor al-Battânî (q.v.). This was called *al-Zîj al-Hâkimî* because it was dedicated to the Fatimid ruler al-Hâkim (q.v.). One of its most remarkable features is a record of more than one hundred observations of planetary conjunctions and solar and lunar eclipses, made by his predecessors in ninth- and tenth-century Baghdad and by himself. His solar, lunar, and planetary tables were much appreciated in later Egypt and the Yemen, but some of them were also adopted in a modified form in Iran. It was Ibn Yûnus who compiled the first batch of the tables for timekeeping by the sun and regulating the times of Muslim prayer that later became part of the Cairo corpus of nearly two hundred pages of tables. These tables were used there until the nineteenth century. The medieval tables of this kind for such centers of astronomical activity as Damascus, Jerusalem, Aleppo, Istanbul, Tunis, and Taiz were inspired by the Cairo corpus.

DAVID A. KING

See also Astronomy

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IBN ZUR'A, ABU 'ALI 'ISA ISHAQ

The philosopher Ibn Zur'a (AH 331–398/943–1008 CE) was born and died in Baghdad. Shortly after his death, the dominance of the Baghdad school of philosophy, with its close adherence to the Platonizing commentary tradition and involvement in translation, yielded to other centers of power and learning. Typical for the Baghdad school, Ibn Zur'a was a Jacobite (Syrian Orthodox) Christian who associated on equal terms with Muslim and Jewish intellectuals.

Ibn Zur'a's character and way of life can be seen from three viewpoints. Most significantly, there are contemporary references in his eight short treatises of Christian apologetics. Second, Ibn Zur'a was known to the writer Abu Hayyan at-Tawhidi, whose books record discussions that took place, often under the patronage of powerful Buyid viziers. Finally, the

medical biographer Ibn Abi Usaybi'a gives "case notes" regarding the treatment of Ibn Zur'a's last illness, including mention of aspects of the philospher's apparently stressful lifestyle.

Ibn Zur'a earned his living as a merchant, and traded with Byzantium. As a philosopher he was the devoted pupil and close friend of the leading logician Yahya ibn 'Adi (d. 974 CE). The Ibn 'Adi circle, including Ibn al-Khammar, Ibn al-Samh, Miskawayh, and 'Isa ibn 'Ali, attended the salons *(majalis)* of the vizier and patron Ibn Sa'dan. Abu Hayyan was also there, although he was scornful of Ibn Zur'a's "vaunting of Aristotle, Plato, Socrates and Hippocrates."

We know from bibliographies, such as those of Ibn Zur'a's associate Ibn an-Nadim, of works such as *On the Intellect, On the Reason for the Luminosity of the Planets,* and *On the Immortality of the Soul*. These did not survive, although a short *Defense of Logicians and Philosophers against the Charge of Irreligion* is known. To later generations of Arab philosophers, Ibn Zur'a was probably best known as a translator. Ibn Sina (Avicenna) used Ibn Zur'a's translation of Aristotle's *Sophistici elenchi*, and Ibn Rushd may have used his translation of the *Compendia of Nicolaus of Damascus*. Among other translations, it is notable that part of a lost commentary by John Philoponus on Galen's *On the Uses of the Parts of the Body* appears to survive in Ibn Zur'a's version. Ibn Zur'a translated from Syriac into Arabic, and he probably did not know Greek. The importance of Syriac in the transmission of Greek philosophy to the Arabs is well known. Ibn Zur'a played a role in making philosophy available to a wider audience, which demanded introductions and translations in idiomatic Arabic. Some of Ibn Zur'a's introductions to Aristotle's logic have been published.

In 979 CE, Ibn Zur'a saw his late teacher, Yahya ibn 'Adi, in a dream commanding him to write a treatise solving a problem with Ibn 'Adi's definition of God the Father as intellect *('aql)*. Ibn Zur'a was then asked to write an account of this vision by an unnamed "lord and brother." This work, *On the Composite Intellect,* is the earliest of his dated treatises of Christian apologetics, which were generally not written for philosophers but at the request of a friend or in response to an opponent. At least twice the request for treatises came from Muslim friends, and often, addressees were high-ranking. One treatise is a refutation of the rationalist theologian *(mutakallim)* Abu 'l-Qasim al-Balkhi. The letter to Bishr ibn Finhas, written to a Jewish friend, is typical of the way Ibn Zur'a combines rationalistic arguments with references to contemporary debates in these apologetic treatises. The work begins by setting out three different categories of law before concluding that the Mosaic law has been superseded. Then Ibn Zur'a describes Plato's tripartite division of the soul and argues that only Christianity teaches the virtues of the rational faculty to the highest degree. Ibn Zur'a sets out the definition of the Trinity as Intellect, Active Intellect, and the Intellected *('aql, 'aqil, ma'qul),* which he learned from Ibn 'Adi. In addition to such arguments, Ibn Zur'a includes a discussion of proof texts, referring in passing to a group of Jews who expected the Messiah in 970–971 CE. At the end of the treatise Ibn Zur'a gives an account of two problems concerning the resurrection, which he discussed with Jews.

The account we have of Ibn Zur'a's death is tragic. One of the physicians who treated him relates that business opponents from the Syriac community "took him many times to the ruler, money was confiscated, and he was overtaken by many disasters." The physician adds that other reasons for Ibn Zur'a's collapse were his hot temperament, and the pressure of writing a treatise on the immortality of the soul.

Peter Starr

See also Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi; Buyids; Ibn Rushd, or Averroes; Ibn Sina, or Avicenna

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IDOLATRY

In the tradition of Middle Eastern monotheism, idolatry (literally, the worship of an image of a false god) is one of the greatest sins. Only God may be an object of worship, and some versions of monotheism

prohibit any representation, even of God, for a number of reasons, including the fear that the representation will become an object of worship in itself. In religious contexts Muslims, like Jews, have tended to reject the figural representation of God or of any moving being, and some Muslims have extended that rejection more widely.

Although there are words and expressions in Arabic that are semantically equivalent to the English "idolatry," in premodern Islamic culture the concept was more frequently conveyed by *shirk*, a word that at a basic level gives the idea of sharing or associating with something. *Shirk* comes to denote idolatry because it refers to the sin of associating with God, as worthy of worship, other beings or things—divine, human, or superhuman. Although frequently translated as "idolatry" because it is not semantically equivalent to that word, *shirk* may also be rendered by related concepts such as "polytheism" (the recognition of a plurality of gods).

Both idolatry and polytheism are frequently relative and subjective accusations, denied by those accused of them. They are frequently words used in a polemical way to attack opponents. Nobody is likely to refer to his own religion as a form of idolatry, and the distinction between monotheism and polytheism is often in the eye of the beholder. From an Islamic perspective, traditional African religion or Hinduism, for example, might be described as *shirk* with some degree of objectivity, but just as often Muslims have applied the word to other forms of monotheism (notably Christianity) and to other Muslims, accused of failing to respect the unity and uniqueness of God *(tawhid*, requiring on the part of the believer an attitude of complete devotion, *ikhlas)*.

In the AH first/seventh CE century, some of his opponents are reported to have accused the caliph 'Ali of *shirk* when he agreed to put his dispute with Mu'awiya to human arbiters. They claimed that in doing so he was giving mere humans a share in a decision that should have been left to God, an idea expressed in the slogan of the Kharijite movement, "judgment belongs to God alone" *(la hukma illa lillah)*. In the third/ninth century the rationalist Mu'tazili theologians accused their traditionalist opponents of *shirk* for insisting that God's attributes, such as speech, were real and eternal while distinct from the divine essence. In the Muslim west in the fifth/eleventh century the Mu'tazili critique was echoed by the Almohad followers of Ibn Tumart in their attacks on the scholars of the Maliki school of Islam. The accusation has frequently been a part of the arguments between Sufis and their legalist Muslim opponents. Some Sufis are reported as having qualms about reciting the second part of the Muslim credal formula ("there is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Messenger of God") since, they said, by including the Prophet alongside God they were in danger of lapsing into *shirk*.

Another group prone to accuse its Muslim opponents (Sunni and Shi'i) of *shirk* are the neo-Hanbali followers of Ibn Taymiyya, especially the Wahhabis whose school of Islam is the official one of Saudi Arabia. Prominent among what the Wahhabis identify as the errors of other Muslims that reduce them, in effect, to the status of idolaters is their excessive veneration of other human beings (holy men, scholars, Imams, and even the Prophet Muhammad himself). According to the Wahhabis, their veneration, often associated with visits to and prayers at their tombs, necessarily detracted from the veneration and worship of God.

In the Qur'an, there are numerous accusations of *shirk* against opponents whose identity is often not clear. Generally the relevant passages of the Qur'an give the impression that those opponents had an understanding that God (Allah) is the creator and controller of the universe, but in their day-to-day life they took little account of that fact and instead devoted their worship to those whom they "associated" with God.

In traditional accounts of the setting within which the Qur'an was revealed, those opponents are identified as pagan Arabs, in Mecca and elsewhere in Arabia. They were idolaters in a literal sense: people who believed in a multiplicity of gods and worshipped them in the form of representations made out of wood or stone, or as trees, rocks, and other such natural features. Commentaries on the Qur'an, lives of Muhammad, and other types of traditional literature provide us with a relative wealth of detail about this pre-Islamic Arab idolatry—the names of sanctuaries and idols, tribes and families associated with them, geographical locations, stories about the destruction of sanctuaries and idols with the coming of Islam, and other such details. Individual works, such as the *Book of Idols* of Ibn Kalbi (d. 206/820), were devoted to accounts of that idolatry.

According to the tradition the idolatry of the Arabs had come about by the gradual corruption of the pure monotheistic religion that at one time had been brought to Arabia by Abraham (Ibrahim), the father of monotheism. He had built the Ka'ba in Mecca on God's command and established the worship of the one true God there. For some generations the Arabs followed that true monotheism but then gradually fell away from it—partly as a result of human error, partly of satanic intervention. By the time of Muhammad they had lapsed into a gross idolatry. It was Muhammad's task to rescue them from their corrupt religion and restore them to the pure Abrahamic monotheism identical with Islam.

Most academic scholarship has accepted the image of Arab idolatry that the tradition conveys and agreed that the Qur'anic attacks on *shirk* were directed against the idolatrous Arabs. In place of the account of the corruption of Abrahamic religion in Arabia, many academic scholars have substituted an evolutionary theory of Arab religion to explain the mixture of polytheism and monotheism that the Qur'an and the traditional literature, in different ways, attribute to the Arab contemporaries of Muhammad. According to that theory, the Arabs were evolving out of their ancestral paganism into a monotheistic stage of religion but were still in a process of transition. The coming of Islam marked the completion of the process. It was because of its origins in such a milieu that Islam has constantly been so concerned with the dangers of idolatry and the need to stress absolute monotheism.

However, the author of this entry questions the traditional accounts of pre-Islamic Arab idolatry and the academic. The author regards it as likely that the Qur'an's accusation of *shirk* against its opponents is part of a polemic against other monotheists, and not directed at people who were idolaters in any literal sense. The author suggests that Islam's recurrent concern with the problem of *shirk* reflects the tendency within monotheism to extend the notion of idolatry to the critique of monotheist opponents.

GERALD R. HAWTING

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IDRISI

Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Idris al-'Ala bi-Amr Allah (ca. AH 493–560/1100–1165 CE) was the greatest medieval geographer. As a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad, this Muslim Arab scholar was titled al-Sharif al-Idrisi, but in the West he was known for a long time as *Geographus Nubiensis*, the Nubian Geographer. Born in Morocco and educated in Cordoba, he worked in Palermo at the court of the Norman king Roger II. The most important book he produced is a world geography in 1154, *Nuzhat al-mushtaq fi ikhtiraq al-afaq (Entertainment for One Desiring to Travel Far)*; it is also called *Kitab Rujjar (Book of Roger)*. He later wrote a shorter geography, known under a variety of Arabic titles and usually referred to as "The Little Idrisi." Both are extensively illustrated with maps; the maps in *Nuzhat al-mushtaq* are oriented to the South, the maps in the latter book are smaller and often oriented to the east.

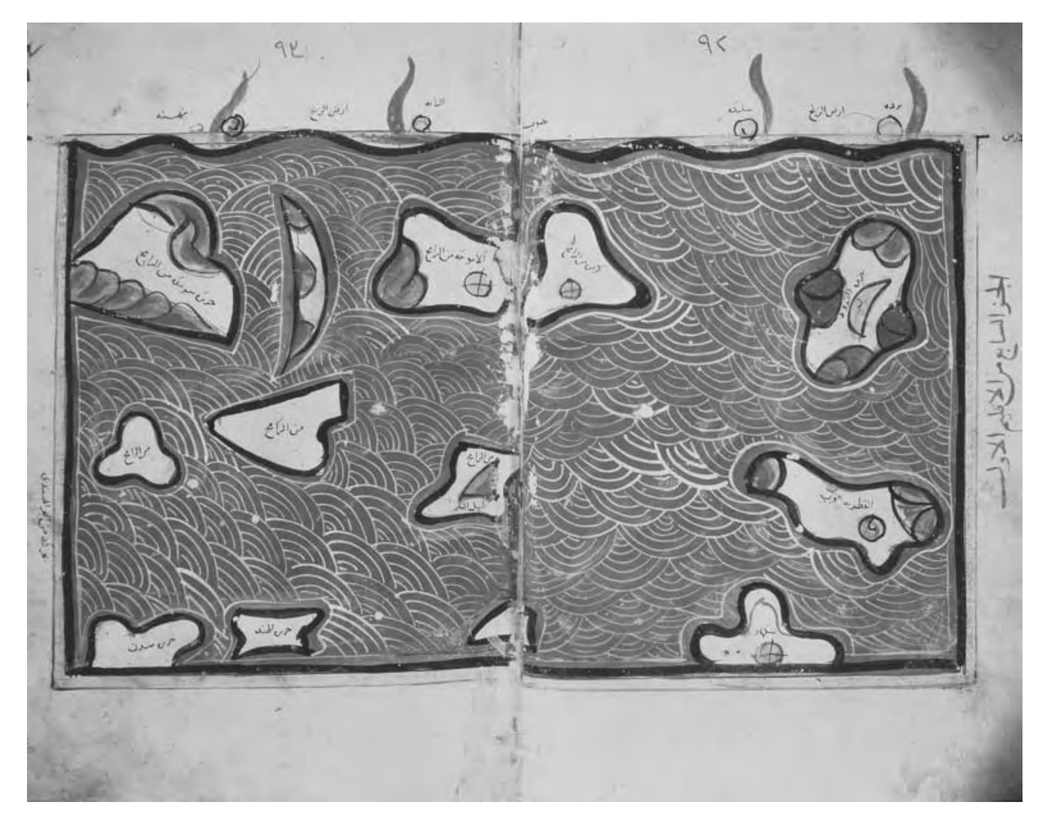
Al-Idrisi traveled in Asia Minor, Europe, and North Africa, and in Sicily he was able to consult both European and Islamic sources procured from books and travel reports. Thus his *Geography* is a synthesis of information and cartographic traditions from both Islamic and European cultures; it is unsurpassed in narrative geography and maps of the Middle Ages. Because the work is a compilation and the data occasionally anachronistic, al-Idrisi's work sometimes has been judged unoriginal. However, he introduced a new type of map that strongly impacted later cosmographers and thinkers, such as Ibn Khaldun, and used a projection that remains unexplained. Al-Idrisi produced more regional maps of the world than any other medieval cartographer, and his description of certain regions, such as the Balkans or northern Europe, is remarkably precise. The parts dealing with Africa remained an important source for Islamic and European cosmographers into the seventeenth century. Al-Idrisi's distinctive cartography and narrative method make it possible to identify later imitations as works in "The Idrisi School." Medieval European Mediterranean cartographers may have had some knowledge of his maps. The book *Nuzhat al-mushtaq* became the first secular Arabic work printed in Europe (Rome, 1592); a Latin translation was published in Paris in 1619.

Al-Idrisi credited his patron Roger with the construction of a large world map, but the work was done by al-Idrisi. The text is a detailed description of the map, engraved on a silver disk and based on the Arabic version of Marinus's map reportedly created under the caliph al-Ma'mun (813–833). The silver prototype was lost, but the book contains a round, schematic map of the world and seventy rectangular maps of the seventy parts into which al-Idrisi had divided the world. Ten manuscripts of

Nuzhat al-mushtaq survive, eight of them with maps; there is no complete good translation.

The system developed by al-Idrisi used the Ptolemaic foundation adopted by the early Islamic scholars, whereby the round earth is divided into quarters and only the Inhabited Quarter is described. It is astronomically divided into seven latitudinal belts ("climates"), leaving off the extreme north and equatorial south. Although familiar with coordinates, al-Idrisi did not use them; in addition to the parallel boundaries of the climates, he introduced, instead of meridians, ten longitudinal divisions. Thus the map and the narrative became divided into seventy sections. The numbering of climates is from south to north, the numbers of sections go west to east, again showing Greek influence. The text follows this arrangement after a brief general introduction, describing important geographical features of each section: cities, mountains, rivers, seas, islands, and so on, progressing eastward. Al-Idrisi names the most toponyms since Ptolemy, expanding and updating the medieval Arabic geographical inventory. He is academically unbiased, and all locations get more or less equal attention; he describes many identifiable locations for the first time in the geographical literature. Only ten of al-Idrisi's sources are named, and contemporary information gets indiscriminately mixed with data compiled from the Greek, Latin, and earlier Islamic sources.

The narrative follows itineraries, connected by travel distances expressed in miles *(mil)*, units *(farsakh)* (three miles), caravan stages *(marhala),* day marches, or days of sailing. The earth is depicted as surrounded by the Encircling Sea, *al-Bahr al-Muhit* (the Greek Ocean). Africa is extended eastward to form the southern coast of the Indian ocean, which, however, remains open in the Far East. The southern limit of the inhabited world is north of the equator in *Nuzhat al-mushtaq*, but south of the equator in The Little Idrisi. The southern portion of the round world map is filled with the African landmass, not shown on sectional maps. The western limit is the prime meridian drawn through the westernmost part of Africa, but the Fortunate Isles in the Atlantic are included. The easternmost country is *Sila* (Korea), supposedly at 180°E. The northern limit is at the Polar Circle (64°N.). The color-coded maps demonstrate a thoughtful and somewhat artistic approach, but



Al-Idrisi (twelfth century). Geographic Atlas of the Indian Ocean. Eleventh to twelfth century. Credit: Bridgeman-Giraudon/Art Resource, NY. National Library (Dar-al-Kutub), Cairo, Egypt.

neither the degrees nor itineraries are drawn on them, and their practical value is doubtful. A pieced-together Latin version of this map was produced in Paris by Petrus Bertius in the 1620s.

MARINA A. TOLMACHEVA

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IDRISIDS

The Idrisids, a local dynasty of Arab origin, emerged out of the shifting Berber tribal groupings of Islamic northwestern Africa *(al-Maghrib)* in the late eighth century CE. Surviving, often tenuously for some two centuries, the dynasty is notable for having founded the city of Fez *(Fas)*, which was their capital, and for establishing Arabo-Islamic religious and political culture in this area.

In 789, the leader of a powerful Berber tribal group, the Awraba, determined to politically and religiously legitimize his dominion, invited a local *sharif*, Idris ibn ʻAbd Allah, a descendant of ʻAli b. Abu Talib, to serve as the regime's *imam*, or spiritual leader. After *imam* Idris was assassinated in 791, a period of political unrest followed, after which one of his young sons was named *imam* as Idris II (808–828). Idris II gained the political initiative from his Berber sponsors in 809 by founding a new capital city, Fez, and inviting Arabs from al-Andalus and the Aghlabid territories to settle there. Fez soon became the capital of the most powerful and dynamic state in the Maghrib, Idrisid power having expanded to include most of modern Morocco. Idris II was succeeded by his brother Muhammad (828–836), who passed the throne on to his son ʻAli (836–859), who was then followed by his brother Yahya (859–863). This was the period of greatest stability for the Idrisids, and Fez continued to be a favored destination of refugees and immigrants from al-Andalus and Ifriqiyya.

The reign of the weak Yahya II (863–866) ushered in the decline of the dynasty, which was beset by internal rivalries and degenerated into a state of civil war. This was aggravated in the early tenth century by the rise of the Fatimids, who made them tributaries in 917. Eventually expelled from their capital by Miknasa Berbers, the Idrisids were driven into an alliance with the Umayyads of Cordoba, who allowed the dynasty to reconstitute itself, this time in the RÔf mountains in the 930s, where their capital was the fortress of Hajar al-Nasr. For the following half century the Idrisids survived in semiautonomy by playing off the Umayyads and Fatimids, all the while beset by a host of tribal enemies. Following a defeat of the Umayyads in 958, the family recognized the authority of the Fatimids. In 972, the Umayyads rallied, defeated the Fatimid forces, and took members of the Idrisid family as prisoners to Cordoba, formally deposing al-Hasan b. al-Qasim Gannun in 974. Eventually al-Hasan made his way to Egypt and was reinstalled by the Fatimids in 985. That same year, al-Mansur, ruler of Umayyad al-Andalus, dispatched an army to depose al-Hasan, who was taken prisoner and executed.

Fez is the Idrisid's greatest legacy. The two great mosques, al-Qarawiyyin and al-Andalusiyyin, founded by refugees from Tunisia and al-Andalus, became centers of a vibrant religious culture, further stimulated by the dynasty's connection to the family of ʻAli. The city remained the cultural capital of the Maghrib until the dawn of the colonial period.

BRIAN A. CATLOS

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IKHSHIDIDS

The Ikhshidids were a short-lived Turkish dynasty that ruled Egypt and Syria from 935 to 966. The dynasty originally claimed power as the representatives of the ʻAbbasid caliph, much like the Tulunids before them. However, with the occupation of Baghdad by the Shiʻi Buyids in 945, they styled themselves as independent Sunni rulers.

The founder of this dynasty, Muhammad b. Tughj b. Juff al-Ikhshid, belonged to a military family that served the caliphal government over three generations and was sometimes embroiled in its internecine conflicts. Muhammad grew up in Tulunid Syria and was briefly jailed, along with his father and brother, after the ʻAbbasid reconquest. He later received appointment as governor of Egypt. After turning back a Fatimid invasion at Alexandria in 936, he repelled the forces of the ʻAbbasids' chief general *(amir l-umara)*, Ibn Ra'iq, in Syria, who wished to check his growing power.

The caliph al-Radi invested Muhammad with the title of al-Ikhshid at the latter's request in 939. This marked a significant concession by the caliph. The title derives from a word for king or ruler in Old Persian and was originally claimed by pre-Islamic rulers of Soghdia and Ferghana.

Muhammad's success relied on his military prowess and practical nature. In addition to the Fatimids and Ibn Ra'iq, he defeated the Hamdanids in Syria in 942 and 945. He did not, however, exploit these victories to his full advantage. He preferred to negotiate settlements in their aftermath to secure the peace.

Political interests tempered Muhammad's profession of support for the ʻAbbasids. During his conflict with Ibn Ra'iq, he considered recognizing the Fatimid imam in the Friday prayer and marrying his daughter to the imam's son. Although he offered sanctuary to the caliph al-Muttaqi in 944, he presumably intended to use his presence to bolster his legitimacy. The caliph declined his invitation.

Muhammad sought to ensure the succession of his family, which proved a difficult task. His authority rested on his personal prestige. He and his family did not have an ethnic or religious following. The deterioration of ʻAbbasid fortunes, however, aided his plans. During a campaign to Damascus in 942, he had his troops swear fealty to his son Abu 'l-Qasim Unujur. In 944, he secured a thirty-year claim to govern Egypt and Syria from the caliph al-Muttaqi for himself and his descendants while this caliph fended off dire threats from the East.

Although succeeded by his son Unujur, Muhammad's principal military commander and black eunuch, Kafur, assumed effective control after his death in 946. Kafur had been purchased from Nubia and enjoyed Muhammad's confidence. He participated in important military engagements such as the campaign against the Hamdanids in 945. He was also entrusted with the education of Muhammad's two sons.

Kafur earned distinction as a capable chief minister and later ruler in his own right despite facing numerous crises. He guaranteed the succession of Unujur in 946 and ʻAli in 961. He finally declared himself ruler upon ʻAli's death in 966. ʻAli's son Ahmad was a minor and therefore ineligible to succeed. The ʻAbbasid caliph granted Kafur a diploma of investiture, though he seems to have refrained from inscribing his name on his coinage. Kafur guided Egypt and Syria through recurrent famine, a destructive fire in Fustat, and an earthquake, in addition to revolts and external military threats from the Fatimids and Hamdanids. He built palaces, mosques, a hospital, and the capital's Kafuriyya gardens, but no trace of these monuments survives.

The Ikhshidids presented a Sunni bulwark against a rising tide of Shiʻi domination in the Near East. The occupation of Baghdad by the Buyids in 945 left them as nearly the only significant Sunni power. Their demise allowed the Fatimids to conquer Egypt and Syria.

Stuart D. Sears

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ILKHANIDS (1258–1335)

Bowing to the request and entreaties of an envoy from the northern Persian city of Qazvin, the Great Khan Möngke (1251–1259), grandson of Genghis Khan, assigned his brother, Hülegü Khan, to march westward toward the Islamic heartlands. The Iranian Qadi (chief justice) had been explicit in his audience with Möngke Khan. Mongol military rule in Iran was corrupt, brutal, and inefficient. The Assassins or Ismailis, considered heretics and terrorists by most Iranians, were undermining the social fabric of Persian society and terrorizing its citizens and indeed had probably even infiltrated the court of the Great Khan himself. The Iranians wanted the Great Khan to extend his justice and rule into the west and end the anarchy that prevailed there. When Möngke discovered that Ismaili assassins had indeed infiltrated his court, he instructed Hülegü to march on Iran, rid the country of the "heretical" Ismailis, seek the submission of the caliph of Baghdad, and extend the rule of his justice and glory from the banks of the Oxus to the sands of Egypt.

Hülegü razed Alamut, the headquarters of the Ismaili Assassins, to the ground in 1256. For Juwayni, the historian and Hülegü's governor of Baghdad, the annihilation of Alamut justified and explained God's purpose in sending the Mongols to the lands of Islam. In 1258, the caliph of Islam, heeding the self-serving intrigues at his court, foolishly rebuffed Hülegü's calls to peacefully submit and defied the gathering Mongol forces. Advised by his Muslim aides and assisted by local armies of Muslim, Armenian, Kurdish, and Turkish troops, Hülegü destroyed Baghdad, though many including Shi'is, clerics, and Christians were given safe conduct from the city. After the battle the caliph was executed, and it is probable that the libraries and treasures of the city found their way to the first Ilkhanid capital, Maragheh (Azerbaijan, northwestern Iran) where Hülegü built an observatory and university for his court favorite, Shaykh Nassir al-Din Tusi.

Both Hülegü (d. 1265) and his son, Abaqa (r. 1265–1282), the first Ilkhans of Iran, were renowned for their wisdom and justice, and Iran experienced for the first time in many decades a period of security, peace, and prosperity. Maragheh, and later Tabriz, became prosperous hubs of international commerce and cultural exchange. Italian traders, Armenian merchants, Uighur middlemen, Persian poets, Chinese astrologers, Arab mathematicians, and intellectuals, scientists, agronomists, and scholars from east and west mingled in the halls and chambers and crowded bazaars of the Ilkhanid capitals. The city–states of Yazd, Kirman, Shiraz, and Herat all pledged allegiance to the Ilkhan and thrived under Mongol rule.

Ghazan Khan (1295–1304) converted to Islam probably more from political astuteness than from conviction, and Islam became the official religion of the state. However, ties with the Yuan dynasty of China continued to strengthen in all spheres bolstered by the personal ties between the "renaissance men," Bolad Chinksank, a Mongol, and Rashid al-Dīn, the Persian wazir. Both Iran and China thrived economically, culturally, and socially under the relatively enlightened administration of their Mongol rulers and there was mutual benefit from the close ties they maintained. The Ilkhanate did not decline but simply disappeared. The last Ilkhan, Abu Sa'id (r. 1316–1335), died without an heir, and it was at its peak that the Ilkhanate ceased. In its wake it left a state roughly corresponding to the modern state of Iran, and its legacy was a rebirth of the Iranian sense of statehood and national identity.

George Lane

See also Assassins; Ismailis

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ILLUMINATIONISM

Derived from "illumination," a conventional translation of the Arabic term *ishraq* (lit. radiance, shining of the rising sun), "illuminationism" refers to the doctrine of the *Ishraqiyyun*, a school of philosophical and mystical thought of various Graeco-Oriental roots whose principles were propounded as an ancient "science of lights" *('ilm al-anwar)* by Shihab al-Din Yaþya al-Suhrawardi in his *Kitab hikmat al-ishraq*, a fundamental work completed in AH 582/1186 CE. The author—not to be confused with the well-known Sufi Shaykh Shihab al-Dõn 'Umar al-Suhrawardi (d. 632/1234)—was an original thinker in the tradition of Avicenna and, like the latter, a prolific writer of Arabic and Persian philosophical treatises, as well as a number of tales of a more mystical and allusive nature. Born probably around 550/1155 in Suhraward, a village near Zanjan (Iranian Azerbayjan), he is said to have studied philosophy and Shafi'i law in Maragha, according to some accounts also in Isfahan. Some time later, he must have moved for an extended period within the upper Mesopotamian region of Mardin, Diyarbakir, and Kharput, where the Artuqid prince 'Imad al-Din Abu Bakr b. Qara Arslan (r. AH 581–600/1185–1204 CE) became his patron. It was to this 'Imad al-Din that he dedicated one of his characteristic writings, *Al-Alwah al-'Imadiyya*, a work of mixed philosophical and Sufi content ending up with a fervent glorification of the mythical Iranian kings Faridun and Kay Khusraw. He finally settled in Aleppo, where his ideas evidently met with the displeasure of the established religious authorities. He was executed on charges of heresy in 587/1191 or thereabouts by order of the famous sultan Saladin (hence his byname *al-maqtul,* "executed one").

Skeptical of the formalized structures of Avicennian metaphysics and epistemology in which he himself had been raised, Suhrawardi made an attempt to work out an alternative approach to reality. Based on visionary experience and the recognition of a separate world of images, he envisioned a dynamic world of multiple irradiations originating with the distant "light of lights" *(nur al-anwar*, the *ishraqi* equivalent of the Avicennian "necessary of existence," that is, God*)* and falling in various ways and degrees of intensity on obscure matter. In technical language his approach came to be known later as the doctrine of the primary reality of quiddities *(asalat alm mahiyya)*, as opposed to the primary reality of existence *(asalat al-wujud)*. According to Suhrawardi, the human soul is a luminous substance, namely, the "regent light" *(al-nur al-mudabbir* or *al-nur al-isfahbud* in *ishraqi* terminology—perhaps a reminiscence of the Stoic *hegemonikon),* knows whatever it does really know through a direct encounter with the illumined object *(muqabalat al-mustanir)* rather than by way of abstraction in terms of Aristotelian species and genera. The discovery of this type of knowledge, called presential knowledge *(al-'ilm al-huduri)*, is regarded as one of Suhrawardi's lasting contributions in the history of Islamic thought.

There can be no doubt that Suhrawardi was intimately familiar with Sufi traditions and spiritual practices such as *dhikr* (remembering or memorizing God) and *sama'* (listening to music), but he does not seem to have been part of the established Sufi organizations of his time, which generally rather enjoyed the favors of Saladin. In his "tales of initiation," the luminous guiding principle is frequently encountered as a cosmic Intellect, a figure of angelic or otherwise mythical qualities (such as the bird Simurgh), sometimes with the attributes of a Sufi Shaykh, or simply as the "Teacher." Suhrawardi makes it clear that he considered classical Sufi saints rather than the *falasifa* as the true philosophers of the present (Islamic) era, and also hints that the ancient wisdom had reached him through mysterious Sufi channels, but he associates his science of lights principally with the names of Plato, Hermes, Empedokles, Pythagoras, and the "Oriental principle *(qa'idat al-sharq)* concerning light and darkness" of the Sages of ancient Iran. In effect, he created a new school of Neoplatonic thought of a distinctly Iranian flavor, which to some extent paralleled earlier developments in Fatimid Ismaili thought. This, together with his ambiguous allusions to the "time deprived of divine administration," when the "powers of darkness take over" and

the rightful "representative of God" *(khalifat Allah)* or "divinely inspired leader" *(al-imam al-muta'allih)* is hidden, may well have been enough to provoke his enemies among the *'ulama'* and to eventually lead to his execution.

His ideas were nevertheless taken up and elaborated one or two generations later by philosophers such as Ibn Kamm.na (d. 683/1284), Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Shahrazuri (d. after 687/1288), and Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi (d. 710/1311 or 716/1316), and were at that time well-known among philosophical Sufis (such as 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Qashani, d. 736/1335) as a distinct *ishraqi* tradition. They continued to exercise considerable influence on later intellectual developments in Persia, especially in the philosophical schools of Shiraz (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) and Isfahan (seventeenth century) with Mir Damad and Mulla Sadra. They were also influential in Moghul India (notably in mixed Sufi and Zoroastrian milieux at the court of the emperor Akbar) and in Ottoman Turkey, where they appear to have found their way into more orthodox Sufi circles (for example, Isma'il Ankaravi, d. 1041/1631). However, it should be noted that the occurrence of the term *ishraq* in Sufi texts does not necessarily indicate an influence of illuminationism as understood by Suhrawardi. The North African Sufi treatise titled *Qawanin hikam al-ishraq* by Abu l-Mawahib al-Tunisi al-Shadhili (d. 882/1477) and published in English as *Illumination in Islamic Mysticism* (translated by E.J. Jurji, Princeton, 1938) has little more in common with Suhrawardi's principal work than a similar title.

On the other hand, Suhrawardi's *Ishraqiyyun* were by no means unknown in fourteenth-century Muslim Spain, as is evident from the excellent summary of "the views of the followers of [the doctrine of] the lights among the Ancients" given by Lisan al-Din Ibn al-Khatib al-Gharnati (d. 776/1374) in his *Rawdat al ta'rif bi l-hubb al-sharif* (edited by M. al-Kattani, Beirut, 1970, II, 564–574); and it is worth noting that this author clearly distinguishes them from "the views of the philosophers naturalized among the Muslims" on one hand, that is, the Aristotelian tradition ending up with Averroes, and from Sufism on the other.

HERMANN LANDOLT

See also Isma'ili Thought; Mir Damad; Mulla Sadra; Al-Suhrawardi, Shihab al-Din; Saladin

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IMAM

The word *imam* (lit., leader, guide) has different connotations in Sunnism and Shi'ism. In Sunnism the word bears no specific doctrinal importance; it may

refer to a political/religious leader, a religious scholar, or the person who leads a collective prayer. In Shi'ism, however, the word carries an important semantic and doctrinal significance. To understand its full extent, one must know that the person of the imam is the true hub around which revolves the entire Shi'i faith. The function and the nature of the imam, both concentrated in the central concept of the *walâya* (friendship or divine covenant), constitute the esoteric front of the prophecy *(nubuwwa)*.

In Shi'ism's fundamental vision of the world, any reality is made up of a manifest aspect *(zâhir)* and a secret aspect *(bâtin)*, the latter being hidden under the former. One of the many consequences of this basic doctrine is that the Divine Word, the Revelation at the root of the religion, also has an apparent aspect (that is, an exoteric dimension, a letter) and a hidden aspect (that is, esoteric, a spirit).

In this dialectic, the Prophet is the messenger of the letter of the Revelation. He is always accompanied in his mission by one or more imams who are the guides to the spirit of the Revelation. Moreover, in theology, Shi'ism represents the historical imam as the apparent front of a metaphysical, cosmic, archetypal Imam, who is in turn the revealed face of God, a theophanic vehicle of the Divine Names and Attributes.

These fundamental facts make it possible in Shi'ism to distinguish three separate but complementary meanings to the word "imam," from an exoteric level to more esoteric dimensions:

1. Imam as a religious scholar, teaching exoteric aspects of law, theology, exegesis, cosmology, and so on to an audience of mixed pupils, both Shi'is and non-Shi'is.
2. Imam as initiating master and thaumaturge, who holds the secret knowledge of the mysteries of God, of man, and of the universe and who possesses supranormal and miraculous powers. At this level the imam is the divine guide who teaches the esoteric level of the teachings only to Shi'i disciples. He thus transmits his knowledge and powers to those he has initiated.
3. Lastly, imam as the Face of God, perfect Man in which the divine attributes are manifested. This image of the deified man constitutes the "esoteric of the esoteric" of the imam's person and can be considered as The Secret of all secrets in the Shi'i doctrinal teachings. It is illustrated in several traditions going back to the historical imams, whose daring tone recalls the mystics' paradoxical words *(shatahât)*: "We are (we, imams) the Most Beautiful Names of God; we are the Face of God, His Hand, His Tongue"; "I am the First and the Last; I am the Apparent and the Hidden; I am the Merciful and the Compassionate."

One can thus measure the impact of this sacrosanct title held by political leaders, such as Mûsâ al-Sadr in Lebanon and Khomeyni in Iran, for the first time in Shi'ism after the historical imams, having recourse to the many meanings of the word, as well as to the ambiguity of its connotations.

Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi

See also Shi'i Thought; Shi'ism; Titles

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INDIA

The earliest Muslims came to the Indian subcontinent to earn a living, to conquer, to teach religion, and to seek refuge. The first immigrants were Arab traders who, as early as the eighth century, settled in many of the seaports along the western and southern coasts of India. Later, their descendants moved to major cities inland, as well as farther south to Sri Lanka. In 711, a small Arab expedition, under the command of a seventeen-year-old general, Muhammad ibn Qasim, was sent to subjugate pirates who had been pillaging Arab ships. The expedition conquered parts of Sind and, with the assistance of local allies, founded a state that survived for nearly three centuries. These early Arab mercantile and political connections laid the basis for the strong affinity of later Muslim communities in southern and southwestern India with the Arab world and Arabian culture. In contrast, in northern and northwestern regions of the subcontinent, the first immigrants were from Central Asia, mostly consisting of Turks and Afghans who had been culturally Persianized. As a result of political turmoil in Central Asia in the tenth century, these groups crossed the Himalayas and entered India. Initially they were interested in acquiring booty rather than settling in the region. The most prominent of these invaders was Mahmud (d. 1030), ruler of the

kingdom of Ghazna (now in Afghanistan) who, from 1000 CE onward, invaded India seventeen times. His looting of a famous temple in Somnath in Kathiawar in 1026 has earned him a reputation of the quintessential Muslim archenemy among Hindu nationalistic circles in contemporary India. The most remarkable legacy of Mahmud's invasions is the *Kitab al-Hind,* the earliest Arabic account of the life, thought, and culture of India, written by al-Biruni, a scholar of Central Asian origin attached to Mahmud's court.

After Mahmud's death, the Ghaznavid empire expanded into India, with the city of Lahore becoming its capital. Over the next several centuries, dynasties such as the "Slave Kings" established a state centered at Delhi, while other Afghans and Central Asians established kingdoms in Bengal, the Deccan, and western India. The most famous of these Central Asian dynasties were the Mughals, founded in 1526 by the emperor Babur. With the support of local Hindu allies such as the Rajputs, the Mughals consolidated control over a vast portion of India, creating an empire under whose auspices there was a veritable renaissance in Indo-Muslim culture.

The growth of sultanates resulted in an influx of Central Asian Turks, Iranians, and Afghans into India. Some sought administrative positions in the state bureaucracies. Poets and artists came in search of royal patronage while religious scholars *(ulama)* and Sufi *shaykhs* looked for new opportunities. Although immigrants were significant to the establishment of a Muslim presence in India, they eventually constituted a minority within the total Muslim population. Ethnically, the vast majority of Muslims in the region are of indigenous origin. We are only now beginning to understand the complex processes by which they became Muslim.

Ali Asani

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INHERITANCE

Inheritance *(ilm al-fara'id, mirath)* pertains to the rules for the division of wealth among the heirs of a deceased Muslim man or woman.

Traditional Islamic Perspective

The intergenerational transmission of property, by means of a last will and testament *(wasiyya),* was reportedly a common procedure prior to the rise of Islam and during the Meccan period.

In 622, the hijra to Medina necessitated changes in the existing inheritance rules. The Emigrants cut themselves off from their nonbelieving relatives in Mecca, and, for this reason, Muhammad instituted a pact of brotherhood between the Emigrants and the Helpers: Emigrants might no longer inherit from their relatives in Mecca, but they could inherit from Helpers in Medina, and vice versa (Q 8:72). This arrangement was subsequently abrogated by Q 8:75 and Q 33:6.

In the early Medinan period, six verses that regulate testamentary succession were revealed to Muhammad. Q 2:180 enjoins a person contemplating death to leave a bequest for parents and relatives; Q 2:181 holds accountable to God anyone who alters a last will and testament; Q 2:182 encourages the reconciliation of parties who disagree about the provisions of a will; Q 2:240 permits a testator to stipulate that his widow is entitled to a maximum of one year's maintenance, on the condition that she remain in her deceased husband's home; and Q 5:105–106 establish that a last will and testament should be drawn up or dictated in the presence of two witnesses. Under this regime, a person contemplating death continued to enjoy substantial freedom to determine who his or her heirs would be and what they would inherit (hereinafter, Q 2:180 and 2:240 will be referred to as "the bequest verses").

Following the Battle of Uhud in 625, Muhammad received a second series of revelations that appear to establish compulsory rules for the division of property: Q 4:8 affirms the inheritance rights of men *and* women, while Q 4:11–12 and 4:176 specify the exact fractional shares to which daughter(s), parent(s), sibling(s), and a spouse are entitled. Known as "the inheritance verses," Q 4:11, 4:12, and 4:176 form the core of what would become "science of the shares," a system that imposes compulsory rules for the division of property and is justly renowned for its mathematical complexity.

Almost immediately, the Muslim community identified certain redundancies in, and apparent inconsistencies between, the bequest verses and the inheritance verses. Some of these inconsistencies were reportedly resolved by Muhammad. Following the conquest of Mecca in 630, the Prophet stipulated that "a bequest may not exceed 1/3," a pronouncement that strikes a balance between the compulsory and voluntary aspects of the science of the shares: a minimum of two-thirds of any estate is distributed among the heirs in accordance with the inheritance verses; a maximum of one-third may be used, at the discretion of a person contemplating death, for

bequests. May a close relative receive a bequest of up to a third of the estate in addition to the fractional share specified in the inheritance verses? No, because Muhammad is reported to have said on the occasion of his Farewell Pilgrimage in 632, "No bequest to an heir," that is, a person contemplating death may not leave a bequest for anyone who will receive a fractional share of the estate as specified in the inheritance verses. Since the time of al-Shafi'i (d. 820), Muslim jurists have regarded this prophetic dictum as an indicator that the inheritance verses abrogated the bequest verses.

Other problems were identified and resolved during the first century AH. Oddly, Q 4:12b awards siblings a maximum of one-third of the estate, whereas Q 4:176 awards siblings anywhere from 50% to 100% of the estate. The apparent contradiction was harmonized by Qur'an commentators who taught that *uterine* siblings are intended in Q 4:12b, whereas *consanguine* and/or *germane siblings* are intended in Q 4:176. This explanation requires that the revelation of Q. 4:12b precede that of Q 4:176. To this end the tradition teaches that Q 4:176 was the last verse revealed to Muhammad.

The mechanical operation of the Qur'anic rules created further problems. For example, Q 4:11 specifies that "a male is entitled to a share of two females," a phrase that the scholars understood as a general principle applying to all males and females of the same class and degree of relationship to the deceased (for example, sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, mothers and fathers). This principle is contradicted, however, in the case of a childless man who dies, leaving his wife and both parents: Q 4:11 assigns one-third of the estate to the mother; and Q 4:12 assigns one-fourth to the widow, leaving five-twelfths for the father, who inherits as the closest surviving agnate. Clearly, the father's share is not twice as large as that of the mother. The principle is also violated if a childless woman dies, leaving her husband and both parents, in which case the Qur'an assigns half to the widower, one-third to the mother, and one-sixth to the father, a solution that inverts the M = 2F "principle."

The solution to this problem is attributed to the second caliph, Umar b. al-Khattab (r. 634–644). Asked about a childless man who died, leaving a wife and both parents, Umar replied, "The wife is entitled to 1/4, the mother is entitled to 1/3 *of what remains* [viz., 1/4], and the father is entitled to whatever is left [viz., 1/2]." Here, Umar preserves the M = 2F principle (the father inherits half, the mother one-fourth) by interpolating the Qur'anic phrase that awards a share of the estate to the mother as if it reads "one-third of what remains." But the principle was saved at the expense of the Qur'anic specification that the mother should inherit "one-third" of the estate. The solution to the case in which a woman dies, leaving her husband and both parents, was reportedly resolved in a similar manner by Ali (d. 661), al-Harith al-A'war (d. 684), or Zayd b. Thabit (d. 665).

A different problem arises when a person dies and leaves a particular constellation of heirs, all of whom are sharers, and yet, the sum of their Qur'anic fractional shares exceeds 100% of the estate. Suppose that a man dies and leaves two daughters, both parents, and a wife. All six persons qualify as sharers, but the sum of the shares specified in the Qur'an (two-thirds for the daughters, one-sixth for the father, one-sixth for the mother, and one-eighth for the wife) equals 27/24. The solution to this problem is attributed to the caliph Umar, Zayd b. Thabit, and/or Ali: By reducing the share of each heir on a pro rata basis (a procedure known as *awl*), the sum total of the shares is reduced to one. In the present case the shares become 16/27 (for the two daughters), 4/27 (father), 4/27 (mother) and 3/27 (wife), with a total of 100% (27/27). Although this procedure solved a mathematical problem, it created a further hermeneutical and theological complication, for the result of this procedure is that no heir receives the exact share specified in the Qur'an.

The general features of the science of the shares were clearly established by the middle of the second century AH, as reflected in the earliest extant treatise on the topic, written by Sufyan al-Thawri (d. 161/778): There are two classes of heirs—sharers and agnates. The sharers are those persons for whom the Qur'an specifies a fractional share of the estate (daughter[s], father, mother, spouse, and, in the absence of children, sibling[s]). The agnates are persons related to the deceased exclusively through male links, arranged in a series of hierarchical classes, with a member of a higher class, excluding all members of a lower class from entering the inheritance; within each class, a person nearer in degree of relationship to the deceased excludes all others in a more remote degree, for example, a son excludes a grandson. In the absence of a blood relative, the *mawla,* or patron, of the deceased inherits.

The division of an estate proceeds in three stages: (1) any debts and/or bequests are paid; (2) the sharers take their Qur'anic entitlements; and (3) the closest surviving agnate inherits whatever remains. For example, if a man dies, leaving a wife, son, and two brothers, the wife inherits one-eighth as a sharer and the son inherits the remaining seven-eighths as the

closest surviving agnate, totally excluding the brothers as heirs. If the deceased also leaves a daughter, she is transformed into a residuary heir by her brother: he inherits 7/12 and she inherits 7/24, after the wife takes her 1/8 share. In theory, the person contemplating death is powerless to affect the relative entitlement of the heirs; he or she may not, for example, stipulate that the estate will pass to one heir to the exclusion of the others, that is, the deceased does not have the power to disinherit his close relatives.

The Imami Shi'is reject the systematic residuary entitlement of the agnates. Instead of a principle of male agnatic succession, they rely on a criterion of nearness of relationship that applies equally to males and females and to both agnatic and uterine relations of the deceased. Their system gives priority in inheritance to an inner family consisting of the children, parents, and siblings of the deceased, together with the spouse. These close relatives are regarded as the "roots" through whom are linked to the deceased the "branches" of the outer family, who stand next in priority in inheritance. No branch is excluded on the grounds of nonagnatic relationship to the deceased; every root is capable of transmitting its right of inheritance to its "branch."

Western Perspectives

Islamic sources indicate that the Muslim community's understanding of the Qur'anic inheritance verses was the subject of controversy during the lifetime of Muhammad and in the years immediately following his death.

At the center of this controversy stand Umar b. al-Khattab and the word *kalala*, which occurs twice in the Qur'an, once in Q 4:12b and again in 4:176. The commentators define *kalala* as "a person who dies leaving neither parent nor child." The sources, however, preserve a series of vivid reports that point to early confusion over the meaning of this word and the "reading" *(qira'a)* of Q 4:12b: On one occasion Umar said that he would rather know the meaning of *al-kalala* than possess the equivalent of the poll-tax of the fortresses of Byzantium. After he became caliph, Umar announced his intention to issue a decree about this word but was dissuaded from doing so by the appearance of a snake. Shortly before his demise, Umar said, "If I live, I will issue a decree about [*al-kalala*] so that no one who recites the Quran will disagree about it." On his deathbed, Umar destroyed a document that he had written about *al-kalala* (al-Tabari, Jami', 6:43–44).

Taking these narratives as his starting point, D. Powers has proposed three significant departures from the traditional understanding of the Qur'anic inheritance verses. First, he has suggested an alternative "reading" of Q. 4:12b according to which this subverse refers to the possibility of designating a testamentary heir; understood in this manner, the verse then clarifies the situation in which the deceased disinherits a brother or sister in favor of a wife or daughter-in-law. Second, he argues that the fractional share awarded to a surviving spouse in Q 4:12a was originally intended to apply only in the exceptional case of a wife who had received no dower, and that the exception was transformed into a rule during the generation following the death of the Prophet. Third, he argues that the bequest verses remained in force for at least twenty-five years after Muhammad's death, at which time a shift in the understanding of Q 4:12 made it appear as if the bequest verses were incompatible with the inheritance verses. Muslim scholars harmonized the relationship between the bequest and inheritance verses by invoking the doctrine of abrogation, ostensibly a sign of a change in the divine will, in reality a sign of changed perceptions of the meaning of the divine word. One advantage of the thesis proposed by Powers is that it eliminates the apparent contradictions and mathematical complexities associated with the science of the shares.

Islamic Inheritance System

As the conquests unfolded, Muslims living in the Near East and beyond found themselves subject to the science of the shares, which, to the extent that it was applied, resulted in the progressive fragmentation of wealth and capital. It is not surprising that proprietors found numerous ways to circumvent the inheritance rules or that they received important assistance in this regard from Muslim jurists who, distinguishing between postmortem and inter vivos transactions, taught that the inheritance rules take effect only on property owned by the deceased at the moment that he or she enters his or her deathbed illness and that proprietors are free, for the most part, to dispose of their property in any way they wish prior to that moment. Thus a proprietor may shift assets to his desired heir or heirs by means of a gift, acknowledgment of a debt, sale, or creation of a family endowment, on the condition that these legal actions conform to the requisite formalities. Thus, to understand how property passed from one generation

to the next in Muslim societies, it is important to consider not only the science of the shares but also the wider and more comprehensive Islamic inheritance system.

David Stephan Powers

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INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

Definition

Islamic intellectual history, like that of other movements, is the story of the longitudinal effort to assist it in surviving, and to implement its ideology in practice. One should bear in mind that the following is a rather schematic survey of positions whose boundaries in reality were far less clear cut.

Age of Ideology

Islam, as a total system, was the solution offered to the basically local practical problem of social justice in Mecca, as reflected in the Meccan suras of the Qur'an. In the seventh century the intellectual context of that society was, according to Islamic historiography, pagan fatalism mixed with harsh capitalism, although some modern scholars question this view.

Viewed from a scholarly point of view, Muhammad's Islam is an Arabic version of earlier monotheistic beliefs of Judaism and Christianity. As many ideologies tend to be puristic, viewed from a believer's point of view, Islam is a renewal of the original monotheistic religion that was sent to the Prophet Muhammad directly from its eternal source, with no foreign contribution whatsoever.

Both ideology and measures were more or less sufficient for the needs of the time of the Prophet and perhaps somewhat into the era of the four righteous caliphs.

Practicality Problems

Already during their reign difficult practical problems arose that threatened ideology:

1. Firstly, Islam as a tool for the solution of a specific problem turned into an end in itself, that is, a universal solution for any problem. Inevitably, with the spreading of the original

faith thinly on new Muslims, the gap between ideology and practicality widened. Perhaps the principal question became how to translate ideology into practicality in running an empire rather than a town.
2. Secondly, class strife, such as the Medinan aristocracy's attempt to preserve power, did little to bridge the widening gap between ideology and practicality. Personal conflicts over claim to justice and power turned ideological: 'Alid's, Shi'a came to occupy a position of guardians of the ideological against what seemed to them unjustified deviation toward the practical.
3. Thirdly, after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, the authoritative fountain-head for ideology ceased to provide, leaving ever-created new questions unanswered. Attempts to solve the problems were made on both the personal and the general levels by assassination and military steps (the first and second civil wars of the old Medinan aristocracy against the Prophet's cousin and son in law 'Ali ibn Abi Talib), neither providing any real remedy.

As the ideological approach was seen to fall short of addressing all the above difficulties, a shift toward the practical was made on more than one level:

Leadership ceased to be granted to individually elected leaders on a basis of equality in Islam. In addition, the Umayyads, replacing it by a dynastic system, were faced with a major problem of ideological justification.

Among the salient problems that resulted was inequality of both the internal Arabs, and also such perceived as directed against the new non-Arab Muslims. Another was the fact that the Qur'an did not suffice for addressing all the contemporary practical needs. Foreign input and connection therefore needed to be sought. As part of the openness toward the exterior, the capital was moved to Damascus, closer to Byzantium and centers of Christianity.

Preference was given to political leaning over religious purist policy. In addition, and perhaps more menacingly, along with a rationalistic view to problem solving, a more humanistic, skeptical, and philosophical direction infiltrated Islam, especially in the form of the Qadariyya and the beginnings of the Muhtazilah.

As a result, the Umayyads were perceived as leaders who were inclined too heavily toward the practical (and also to what might be called secular) at the expense of the ideological.

The reaction was an open conflict between 'ulama' and the court, with strong political opposition that culminated in the Abbasid revolution of 750 CE.

Return to Ideology

The 'Abbasids, belonging to the family of the Prophet Muhammad, claimed to constitute a return to ideology and condemned their predecessors on religious grounds. They, in turn, moved the capital to Al+s basis of power, Baghdad. As on principle the tension between ideology and practicality cannot be undone, not only did it remain during their five centuries of reign, but also it became more acute, spreading over the entire intellectual range.

In the earlier part of the period it took the form of division between the sciences of the Arabs, such as Qur'anic interpretation (ideology), as well as artistic means (poetry), those of the Ancients, such as medicine (practicality), which were translated systematically during the ninth and tenth centuries, and a range of disciplines to bridge the two (for example, kalÁm).

The sciences of the Ancients were all imported, but other disciplines were imported as well, such as literary genres *(adab),* politics, and some poetic themes from Persia, and philosophies (such as Indian atomism). Furthermore, even within the ideological camp the views ranged; for example, the institution of legal schools *(madhÁhib),* the existence of the discipline of legal stratagems (Ýilm al-hiyal), or the wide range of Qur'anic interpretation (starting with bilÁ kaifa, and ending with allegorical ones). On the other hand, ideology had to defend itself against opposition from within too (Sufism), where the conflict sometimes took a bloody turn. By contrast, that between practicality and ideology at the time of al-Mamkn created the MiÎnah, the Islamic form of inquisition. Its most illustrious victim was Ibn Hanbal (d. 855 CE), whose redefinition of the ideological holds to date.

Non-Arab Muslims, especially Persians, reacted to Arab Islam puristic attitude with the Shu'ubiyya movement that on the one hand stressed equality in Islam, but on the other hand stressed their special side. This movement produced some of the most outstanding Muslim thinkers in all intellectual domains, thus responding to Islam's practical and growing need for external fertilization.

On the political level, one of the discrepancies between ideology and practicality had to do with the proliferation of Islamic dynasties. It was solved in such a way as to allow their existence (practicality) while maintaining the institution of the caliph (ideology) and justifying reality as the manifestation of God's will. In spite, or perhaps because of, this competition between ideology and practicality, the tenth century was the richest in Islamic history in

all domains and contributed the most to world culture.

The shift toward the closed ideological grew stronger especially after al-Ghazali (d. 1111). On the one hand, he declared amnesty to Sufism and incorporated it into official Islam, but on the other hand he revived religious studies (ideological) and attacked philosophy. This very discipline was an issue of reciprocal influence with other cultures, and an important criterion for our controversy: Although import of ideas existed already in the time of the Prophet, it was presented as anything but import.

Ideologically, Islam could, and had to, export its religious message only by inclusion of nonbelievers. Starting in the tenth century CE it exported other ideas that were theological, philosophical, scientific, and medical, without gaining new believers as a result. The Crusades served as yet another, unwelcome, catalyst for this mutual exchange.

Although the fall of the caliphate (1286) to the Mongols put an end to the political representation of the Islamic ideological position, in other domains the latter seems to have gained the upper hand. This was especially manifest in Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328 AD), who, more than anyone else, has represented the ideological, not the least thanks to his fierce opposition to foreign intellectual import *(Against the Logicians)*.

With the exception of Ibn Khaldun's (d. 1406) unique contribution to the practical, it would seem as though the ideological had the upper hand toward the end of the period.

In conclusion it would seem that it was practical openness to reciprocity with other cultures, rather than exclusive ideology, that helped Islam survive and prosper.

Ilai Alon

See also 'Abbasids; Adab; al-Mamkn; Caliph; Civil Wars; Crusades; Fatalism; Ghazali; Ibn Hanbal; Ibn Khaldun; Ibn Taymiyya; Minah; Mutazilah; Philosophy; Qadariyya; Umayyads

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INTERFAITH RELATIONS

It would be anachronistic to think of interfaith relations in the Islamic world during the Middle Ages in contemporary postenlightenment terms. The modern virtues of social, religious, and political equality would have been incomprehensible to anyone living in the three great medieval cultural zones west of India—the Dar al-Islam (domain of Islam), Byzantium, and Latin Christendom. Muslims, Christians, and Jews all believed that they had been granted the most perfect of Divine dispensations, and whether they had been given temporal power over others or were themselves subjects to nonbelievers, they would be justified in the next world, if not in this one. A medieval person's true citizenship was not within a political state but within a religious polity, and adherents of other religions were, in a very real sense, aliens although not necessarily enemies. Contact between individuals from the different religious communities took place on many levels (economic, administrative, intellectual, even social) and, depending on time and circumstance, could be more or less cordial, but the overarching framework of interfaith relations was always subject to the parameters imposed by religious identity.

Early Theological, Legal, and Social Setting

Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians, who were deemed by Islam to have valid, albeit imperfect, scriptural religions, were accorded freedom of religion within certain discreet boundaries, freedom of economic endeavor with some minor disadvantages, and the protection of the state in exchange for accepting the Islamic rule, a measure of social inferiority, and the paying of the *jizya*, or poll tax. They had their own communal officials, courts, schools, and welfare institutions. Under the so-called Pact of 'Umar, they were proteges *(dhimmis)* of the Muslim community. The dominance of Muslims and the subordinance of *dhimmis* was at all times and in all places an underlying subtext to all interconfessional intercourse.

The Qur'an specifically enjoins Muslims not to form friendships with members of the tolerated faiths: "O you who believe! Take not the Jews and the Christians as friends. They are friends to one another. Whoever of you befriends them is one of them. Allah does not guide the people who do evil" (Sura 5:51). In the earliest years following the establishment of the Dar al-Islam, this injunction probably was strictly adhered to, except with regard to the Christian–Arab tribesmen of Taghlib who took part in the wars of conquest and were not considered *dhimmis*.

The ruling Arab Muslims who concentrated at first in their own military camp towns (the *amsar*) constituted a small military elite governing an enormous empire, the inhabitants of which not only belonged to other faiths but spoke other languages as well. However, with the conversion of large numbers of the native population to Islam, the progressive Arabization, urbanization, and prosperity of the empire in the two centuries following the conquests, Muslims and non-Muslims increasingly came into daily face-to-face contact with one another. Although much of this contact was in the commercial sphere of the marketplace or the administrative sphere of the bureaucracy in which many *dhimmis* were employed, there were social and intellectual exchanges even before the period of the Hellenistic renaissance of the ninth through twelfth centuries.

Interfaith Relations on the Intellectual Level

During the Umayyad period (661–750 CE), Syria was one of the few provinces where Muslims and non-Muslims lived side by side in mixed urban communities, and many Arabs had lived there well before the advent of Islam. From the polemical writings of John of Damascus (ca. 675–750) and Theodore Abu Qurra (ca. 740–820), it is clear that Syrian Christian intellectuals were well informed of Islamic beliefs and intra-Islamic theological debates probably from first-hand contact with Muslims. Even if Damascene's *Dialogue between a Saracen and a Christian* is a fictional account, it reflects the kinds of interfaith discussions, both amicable and controversial, that were beginning to take place in the Levant. These discussions centered around such issues as the unity of God and the question of free will versus predestination. Representatives of the *dhimmi* communities sometimes were drawn into religious discussions at the ruler's court. Even when the dialogue was friendly, the inequality of status required the non-Muslim to be defensive and, no less important, inoffensive. The Nestorian Catholicos Timothy I records such a discussion that he had with the ʿAbbasid caliph al-Mahdi in Baghdad around 781 in a work appropriately titled *Apology for the Christian Faith*. The Shiʿi traditionalist Ibn Babawayh records a theological discussion between a Jewish exilarch and the twelfth ʿAlid imam, ʿAli Rida, at the court of the caliph al-Ma'mun, which took place probably sometime between 816 and 818. The Andalusian literary scholar, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, describes Jews and Christians discussing allegorical scriptural exegesis *(ta'wil)* also in front of al-Ma'mun.

During the period of the Hellenistic revival in the medieval Muslim world, which Adam Mez has dubbed "the Renaissance of Islam," there was considerable contact and even intellectual cooperation that crossed confessional lines. This was particularly true among men of science, medicine, and philosophy. Muslim, Christian, and Jewish physicians served alongside one another not only at the ruler's court but also in the public hospital *(bimaristan)*, and it was not at all unusual for a medical student of one faith to study with a notable teacher of another religion. For example, Ibn al-Jazzar, a well-known Muslim physician, was the pupil of Isaac Israeli (ca. 850–950), a Jew and one of the greatest figures in medieval medicine. Neither was it at all extraordinary for a doctor to have a non-coreligionist as a patient. Several generations of the Christian Bukhtishuʿ family served as physicians to the early ʿAbbasids, and the Jewish physician and philosopher Moses Maimonides, was not only the personal doctor of the qadi al-Fadil and later the Sultan al-Malik al-Afdal in twelfth-century Cairo, but he also was lauded in verses by the Muslim poet Ibn Sana' al-Mulk. Biographical dictionaries of physicians, such as Ibn Abi Usaybiʿa's *Tabaqat al-Atibba' (The Classes of the Physicians)* include respectful and complimentary entries on Christian and Jewish doctors.

But in no realm was interfaith cooperation more salient during the height of the Islamic Hellenic renaissance than in the realm of philosophy *(falsafa)* and rational theology *(kalam)*. The Muslim philosopher al-Farabi (d. 950) received his philosophical training in Baghdad from the Nestorian Yuhanna b. Haylan, and later al-Farabi himself took on at least one Christian student. A tenth-century visitor from the Islamic West, Ahmad ibn Saʿdi, mentions that at an assembly of theologians in Baghdad, he found not only Muslims, "but unbelievers, Magians, materialists, atheists, Jews and Christians, in short, unbelievers of all kinds." He reports that debates were carried on exclusively on the basis of rational arguments without resort to citing scripture. Disturbed by what he saw, Ibn Saʿdi sought out another such gathering but found the same thing, which he described in his own words as "calamity." Even legal scholars of different faiths cooperated with one another on occasion. Although the practice was strongly discouraged by Christian and Jewish authorities, members of their flock sometimes had recourse to the Islamic courts, and cases sometimes went back and forth between the latter and the *dhimmi* courts. Sometimes, the non-Muslim authorities themselves turned to the qadi for government backing when their own rulings had been challenged by recalcitrant members of their community. As Goitein has noted based on the evidence of the Cairo Geniza,

professional contacts between members of the Jewish and Muslim judiciary could even develop into personal friendships.

Although it was not a common practice, students of one confessional community sometimes studied in the school of another. The decree of the ʿAbbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil issued in 850, reiterating and reenforcing the Pact of ʿUmar, specifically prohibits *dhimmi* children from studying in Muslim schools and bans Muslims from acting as their tutors. The inclusion of such prohibitions that are not stipulated in the original Pact would indicate that in ninth-century Iraq, non-Muslim pupils were to be found studying in Muslim schools or at least with Muslim teachers. Hai Gaon (939–1038), the head of the Pumbedita yeshiva and the highest Jewish authority of his day, writes in a responsum that while it is preferable to dissuade non-Jews from attending Jewish schools (which were normally attached to the synagogue, just as Muslim schools were part of the mosque complex and Christian schools were in the church or monastery), it was permissible for the sake of maintaining good relations. However, he rules that they should only be admitted to classes in secular subjects such as arithmetic and mathematics. Muslim scholars voiced similar opinions at the time. The latter occasionally also raised objections to *dhimmis* being taught Arabic language and grammar from Muslim teachers, the primary reason being that such instruction invariably included quotations from the Qur'an, and Qur'anic study was specifically forbidden to non-Muslims by the Pact of ʿUmar. Nevertheless, non-Muslims did sometimes pursue Arabic studies with Muslim teachers. The Andalusian poet and anthologist Ibn Bassam (d. 1147) mentions an outstanding Jewish student in the literary study circle of the poet and belle-lettrist Ibn Shuhayd (992–1035) without the slightest indication that this was something unusual.

Interfaith Relations on the Ordinary, Daily Level

The aforementioned interfaith relations took place for the most part on a highly rarefied level between members of a very small social and intellectual elite with the sole, widespread exception of the physician of one faith and his patient of another. However, there were also daily face-to-face contacts between members of the different confessional communities in the cities and towns throughout the length and breadth of the medieval Islamic world. Although there were no enforced ghettos during the first five centuries of Islamic history, *dhimmis* generally preferred concentrating in particular neighborhoods. Some cities in Iraq, Syria, and Spain had Christian and Jewish quarters. In Baghdad, some of these quarters had actually been pre-existing Christian and Jewish villages that were incorporated into the newly founded ʿAbbasid capital. However, the documents of the Cairo Geniza indicate that in Fustat in Egypt, and in Qayrawan in Ifriqiyya, both of which were founded as *amsar*, there were no Jewish quarters as such, only neighborhoods with a highly concentrated Jewish population, but with Muslim and Christian residents as well. *Dhimmis* clustered in neighborhoods not only for convenient access to their communal institutions but also for practical security reasons. Because of the stipulations of the Pact of ʿUmar, it was advisable not to have a church or synagogue near a large concentration of Muslims. It was also preferable to have a route of access to the Christian or Jewish cemetery that did not go through a predominantly Muslim neighborhood. *Dhimmi* funeral processions were the object of occasional harassment—sometimes minor, sometimes serious—from medieval to modern times.

Living in close proximity to one another and sharing the same market space, members of the different religious communities might maintain cordial, neighborly relations. Muslim and non-Muslim neighbors and business associates exchanged good wishes on each others' holidays despite religious injunctions in each of the different faiths against such practices. However, there were serious impediments to more intimate conviviality. Muslim dietary rules precluded eating meat in Christian homes, and Jewish dietary restrictions kept Jews from eating any prepared food in Muslim or Christian homes. Nor would the vast majority of ordinary Muslims drink wine, the standard beverage of Christian and Jewish hospitality. (The laws of kashrut also strictly forbade Jews from drinking wine produced—and indeed even touched—by gentiles.) Still, there were always exceptions. When Muslims joined Jewish drinking parties, an observant host might add honey to the wine, thus desacralizing it, eliminating the problem of it being rendered unkosher by the touch of a gentile, and at the same time avoiding giving any offense to the Muslim guests.

Perhaps nowhere was more conducive to interconfessional conviviality than the public bath *(hammam)*. As in Roman times the bath was a place for socializing, as well as hygiene. Because all outer signs of status were shed with one's clothing, there were periodic attempts to impose upon non-Muslims some sort of distinguishing mark, even in the bath where one normally wore only a loincloth. An early example of this was the mad Fatimid caliph al-Hakim's decree,

issued in 1009, commanding Christians and Jews to wear, respectively, a cross and a bell around their necks when bathing. These measures fell into desuetude with the disappearance of the caliph a few years later, and similar restrictions were not imposed for several more centuries when interfaith relations had seriously eroded throughout the Muslim world.

The commercial sphere also provided for interfaith contact and cooperation. Although business partnerships were preferred among family and coreligionists, it is clear from the evidence of the Cairo Geniza documents that business contracts, joint ventures, and partnerships among members of different faiths were not at all extraordinary. In such cases, it was Islamic commercial law that prevailed. Artisans of different faiths who owned an atelier in common, each took off their own weekly day of rest.

Interfaith Participation in Popular Religious Practices

It may seem paradoxical that in a society in which individual and group identities, state administration, and law were defined first and foremost by religion, that one important domain of interfaith contact among the common folk was within a religious context. This was not the realm of formal, orthodox religion, but of noncanonical popular religious practice. Unlike Christianity with its officially sanctioned cult of saints, normative Islam and Judaism looked askance at the veneration of holy men and making shrines of their tombs. Nevertheless, the graves of biblical figures, rabbinical sages, companions of the Prophet Muhammad, martyrs, and wonder workers not only attracted the faithful from one religious community but not infrequently from others as well. In Iraq, Muslims and Jews visited the shrines of Ezra and Ezekiel, both of which were maintained by the Jewish authorities, and members of all three faiths visited Daniel's tomb in Persia. Likewise the synagogue of Dammuh in Egypt, which supposedly was founded by Moses prior to the exodus, attracted Muslims alongside the Jewish pilgrims. In Damascus, Christians, Jews, and even Zoroastrians brought votive offerings to the tomb of the Muslim saint Shaykh Arslan. The Hanbali theologian Ibn Taymiyya (1263–1328), who rejected all such popular cults as heretical innovation *(bid'a)*, is particularly contemptuous of "ignorant Muslims" who make votive offerings at Christian shrines and "seek blessings from priests, monks and the like." In Islamic Spain and Fatimid Egypt where Christians made up a significant proportion of the population, some Christian festivals were occasions for celebration by the general public despite periodic objections raised by Islamic authorities.

Deterioration of Interfaith Relations in the Late Middle Ages

The spiritual, social, and economic climate of the Islamic world underwent a profound transformation during the course of the thirteenth century due to both internal and external pressures: the Crusades, the Reconquista, the Mongol invasions, the debasement of the currency, and plague. The secular and humanistic tendencies of the Hellenistic renaissance declined and were replaced by a less tolerant and more institutionalized Islam. The number of non-Muslims steadily declined (in the Maghrib, indigenous Christians disappeared in the wake of the Almohads), and they became ever more marginalized in Islamic society. This had a corrosive effect on interfaith relations. The laws of differentiation *(ghiyar)* came to be enforced with new stringency and vigor. Anti-*dhimmi* riots erupted periodically—in Baghdad in 1284 and throughout the Il-Khanid empire in 1291, in Cairo in 1301 and 1354, and in Fez in 1438 and 1465. The intellectual common ground that had allowed for interfaith debates in earlier centuries, even at the caliphal court, disappeared. In 1419, the Coptic patriarch was summoned by the Mamluk sultan al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad and was compelled to remain standing before him while Muslim scholars delivered lengthy anti-Christian diatribes. So too, the secular domain of the sciences was no longer congenial to interfaith contact and cooperation. Although there had always been some pious opposition to *dhimmis* practicing medicine on Muslims, it was never taken seriously. However, in 1448, Sultan Jaqmaq promulgated a decree forbidding Christian and Jewish doctors from treating Muslim patients. During the preceding two centuries, polemical treatises such as al-Jawbari's *Kashf al-Asrar (Unveiled Secrets)* and al-Wasiti's *Radd 'ala Ahl al-Dhimma (Refutation of the People of the Pact)* contained horror stories concerning *dhimmi* physicians and Muslim patients, and legal handbooks such as Ibn al-Hajj's *Madkhal al-Shar' al-Sharif (Introduction to the Noble Religious Law)* stated outright that such interconfessional doctor–patient relationships are forbidden. The spirit of the times and the general decline in education made attendance by members of one faith at the school of another even rarer than in the past. The implacable Ibn al-Hajj states that Muslim parents should not send their

children to Christian schools even to learn arithmetic and geometry and that such conduct is an insult to Islam. Islamic institutions of higher education reflect the hardening attitudes. A deed of endowment for a madrasa stipulates that "no Jew, Christian, Hanbali, or literalist *(hashwi)*" should be admitted.

Members of the different faiths still came face to face in the marketplace. However, even here the scope of interfaith contact was lessened. The economy of the Muslim world began closing in on itself in many places within trade guilds and state monopolies. One area in which *dhimmis* found for themselves an increasingly important niche was as middlemen between European merchants and the local economy. By early modern times this role would only further highlight their otherness.

Domestic living patterns also made for reduced interfaith contact. Non-Muslims increasingly clustered within their own separate quarters by custom or law. The *mellah* of Fez, established in 1438, became the prototype of such ghettolike quarters in Morocco and the rest of the Maghrib in the following centuries. Physical separation reinforced social isolation. In late medieval Yemen and Persia the rise of Shi'i states added an additional impediment to socialization and conviviality because, according to Shi'i doctrine, *dhimmis* were considered *najs* (ritually impure).

Despite the increased barriers standing in the way of interfaith relations at the end of the Middle Ages, the members of different religions still interacted at popular religious shrines and in the recourse to seers and dispensers of folk medicines and amulets.

NORMAN A. STILLMAN

See also Cairo Geniza; Christians; Copts; Hospitals; Ibn Babawayh; Ibn Taymiyya; Al-Jahiz; Jews; Maimonides; Al-Ma'mun; Pilgrimage; Polemics and Disputation; Popular Religion; Zoroastrianism

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IRANIAN LANGUAGES

Iranian languages is the name given to a large grouping of languages, ancient and modern, within the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family. Iranian languages and dialects are classified as Old, Middle, or New, and by region of origin, especially "western" and "eastern," and sometimes also "northern" and "southern." The oldest stage of linguistic development is represented by Old Persian (the language of the Achaemenids, 559–330 BCE) and the language of the Avesta; the middle stage by Middle Persian, Parthian, Soghdian, and Khvarazmian, all written in the Aramaic script, Bactrian, written in the Greek alphabet, and Khotanese, most writings in which appeared after the fall of the Sasanians (226–651 CE); and the latest stage by (New) Persian (Parsi, Farsi) and its close relatives Dari (spoken in parts of present-day Afghanistan) and Tajiki (spoken in present-day Tajikistan and adjoining areas), together with other languages of the western group, such as Kurdish, Gurani and Zaza, Baluchi, Tati, Taleshi, Azari, Gilaki, Mazandarani, Luri, Laristani, and Bakhtiyari, as well as the eastern Iranian languages of Pashto, Ossetic, Yaghnobi, the Shughni group, Wakhi, Munji and Yidgha, Parachi, and Ormuri, among others. The "eastern" or "western" origin of an Iranian language does not always coincide with the region where it came to be spoken; for example, Ossetic, a language belonging to the eastern branch, is spoken in the Caucasus, whereas Baluchi, a member of the western branch, is spoken in modern-day Baluchistan, in southern Pakistan.

Among the most authoritative sources of information regarding the linguistic geography of late Sasanian and early Islamic Iran is the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadim, who records a notice from Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. ca. 759), the Persian man of letters noted for his translations from Middle Persian into Arabic, as well as for his erudition in the latter language. According to Ibn al-Muqaffa', the "languages of Persian" *(lughat al-farisiyya)* were five: Pahlavi, Dari, Parsi (Ar. *farisiyya*, Farsi), Khuzi, and Suryani (Ibn al-Nadim, *Fihrist*, Cairo, 1991, I: 23). Of these five languages the first three are Iranian, and the shifting uses and connotations of Pahlavi, Dari, and Parsi, as Gilbert Lazard has demonstrated, reflect important linguistic and cultural developments in the early centuries of the Islamic period. Pahlavi referred to

the Middle Iranian language of Parthian and to the dialects that grew out of that language. Parthian had originated in the eastern regions of Iran but was also adopted as an imperial language, written in the Aramaic script, in the west when the Arsacids (247 BCE–224 CE) made their capital there. Parsi, or literary Middle Persian, also written in Aramaic, was the imperial language of the Sasanians who succeeded the Arsacids, and of the Zoroastrian religious tradition. At the beginning of the Sasanian era, two imperial languages, both written in Aramaic, were in use; however, Parsi eventually displaced Pahlavi, and by the close of the Sasanian era, Parsi was the sole official and written language. Dari was the name given to the vernacular language derived from literary Middle Persian. By the end of the Sasanian period, Dari was spoken not only at the court, from which its name derived (P. *dar*, door, gate, or court), but also probably in much of the empire, and certainly in Khurasan. It seems that in the course of the Sasanian period the vernacular had diverged from the written language to a considerable degree, and had thus acquired a distinct name.

The meanings of Pahlavi, Parsi, and Dari underwent considerable change both during the Sasanian period and after the beginning of the Islamic era in Iran. While the usage of "Parsi" to designate literary Middle Persian is attested to in the works of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ and other writers in Arabic, with the advent of Islamic rule it became customary to refer to literary Middle Persian as "Pahlavi." This development reflects the changing context for the use of Iranian languages. Following the conquests, the most striking linguistic contrast was no longer that between Parsi (Middle Persian) and Pahlavi (Parthian), but that between Arabic and any form of Persian, that is, any language or dialect spoken by the Persians *(al-Furs)*. Accordingly, the term *Parsi* or (in Arabic) *Farsi* came increasingly to denote both the common spoken vernacular and the literary language of Islamic Iran. As Parsi acquired this broader use, it became synonymous with Dari, which name, rendered superfluous, gradually fell out of use in most regions. In the Islamic period, Middle Persian continued to be used among Zoroastrians. Indeed, most of the extant literature was committed to writing by priests in the AH third/ninth CE century; it was also used by Manichaeans in Central Asia until the seventh/thirteenth century. Over time, however, the language fell into disuse, such that by the second half of the fourth/tenth century, the script was little known even among Zoroastrians (it is striking that the Zoroastrian Kayka'us, writing in Rayy before 978, composed his *Zaratushtnama* not in Middle Persian but in New Persian).

The major developments in the use of Iranian languages during the early and medieval periods of Islamic history are (1) the gradual spread of one Iranian language, known as Dari or Parsi (Persian), as a spoken language throughout the eastern Islamic world, often at the expense of other Iranian languages, which in turn influenced the various forms of Persian that developed in different regions; (2) the related emergence of literary New Persian, which would develop into a second official and cultural language alongside Arabic, and as such would extend the range of Persian and Perso-Islamic culture well beyond the areas in which Iranian languages were used in daily communication; and (3) the survival and cultivation of other Iranian languages and dialects (the distinction is not always easily drawn) long after the ascendancy of Persian as a literary and official lingua franca.

Spread of Dari as a Spoken Language

In the early centuries of the Islamic period, the use of Dari as a spoken language gradually decreased in Iraq, but elsewhere, especially in the east, it spread considerably. In Khurasan, Dari had largely superceded Parthian during the Sasanian period, and it continued its eastward expansion as Transoxiana and the present-day Afghanistan became integrated into the Islamic world. While numerous languages and dialects remained in use, Persian served as a means of verbal communication among members of different linguistic groups, including Arabs who had settled in the eastern regions. Thus long before the emergence of literary New Persian in Transoxiana and Khurasan, Dari, or Persian, had come to constitute the common language in these regions. The spread of Islam facilitated the linguistic integration of much of the Iranian world in a process similar to that associated with the spread of Arabic in the Western territories.

The variety within Dari is evident from prose works written in the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries. The Dari used in the Southwest, known in particular through a number of Judeo-Persian texts, remained relatively close to Middle Persian, which had itself originated in the southwestern regions of Fars and Khuzistan; by contrast, the Dari spoken in Khurasan had diverged much further from its Middle Persian forebear and was characterized by elements found in other Iranian languages and dialects, especially Parthian. It was this latter form of Dari that spread into the neighboring regions of Afghanistan and Transoxiana, where it also acquired a number of

Soghdian words and evolved into the languages known today as Dari and Tajiki. At the same time, the southwestern form of Persian spread across the South as far as Sistan, as attested by a translation of the Qur'an produced in that region in the eleventh century or perhaps even later.

Emergence of Literary New Persian

Given the predominance of Dari as the lingua franca of the eastern regions of Iran and Transoxiana, it is more readily understandable that it was there, under the Samanids (819–1005) or perhaps the Saffarids (861–1003), that the language subsequently known as Farsi or (New) Persian would first find literary form. While the phonetic and grammatical shifts from Middle to New Persian are relatively slight, the new language, sometimes referred to as *parsi-yi dari*, marks a significant break with the past in its adoption of the Arabic script and, as previously noted, in its assimilation of vocabulary from Parthian, Soghdian, and, increasingly, from Arabic. Literary New Persian first appears as a medium for poetic expression, the earliest samples of which date from the middle of the third/ninth century; the earliest surviving prose texts date from a century later. Literary composition in Persian gradually spread to the west, and, in the course of the fifth/eleventh century, Persian emerged as the primary literary language throughout Iran, although several authors continued to write in Arabic as well, especially in the religious sciences.

Additionally, Persian replaced Arabic in official contexts in many of the eastern regions. After the advent of Islamic rule, Middle Persian continued to be used for administrative purposes in western Iran until 78/697–698 and in Khurasan until 124/741–742, when it was replaced by Arabic. In the fourth/tenth century, Arabic gradually ceded its role as the principal official language to Persian, which would become the administrative language of states not only in Iran and present-day Afghanistan but also in Central Asia, Anatolia, and India, most notably under the Mughals (1526–1858); furthermore, courts in these regions often provided generous patronage for Persian poetry and literature.

Continuance of Regional Languages and Dialects

Just as in Sasanian times, local dialects had coexisted with Middle Persian and with Dari, numerous (non-Persian) Iranian languages and dialects, several of which have persisted to the present day and have, like Persian, assumed written form, are recorded by the geographers and historians of the early and medieval Islamic periods. Al-Mas'udi (d. 956) mentions Azari alongside Dari and Pahlavi; in the Caspian regions a number of languages persisted, including Daylami and Tabari, the latter of which also emerged as a literary language in about the fourth/tenth century; Khvarazmian, written in a modified Arabic script, is found from the fifth/eleventh to the eighth/fourteenth centuries. Several regions, including Kirman, Makran, Ushrusana, Gharjistan, and Ghur, were characterized by distinctive dialects, and according to al-Muqaddasi, who wrote in the second half of the fourth/tenth century, the spoken idiom in almost every Khurasanian town differed from the common language, Dari. Pahlavi also survived, especially in its oral literature. It gave its name to the quatrains and other poems in dialect known as the *fahlaviyyat*; indeed, as knowledge of both Middle Persian and Parthian receded, the term *Pahlavi* was occasionally used to describe poetry in other dialects, as long as they were distinct from poetry in Persian. Kurdish flourished as a spoken language with several dialects and a rich oral literature; it was written in the Arabic and in other scripts. Pashto was similarly distinguished by many dialects and a written literature.

LOUSIE MARLOW

See also Persian

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ISFAHAN

Situated at the geographical center of modern Iran, the founding of the city of Isfahan dates to well before the arrival of Muslims in the seventh century.

Its origins rest in twin cities of Yahudiyya and Jayy, at a short distance from one another on the plain north of the Zayanda River. The Jewish town of Yahudiyya, traced by one tradition to Nebuchadnezzar's time, flourished in the first centuries of Islam to become the hub of Isfahan. According to another tradition, Yahudiyya was founded on the request of the Jewish wife of the Sasanian king Yazdgird (r. 459–483 CE), who also established Jayy to the southeast of Yahudiyya as an administrative center, a function that it continued to serve well into the medieval period. Early Arab geographers and travelers referred to these as *madinatayn*, the twin cities of Isfahan.

Since the merging of the twin cities and their satellite villages into the early Islamic metropolis, Isfahan by virtue of its geographical location, temperate climate, and fertile soil has occupied a prominent place in the history of Islamic Iran. Twice it has served as the political and cultural center of the Persianate world: during the reign of the Seljuks (1038–1194) and that of the Safavids (1501–1722). It has also been subjected to the vicissitudes and vagaries of conquest and expansion by nearly every conqueror and ruler whose net has been cast over these lands.

In its early Islamic history, Isfahan changed hands from the Umayyad governors of Basra to a rebel devotee of ʿAli to the ʿAbbasid governors in the eighth and ninth centuries. During this early period, urban development seems to have largely focused around the Yahudiyya quarter where the ʿAbbasid constructions merged Yahudiyya and its satellite villages, initiated the city's first congregational mosque, the nucleus of the famed Seljuk Masjid-i Jumʿa, and its marketplace in the vicinity of the mosque.

With the rise to military power in 945 CE of the Iraq branch of the Persian Buyids, under whose tutelage the ʿAbbasid caliphs were placed for more than a century, Isfahan received considerable attention leading to further expansions and its flourishing. Buyid emirs and their viziers oversaw the building of a defensive wall with twelve gates that encased the urban growth around the congregational mosque and the marketplace. They also constructed a citadel, Qalʿa Tabarak, in the newly walled city. Although the knowledge of the pre-Buyid city depends entirely on descriptions by geographers and travelers, some of the arterial patterns of the Buyid city remain traceable in modern Isfahan, along with a few remnants of their expansion of the congregational mosque and an elaborately carved doorway from the Buyid Jurjir mosque.

Medieval Isfahan gained its lustre and world renown during the reign of the Great Seljuks. Tughril, the founder of the dynasty, is recorded to have been so fond of the city that he moved his seat of rule to Isfahan. Under the patronage of the Seljuk Malikshah (r. 1072–1092) and his viziers, Nizam al-Mulk and Taj al-Mulk, Isfahan grew, according to Nasir-i Khosraw and other travelers, into one of the most populous and prosperous cities in the medieval world, becoming famous for its fine crafts and industries. The Masjid-i Jumʿa, already twice enlarged, was completely redesigned into the Persianate mosque type that is associated with this central region of Iran and the Seljuk period. The Arab hypostyle (a covered sanctuary roof atop rows of pillars and an adjacent courtyard) was transformed, between the 1070s and 1120s, into a four-*iwan* (vaulted space open to one side), courtyard-centered mosque with a domed *mihrab* (prayer niche) chamber. Two domed chambers—a massive one over the *mihrab* sponsored by Nizam al-Mulk, the other on the opposite, north side of the mosque sponsored by the rival vizier Taj al-Mulk—vaulted roofs of the sanctuary spaces on all four sides of the vast courtyard, and the four massive *iwans* on each side of the courtyard; these Seljuk architectural interventions represent Isfahan's Masjid-i Jumʿa as the blueprint for all aspects of design, as well as technologies and materials for building and decorating in Persian architecture of the medieval period.

Some of its architectural features, namely the placement of a domed chamber on the north side opposite the *mihrab* chamber, are unique to Isfahan's mosque both in terms of its very inclusion and, more important, of its superb mastery of design and execution in plain brick. This little building's fame derives from the complex mathematics of its geometric patterns in the inner face of the dome and the way in which architectural and decorative forms are manipulated to create exciting visual transitions from the sidewalls into the dome. It has been suggested that the mathematician, astronomer, and poet ʿUmar Khayyam may have had a hand in the conception of this masterpiece. He is recorded to have played a leading role in the Seljuk reformation of the Persian calendar and in the construction of an observatory in Isfahan.

The centrality of the Masjid-i Jumʿa in the urban life of Seljuk Isfahan is attested to by the fact that a major public square known as *Maydan-i Kuhna*, bazaars, and the royal residence and administrative quarters were all further developed in the vicinity of this venerable mosque. Indeed, the mosque continued to serve as the site for royal patronage throughout its subsequent history when rulers and conquerors left traces of their dominion through such architectural marks as the magnificent carved stucco *mihrab* in the



Masjid-i Shah (now Masjid-i Imam), Northwest Iwan, Isfahan, Iran, Safavid period (seventeenth century). Photo courtesy of Judith Lerner.

winter prayer hall (by the Ilkhanid Öljeitü), or the gorgeously tiled facades of the courtyard and its four *iwans* (by the Safavid Shah Tahmasb and later).

Mongol invasions reached Isfahan when, in 1240–1241, the city was delivered by some of its own denizens into the hands of the Mongols whose heavy taxation led to the city's decline. In 1387, Tamerlane (Timur) besieged the city and was provoked into massacring some seventy thousand of its inhabitants, thus laying Isfahan to waste and making her vulnerable to further plunders for another century to come. The sixteenth-century phase of the Safavids did not substantially alter the peripheral role of Isfahan in comparison to the capitals of Tabriz and Qazvin.

In the course of the closing years of the sixteenth century, the Safavid Shah ʿAbbas (r. 1588–1629) embarked on a vast reconstruction of the urban environment in anticipation of the official transfer of his capital from Qazvin to Isfahan in 1598. The transfer of the capital also signaled Shah ʿAbbas's success in the Safavid quest for centralization of the imperial enterprise and the promulgation of Shiʿism in Iran, of which the Safavids were the most powerful exponents in Iranian history. Thus the new urban center was conceived on a level of architectural complexity and scale more appropriately early modern than medieval in its representation of the increasingly centralized and sedentarized Safavids.

During this last decade of the century the architectural armature of the new capital city was established in the form of two urban foci: a vast public square, the Maydan-i Naqsh-i Jahan (Image of the World), measuring 510 meters by 165 meters and located to the southwest of the Seljuk urban hub; and a tree-lined promenade, the Chahar Bagh (Four Gardens) of more than one and a half kilometers long that ran on a north–south axis linking through a bridge the Safavid capital to new suburbs south of the Zayanda River. The completion of nearly all the constituent parts of this grand urban plan fell in the seventeenth century.

The Maydan, with double rows of shops lining its peripheral walls, and with the strategic and symbolic positioning of a ceremonial palace and administrative building on its western side, a private royal chapel on the eastern flank, a large congregational mosque on the south, and the royal bazaar entrance on its north side was conceived as the new commercial, political, and religious center of the Safavid capital. This new Maydan was connected through a complex

intertwining of bazaar arteries to the Maydan-i Kuhna and the Masjid-i Jum'a, rivaling the medieval city and in time succeeding in shifting the urban hub to the new imperial city.

SUSSAN BABAIE

See also Iran; Malikshah; Nasir-I Khosraw; Nizam al-Mulk; Seljuks; Shah 'Abbas; Safavids; Tamerlane (Timur)

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ISFAHANI, AL-, ABU NU'AYM

Al-Isfahani Abu Nu'aym Ahmad b. 'Abdallah, was born in Isfahan in around AH 336/948 CE. Although he wrote exclusively in Arabic, he was of Persian origin. His second/eighth century ancestor, Mihran, appears to have been the first to have converted to Islam. His most famous ancestor was his maternal grandfather, Muhammad ibn Yusuf ibn Ma'dan al-Banna' (d. 365/976), who was the leader of a school of Sufism in Isfahan, which was still flourishing in Abu Nu'aym's lifetime.

Abu Nu'aym's three major works, all of which have been published, are: (1) his *magnum opus,* the *Hilyat al-awliya' wa-tabaqat al-asfiya'*, which is a voluminous collection of biographies of Sufis and other early Muslim religious leaders; (2) *Dhikr akhbar Isfahan,* a biographical dictionary of the prominent scholars of his native Isfahan; and (3) *Dala'il al-nubuwwa*, a biography of the Prophet Muhammad, which focuses in particular on the evident signs of his status. These three works demonstrate Abu Nu'aym's interest in collecting and compiling hadiths and biographical reports about important religious leaders. Like other such traditionist historians preoccupied with seeking knowledge, he would have traveled widely to collect his material. Abu Nu'aym makes specific reference to travels for this purpose to the Hijaz, Iraq, Syria, and Khurasan. In turn, Abu Nu'aym himself attracted traditionists from distant origins who wished to hear his material, the most famous of whom was probably al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, the compiler of *Ta'rikh Baghdad.*

Abu Nu'aym's most influential work by far, his *Hilyat al-awliya' (The Ornament of the Saints),* consists of 689 biographies in ten volumes (amounting to approximately four thousand pages of twenty-five lines each in the printed edition). He cast a wide net in his selection of religious figures to represent in this work. They include, in roughly chronological order: the first generations of the Prophet's religious successors according to Sunnism *(al-salaf al-salih)*, the first six individual successors of the Prophet, or Imams, according to Shi'ism, the eponymous founders of three of the four major Sunni schools of jurisprudence (see later in the paragraph in regard to the notable omission), scholastic theologians, ascetics, pietists, and mystics. However, in spite of its broad sweep the *Hilyat al-awliya'* is certainly not all-inclusive; Abu Nu'aym appears to have deliberately omitted a number of individuals for polemical reasons, including most conspicuously: Abu Hanifa, the eponym of the Hanafite legal school; and al-Hallaj, the outspoken mystic whose execution in Baghdad in 922 is traditionally seen as a major turning point in the history of Sufism.

Like many other such vast works written in the same period, the *Hilyat al-awliya'* shows signs that it was not under the control of a single author. While its colophon gives the date of completion of the work as AH 422 (1030 CE), and its list of biographies ends with his own contemporaries from among the successors of Ibn Ma'dan al-Banna', a number of the chains of transmission, or *isnad*s, within the text include Abu Nu'aym himself, and not simply as the immediate source. Like many other works of Islamic scholarship in the early centuries, the *Hilyat al-awliya'* appears to have been compiled by the students of the author to whom it is attributed, probably for the most part under his direction. The history of the text of the *Hilyat al-awliya'* explains why its biographies appear to have been ordered in various parts according to a number of competing principles (such as chronology, geography, affiliation, alphabetically by name), as well as why certain biographies have been repeated.

Abu Nu'aym's fame rests primarily on the *Hilyat al-awliya'*, which has been used as a vast mine of biographical data by later Muslim historians, as well as some modern academics. The fact that its biographies are invariably much longer than those found in comparable biographical dictionaries of the period has made it especially attractive for this purpose. Abu Nu'aym is rarely recalled as a Sufi authority in Sufi biography collections. He is celebrated as a past hero in the later biographical dictionaries of the

Shafi'i school of jurisprudence more than any other, where he is depicted as a staunch defender of this school during disputes with the rival Hanbali school of jurisprudence in Isfahan at the turn of the eleventh century, as a result of which he was expelled from the city. Some Hanbali sources also include Abu Nu'aym among their number. Due to the fact that the prominent Safavid al-Majlisi family considered themselves to have been his descendants, Abu Nu'aym is also portrayed in late medieval Shi'i literature as a sympathizer, and sometimes even as a crypto-Shi'i.

JAWID MOJADDEDI

See also Biography and Biographical Works; Saints and Sainthood; Sufism and Sufis

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ISHAQ IBN IBRAHIM

A member of the Tahirid family, Ishaq ibn Ibrahim al-Mus'abi held a prominent place serving the 'Abbasids. After a long career he died in 850 CE. All that is known of his early background is that he was a cousin of Abdallah ibn Tahir and that he was possibly born in 793. He first appears in 821, when he was appointed by Abdallah as the chief of police in Baghdad. For the next twenty-nine years he served as the caliphal enforcer of policy, mostly in Baghdad. Given this information, it is striking that we know so little about him. We are forced to infer based on the record in the chronicles of his activities. In 829 or 830, he served as governor of Aleppo, 'Awasim, and the Thughur. In 830, al-Ma'mun (r. 813–833) made him his deputy in Baghdad while he was on campaign against the Byzantines. In 831, al-Ma'mun ordered him to make the soldiers in Baghdad say the *takbir* (Allah Akbar, God is most great) as part of their prayers. Al-Ma'mun began the Mihna (the Inquisition of 833–848 or 851) with a series of letters to Ishaq, instructing him to question all of the judges and hadith transmitters about their position on the createdness of the Qur'an. He was to inform them that the caliph held that it was created. He was the primary questioner of Ibn Hanbal, a role that he reprised in many cases as the caliphal enforcer of the Mihna in Baghdad. When al-Ma'mun died, his will advised al-Mu'tasim (r. 833–842) to take him into his confidence. He was responsible for bringing the Khurramiyya to heel in 833 on the orders of al-Mu'tasim. He is mentioned, among the most powerful figures in the caliphate, as one of the few witnesses to the trial of the disgraced general al-Afshin in 841. When al-Mu'tasim died, Ishaq was responsible for administering in Baghdad the oath of loyalty to the next caliph, al-Wathiq (r. 842–847). Al-Wathiq relied on him to deliberate the cases against the secretaries in 844. Interestingly, he was not part of the group that placed al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–861) upon the throne. However, he was one of the primary individuals that al-Mutawakkil relied on to strengthen his hold on power. In 850, on al-Mutawakkil's order, he arrested the Turkish general, Itakh, who had been lured to Baghdad by an elaborate ruse. Al-Tabari states quite explicitly that this took place in Baghdad because Itakh was too powerful to be accosted in Samarra. Itakh was killed in Ishaq's house. What becomes clear from this account of his activities is that he served a pivotal role for the post-Ma'mun caliphs. He was their enforcer in Baghdad. The continuity of his position in what still was the most important city in the caliphate economically and culturally argues for his power and influence. It also highlights his surprising loyalty to the office of caliph. He does not make a bid for independence or independent power. He was seemingly content with serving at the will of the sitting caliph.

JOHN P. TURNER

See also Aleppo; Ibn Hanbal; al-Ma'mun; Samarra; al-Tabari

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ISLAM

Islam is the religious faith that has its origins in the heart of the Arabian peninsula and whose core teachings enshrine not only a firm and uncompromising monotheism but also a detailed system of law and ritual practice. The Arabic term *Islam* technically denotes the act of submission; it is used in the religious context to signify obedience to the will of God. The Prophet Muhammad serves as the figure with whom the Islamic faith emerged in the mid-seventh century in the city of Mecca. The faith appears as an inspired challenge to the cult of polytheistic and animistic rituals that had developed in and around the shrine at Mecca, the *Ka'ba*. This setting provides the background for the promulgation of a return to monotheism preached by the Prophet Muhammad, whom Islam proclaims as being God's final messenger and the recipient of His ultimate book of revelation the Qur'an. The Islamic faith promotes not only a distinct revival of the Abrahamic tradition disseminated by biblical Prophets, with whom it shares a common spiritual heritage, but also a distinctive brand of devotional rituals fused with legal and moral dictates. These dictates covered a wide spectrum of issues ranging from the intricacies of political theory and commerce, extending to family law, dietary code, and personal piety.

The teachings of Islam are decisively derived from two sources: the Qur'an, which encompasses theological, juristic, and ethical imperatives while also serving as a devotional text; and the Prophetic *sunna* (custom), which theoretically forms the sum and substance of the Prophet's words, deeds, and silent affirmations as enshrined in the Prophetic *hadith* (traditions), serving as a normative model for Muslims to emulate. *Qiyas* (analogical reasoning) and *ijma'* (consensus of the community) also play a key role in the formulation of Islamic law. The primary creed of Islam is the belief that there is no deity save God and that Muhammad is His messenger. This pillar of faith is followed by four essential religious obligations: the performance of five daily prayers *(salat)*; the payment of alms *(zakat)*; the observance of fasting during the month of Ramadan *(sawm);* and the pilgrimage to Mecca *(hajj)*, once in a lifetime for those able to do so. Islam also teaches that a Muslim must believe in all God's Prophets, hence the revered status it grants to biblical figures such as Abraham, David, Moses, and Jesus together with their Divine revelation and scripture. However, Islamic scripture offered critical distinctions regarding the lives and roles of these biblical Prophets. Islam defined an array of eschatological dogmas, including the belief in angels and the reality of the Day of Judgment. Theological doctrines were also refined on issues such as predestination and the infallibility of Prophets. The adherents of Islam are divided into two main denominations: Sunnis, who represent 85% of the faith's followers; and Shi'is, who constitute the remaining 15%, although further, finer subdivisions of these denominations do exist. The religion proclaimed by Muhammad became the predominant creed of the Arabian Peninsula and beyond.

MUSTAFA SHAH

See also Angels; Arabic; Caliphate and Imamate; Charity; Circumcision; Commanding Good and Forbidding Evil; Crime and Punishment; Eschatology; Ethics; Festivals and Celebrations; Food and Diet; God; Hadith; Imam; Law and Jurisprudence; Jesus; Jews; Jihad; Ka'ba; Mecca; Medina; Mosques; Pilgrimage; Political Theory; Predestination; Qur'an; Usury and Interest; Shari'a; Shi'ism; Sufism and Sufis

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ISMAILIS

The second most important Shi'i community after the Ithna'asharis or Twelvers, Ismailis have subdivided into a number of major branches and minor groups in the course of their long and complex history dating back to the middle of the AH second/eighth CE century.

Early and Fatimid Periods until 487/1094

In 148/765, on the death of Ja'far al-Sadiq, who had consolidated Imami Shi'ism, the majority of his followers recognized his son Musa al-Kazim as their new imam. However, other Imami Shi'i groups acknowledged the imamate of Musa's older half-brother, Isma'il, the eponym of the Isma'iliyya, or Isma'il's son Muhammad. Little is known about the life and

career of Muhammad ibn Isma'il, who went into hiding, marking the initiation of the *dawr al-satr*, or period of concealment, in early Ismailism which lasted until the foundation of the Fatimid state when the Ismaili imams emerged openly as Fatimid caliphs.

On the death of Muhammad ibn Isma'il, not long after 179/795, his followers, who were at the time evidently known as Mubarakiyya, split into two groups. A majority refused to accept his death; they recognized him as their seventh and last imam and awaited his return as the Mahdi, the restorer of justice and true Islam. A second, smaller group acknowledged Muhammad's death and traced the imamate in his progeny. Almost nothing is known about the subsequent history of these earliest Ismaili groups until shortly after the middle of the third/ninth century.

It is certain that for almost a century after Muhammad ibn Isma'il, a group of his descendants worked secretly for the creation of a revolutionary movement against the 'Abbasids. The aim of this religiopolitical movement was to install the Ismaili imam belonging to the Prophet Muhammad's family *(ahl al-bayt)* to a new caliphate ruling over the entire Muslim community; and the message of the movement was disseminated by a network of *da'is*, summoners or religiopolitical propagandists. Observing *taqiyya,* or precautionary dissimulation, these central leaders concealed their true identities in order to escape 'Abbasid persecution. 'Abdullah, the first of these leaders, had organized his *da'wa* (mission) around the doctrine of the majority of the earliest Ismailis, namely, the Mahdiship of Muhammad ibn Isma'il. 'Abdullah eventually settled in Salamiyya, central Syria, which served as the secret headquarters of the Ismaili *da'wa* for some time. The efforts of 'Abdullah and his successors bore results in the 260s/870s, when numerous *da'is* appeared in southern Iraq and adjacent regions under the leadership of Hamdan Qarmat and his chief assistant 'Abdan. The Ismailis now referred to their movement simply as *al-da'wa*, the mission, or *al-da'wa al-hadiya*, the rightly guiding mission. Soon, the Ismaili *da'wa* appeared in numerous other regions, notably Yaman, where Ibn Hawshab Mansur al-Yaman (d. 302/914) acted as the chief *da'i*, Egypt, Bahrayn, Persia, Transoxiana, and Sind, as well as remoter regions in North Africa.

By the early 280s/890s, a unified Ismaili movement had replaced the earlier splinter groups. However, in 286/899, soon after 'Abdullah al-Mahdi, the future Fatimid caliph, had succeeded to leadership in Salamiyya, Ismailism was rent by a major schism. 'Abdullah claimed the Ismaili imamate openly for himself and his ancestors who had organized the early Ismaili *da'wa*, also explaining the various forms of guises adopted by the earlier central Ismaili leaders who had preferred to assume the rank of *hujja* (proof or full representative) of the hidden Imam Muhammad ibn Isma'il. The doctrinal reform of 'Abdullah al-Mahdi split the Ismaili movement into two rival factions. A loyalist faction, comprised mainly of the Ismailis of Yaman, Egypt, North Africa, and Sind, did recognize continuity in the imamate, acknowledging 'Abdullah and his 'Alid ancestors as their imams. On the other hand, a dissident faction, originally led by Hamdan Qarmat, retained their original belief in the Mahdiship of Muhammad ibn Isma'il. Henceforth, the term *Qarmati* came to be applied specifically to the dissidents who did not acknowledge 'Abdullah al-Mahdi, as well as his predecessors and successors to the Fatimid caliphate, as their imams. The dissident Qarmatis acquired their most important stronghold in the Qarmati state of Bahrayn, founded in 286/899 by the *da'i* Abu Sa'id al-Jannabi. The Qarmati state of Bahrayn eventually collapsed in 470/1077.

The early Ismailis elaborated a distinctive gnostic system of religious thought, which was further developed or modified in the Fatimid period. Central to this system was a fundamental distinction between the exoteric *(zahir)* and esoteric *(batin)* aspects of the sacred scriptures, as well as religious commandments and prohibitions. They further held that the religious laws, representing the *zahir* of religion, enunciated by prophets, underwent periodical changes while the *batin*, containing the spiritual truths *(haqa'iq)* remained immutable and unchanged. These truths, forming a gnostic system of thought, were explained through *ta'wil*, esoteric exegesis, which became the hallmark of Ismaili thought. The two main components of this system were a cyclical history of revelations and a cosmological doctrine.

The early success of the Ismaili movement culminated in the foundation of the Fatimid caliphate in North Africa, where the *da'i* Abu 'Abdullah al-Shi'i (d. 298/911) had spread the *da'wa* among the Berbers of the Maghrib. The new dynasty, established in 297/909, was named Fatimid (Fatimiyyun) after the Prophet Muhammad's daughter Fatima, to whom the Fatimid caliphs traced their 'Alid ancestry. 'Abdullah al-Mahdi (d. 322/934), the first Fatimid caliph–imam, and his successors ruled over an important state that soon grew into an empire stretching from North Africa to Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. The Fatimid period was also the "golden age" of Ismailism when Ismaili thought and literature and *da'wa* activities attained their summit and Ismailis made important contributions to Islamic civilization, especially after

the seat of the Fatimid caliphate was transferred to Cairo, itself founded in 358/969 by the Fatimids.

The Ismaili *da'wa* of the Fatimid times achieved its greatest successes, however, outside the Fatimid dominions, especially in Yaman, where the Ismaili Sulayhids ruled as vassals of the Fatimids, Persia, and Central Asia. The *da'is* of the Iranian lands, such as Abu Ya'qub al-Sijistani, Hamid al-Din al-Kirmani, and Nasir-i Khusraw, also elaborated complex metaphysical systems of thought with a distinct emanational cosmology. The Fatimid *da'wa* was particularly concerned with educating the new converts in Ismaili doctrine, known as the *hikma* (wisdom); and a variety of lectures, generally designated as sessions of wisdom *(majalis al-hikma)*, were organized for this purpose. Ismaili law was also codified mainly through the efforts of al-Qadi al-Nu'man (d. 363/974), the foremost jurist of the Fatimid period. Ismaili law accorded special importance to the Shi'i doctrine of the imamate.

The Isma'ilis experienced a major schism in 487/1094, on the death of al-Mustansir, the eighth Fatimid caliph and the eighteenth Ismaili imam. Al-Mustansir's succession was disputed by his sons—Nizar, the original heir designate, and al-Musta'li, who was installed to the Fatimid caliphate by the all-powerful vizier al-Afdal. As a result, the unified Ismaili *da'wa* and community were split into rival branches, designated later as Nizari and Musta'li (or Musta'lawi). The *da'wa* organization in Cairo, as well as the Ismaili communities of Egypt, Yaman, and western India, also recognized al-Musta'li as his father's successor to the imamate. On the other hand, the Ismailis of Persia and adjacent lands supported the succession right of Nizar and recognized his imamate. Nizar himself revolted against al-Musta'li (d. 495/1101), but he was defeated and killed in 488/1095. Henceforth, the Ismaili imamate was handed down in two parallel lines among the descendants of al-Mustansir.

Musta'li Ismailis

On the death of al-Musta'li's son and successor al-Amir in 524/1130, the Musta'li Ismailis split into Hafizi and Tayyibi branches. The Musta'li *da'wa* headquarters in Cairo endorsed the imamate of al-Amir's cousin and successor to the Fatimid throne, al-Hafiz. As a result, his imamate was also acknowledged by the Musta'li Ismailis of Egypt and Syria, as well as a portion of the Musta'lis of Yaman. These Ismailis, who recognized al-Hafiz (d. 544/1149) and the later Fatimid caliphs as their imams, became known as Hafizis. The Musta'li Ismailis of the Sulayhid state in Yaman, as well as those of Gujarat, recognized the imamate of al-Amir's son, al-Tayyib, and they became known as Tayyibis. Hafizi Ismailism disappeared completely soon after the collapse of the Fatimid dynasty in 567/1171. Thereafter, Musta'li Ismailism survived only in its Tayyibi form with permanent strongholds in Yaman.

The Tayyibi imams have remained in concealment since the time of al-Tayyib himself, who disappeared under mysterious circumstances. In the absence of their imams, the affairs of the Tayyibi *da'wa* and community have been administered by *da'i mutlaqs*, that is, supreme *da'is* with full authority. In the doctrinal field, the Tayyibis maintained the Fatimid traditions and preserved a substantial portion of the Ismaili texts of the Fatimid period. Building particularly on Hamid al-Din al-Kirmani's metaphysical system, they elaborated their own esoteric system of religious thought with its distinctive eschatological themes. The Tayyibi *da'wa* spread successfully in the Haraz region of Yaman, as well as in Gujarat. By the end of the tenth/sixteenth century, the Tayyibi Ismailis split into Da'udi and Sulaymani branches over the question of the succession to their twenty-sixth *da'i mutlaq*, Da'ud ibn 'Ajabshah (d. 997/1589). By that time the Tayyibis of India, known locally as Bohras, greatly outnumbered their Yamani coreligionists. Henceforth, the Da'udi and Sulaymani Tayyibis, concentrated in South Asia and Yaman, respectively, followed different lines of *da'is*. Da'udi Bohras have subdivided into several groupings, with the largest numbering around eight hundred thousand. Since the 1920s, Bombay has served as the permanent administrative seat of the Da'udi *da'i mutlaq*. The leadership of the Sulaymani Tayyibis has remained hereditary in the Makrami family with their headquarters in Najran, in northeastern Yaman. At present the Sulaymani Tayyibis number around seventy thousand in Yaman, with an additional few thousand in India.

Nizari Ismailis

In al-Mustansir's time, the *da'i* Hasan-i Sabbah succeeded 'Abd al-Malik ibn 'Attash as the leader of the Isma'ili *da'wa* within the Saljuq dominions in Persia. His seizure of the fortress of Alamut in 483/1090 had, in fact, marked the effective foundation of what became the Nizari Ismaili state of Persia with a subsidiary in Syria. In al-Mustansir's succession dispute, Hasan supported Nizar's cause and severed his relations with the *da'wa* headquarters in Cairo. By

this decision, Hasan-i Sabbah also founded the Nizari *da'wa* independently of the Fatimid regime. The Nizaris acquired political prominence under Hasan-i Sabbah (d. 518/1124) and his seven successors at Alamut. Hasan's armed revolt against the Saljuq Turks, whose alien rule was detested by the Persians, did not succeed; and the Saljuqs, despite their superior military power, failed to destroy the Nizari fortress communities. In effect, a stalemate developed between the Nizaris and their various enemies until their state in Persia was destroyed by the Mongols in 654/1256. The Nizaris of Syria, who had numerous encounters with the Crusaders and reached the peak of their fame under the *da'i* Rashid al-Din al-Sinan (d. 589/1193), were eventually subdued by the Mamluks. The Nizaris elaborated their own teachings, initially revolving around the Shi'i doctrine of *ta'lim* or authoritative guidance by the imam of the time. The Nizari imams, who had remained in hiding since Nizar, emerged openly at Alamut in 559/1164.

Disorganized and deprived of any central leadership, the Nizari Ismailis survived the Mongol destruction of their state. For about two centuries, while the imams remained inaccessible, various Nizari communities developed independently, also adopting Sunni and Sufi guises to safeguard themselves against persecution. By the middle of the ninth/fifteenth century, the Nizari imams emerged in the village of Anjudan, in central Persia, initiating a revival in the *da'wa* and literary activities of their community. The Nizari *da'wa* became particularly successful in Central Asia and India, where the Hindu converts were known as Khojas. The Nizari Khojas developed an indigenous religious tradition designated as Satpanth or the "true path," as well as a devotional literature known as the *ginan*s. With the advent of the Safavids, who adopted Twelver Shi'ism as the religion of their state in 907/1501, the Nizaris of Persia also practiced *taqiyya* as Twelvers. The Nizaris of Badakhshan, now divided between Tajikistan and Afghanistan, have preserved numerous Persian Ismaili texts of the Alamut and later periods. The Nizari Khojas, together with the Tayyibi Bohras, were among the earliest Asian communities to settle during the nineteenth century in East Africa. In the 1970s, the bulk of the East African Ismailis were obliged to immigrate to the west. Under the leadership of their last two imams, Sultan Muhammad Shah Aga Khan III (1885–1957) and his grandson, Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, the current forty-ninth imam, the Nizari Ismailis have emerged as a progressive Muslim minority with high standards of education and well-being. Numbering several millions, they are scattered in more than twenty-five countries of Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Europe, and North America.

Farhad Daftary

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ISTANBUL

For almost sixteen centuries, İstanbul enjoyed a unique status as the capital city of two great civilizations: the Byzantine empire and the Ottoman empire.

The first settlements in the peninsula date from the late third or early second millennium BCE. In 330 CE, Constantine moved the seat of the Roman empire to Byzantium and created a new state. Its name eventually became "Constantinople," meaning the city of Constantine. The name had currency among even the Turks, whose documents and coins frequently referred to the capital as "Konstantiniye" for centuries. In addition, it was used alternately with "İstanbul" in official documents. Constantinople gained some of its most famous architectural landmarks under Justinian (527–565). The Roman construction ingenuity meshed with the Hellenistic design legacy to produce a new synthesis in Justinian's buildings. Aya Sophia (532–537) is the culmination of this synthesis.

Through the ages, the city had seen several sieges of Arabs and a dramatic Latin invasion (1204). On May 30, 1453, Mehmed II made his ceremonial entry into Constantinople and declared it to be his capital. He then inaugurated a new era of building activity aimed at making the city the economic, administrative, cultural, and religious center of the empire. In creating a Muslim city, the process started with the conversion of Aya Sophia into the Great Mosque and seventeen other churches. After the conquest, at the eastern end of the peninsula, almost the entire structure of the Topkapı Palace had been built. The Topkapı Palace remained the official imperial residence until the construction of the Dolmabahçe Palace across the Golden Horn in 1856.

The sixteenth century was a time of great building activity. During the reign of Süleyman (1520–1566), İstanbul was endowed with many monuments, and

it was the work of the great architect Sinan (1490–1588). Sinan's *külliyes* brought the ultimate Islamic and Ottoman definition to İstanbul's urban form.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries İstanbul continued to develop, but the scale of the building activity was by no means comparable to that of previous centuries due largely to the gradual decline in the economic power of the empire. The population continued to escalate between seven hundred thousand and eight hundred thousand. This was almost twice the size of the population in 1535. The seventeenth century contributed two monuments to the capital: the *külliye* of Ahmed I and the Valide mosque. The eighteenth century brought no significant monuments to İstanbul but nonetheless marked an important first step toward embracing European architectural fashions. Many foreign architects and artists were invited to İstanbul. The architectural language they introduced to İstanbul developed into the "Ottoman Baroque." Western influences began to be apparent from the early eighteenth century, new forms and dynamic profiles of the Nuruosmaniye and Laleli mosques attesting to the influence of the French and Italian Baroque and Rococo on traditional Ottoman building types. However, the nineteenth century saw an unparalleled stylistic eclecticism, as well as the introduction of a great diversity of new building types: banks, office buildings, theaters, department stores, hotels, and multistory apartment buildings.

Suat Alp

See also Aya Sophia; Sinan; Süleymaniye Mosque; Ottoman Empire

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‘IZZ AL-DIN ABU ‘ABD ALLAH MUHAMMAD B. ‘ALI

‘Izz al-Din Abu ‘Abd Allah Muhammad b. ‘Ali (sometimes confused with Baha’ al-Din Abu ’l-Mahasin Yusuf b. Rafi‘) was a Syrian administrator and author of topographical and historical works. He was born in Aleppo in AH 613/1217 CE, and subsequently served in the government of the city. After an unsuccessful attempt to negotiate an agreement between the Mongols and the ruler of Aleppo in AH 657/1259 CE, he fled to Egypt where he prospered in the service of the Mamluk ruler Baybars I and the latter's successors. ‘Izz al-Din died in Cairo in AH 684/1285 CE.

‘Izz al-Din wrote a historical topography of greater Syria, Palestine, and the Jazira called *al-A‘laq al-khatira fi dhikr umara’ al-Sham wa-l-Jazira (Precious Things of Moment in the Account of the Princes of Syria and the Jazira)*, as well as a life of Baybars I al-Bunduqdari.

David Morray

See also Archives and Chanceries; Bureaucrats; Muslim–Mongol Diplomacy

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J

JA’FAR AL-SADIQ (D. AH 148/765 CE)

Ja’far al-Sadiq was born in Medina in 80/699 or 83/703 and became one of the foremost exponents of the teachings from the Prophet’s family. He is the most frequently cited authority on points of law and tradition, transmitting his family’s wisdom to Muslims of diverse backgrounds and advocates of other religions, theosophists as well as gnostics who frequented his house in quest of knowledge.

Ja’far al-Sadiq is a central figure in Shi’i tradition, and he is the last common imam recognized by both the Ithna’asharis and the Isma’ilis. His contribution and influence, however, are far wider than his Shi’a. He is cited in a wide range of historical sources, including al-Tabari, al-Ya’qubi, and al-Masudi. Sunni, Sufi’ and Shi’i sources all give testimony to his influence. Al-Dhahabi recognizes his contribution to Sunni tradition, whereas Abu Nu’aym and Farid al-Din Attar see him at the head of the Sufi line of saints and mystics. Ithna’ashari writers like al-Kulayni and Isma’ili scholars such as al-Qadi al-Nu’man record his monumental contribution to their respective Shi’i traditions.

Ja’far al-Sadiq inherited his position as a Shi’i imam from his father, al-Baqir. His versatile personality is, however, beyond classification, and his family perhaps saw him as a last attempt for reconciling the diverse groups of Muslims, since he was the great-great-grandson of ’Ali on one side and of Abu Bakr on the other. He remained distant in the power struggle that ensued from extremist Shi’is, with the Zaydiyya and the ’Abbasid movement of the Hashimiyya unfolding from the Kaysaniyya. He faced doctrinal difficulties from individuals who exaggerated his position, who were later known in history as the *ghulat*. Like his father before him, he repudiated them. Ja’far’s detachment from politics gave him more time for scholarly activities, holding sessions at home as well as following his family’s practice.

Law and Thought

Following the foundations laid by his father, al-Sadiq developed an extensive system of law and theology so that the Shi’i community had its own distinct ritual and religious doctrine. His traditions represent a range of subjects involving the ’ibadat and the mu’amalat, incorporating themes such as faith, devotion, alms, fasting, pilgrimage, and faith *(jihad)* as well as food, drink, social and business transactions, marriage and divorce, inheritance, criminal punishments, and a number of issues dealing with practically all aspects of life. Law in Islam, as is well known, is an all-embracing body of commands and prohibitions consisting of ordinances governing worship and ritual in addition to a proper legal system. Ja’far al-Sadiq is the most frequently quoted authority in Shi’i tradition. The Ithna ’ashari legal school is called the Ja’fari madhhab after him. Ismaili fiqh *(jurisprudence)* as codified by al-Qadi al-Nu’man is also primarily based on al-Sadiq’s traditions and those of his father, al-Baqir. Besides guiding his own followers, he was

widely regarded as a central reference point for many who sought his advice.

Amidst the theological issues of his day, such as those beliefs held by the Murji'a, the Qadariyya, the Jahmiyya and the Mu'tazila, Ja'far had his own distinct position. For example, he taught a middle position on the question of determinism and followed his father's views, which portrayed human responsibility but preserved God's autocracy. Knowledge was a central theme in his teaching, a duty for all Muslims to acquire through *'aql* (intellect), a supreme faculty through which God is worshipped and the knowledge of good and evil acquired. Thus, his views on the imamate as well as those on 'aql, 'ilm, a'mal, and iman were geared toward self-actualization. The personal ethics, morality, and individual communion with God that are discussed in his teachings are used to obtain receptivity in the heart and mind, which he refers to, at times, as *ma'rifa* (this is not to be confused with the later usage of that word).

Imam and Teacher

In addition to disseminating knowledge of Shi'i law and theology, Ja'far al-Sadiq played the role of a spiritual guide; he was imam and teacher for his Shi'a, initiating them into the inner wisdom that could be experienced in their hearts. The search for haqiqa in the revelation is thus an important aspect of Ja'far's thought. The imam undertakes the amana *(trust)* from God, rendering him a guarantor *(hujja)* and a link *(sabab)* with the celestial world for those who accept his authority. This is part of the universal history, beginning with the pre-creation covenant *(yawm al-mithaq)* and manifested through the prophets and the imams.

The imam's task is therefore, man's purification, preparing receptacles for the *haqiqa* (truth), which is the raison d'être of history: restoring man to his original home. This was his role as an imam: to help others achieve *ma'rifa qalbiyya* (cognition of the heart), channeled through the imam to his followers. The vision of men's hearts perceiving realities of faith does not delegitimize the authority of the intellect or that of the community. In fact, self-sufficiency, which is a serious sin in the Qur'an, can easily become intellectual pride; consequently, man's 'ilm is subordinated to God's gift of ma'rifa, according to Ja'far. It is the prophets and the imams who form the point of contact between man and God, and it is in this respect, perhaps, that Ja'far refers to the *sirr* (secret) that is discovered through transconscience and for which he possibly advocated *taqiyya* (precautionary dissimulation) as a principle.

Ja'far's ideas also became pervasive in the development of Sufi thought, where identical issues were raised, although in a more individualistic manner. His theology was especially significant in that it made use of experience as a hermeneutical principle. Paul Nywia (1970) emphasizes this contribution of Ja'far al-Sadiq, referring to his esoteric interpretation of the Qur'an collected by al-Sulamí (d. 412/1021). He emphasised that Muslim conscience is not to be found in the world of imagination but rather in the experience of life itself and that the external symbols have to be transformed by experience to become the truth. It is therefore important to internalize the letters or symbols of the Qur'an through experience. Ja'far thus read the Qur'an discerning a merger between the inner and the outer meanings, and he presented a new exegesis that involved no longer a reading of the Qur'an but revisiting the experience in a new interpretation of it *(ta'wil)*.

Ja'far al-Sadiq is linked to other disciplines as well: divination, including alchemy; the science of *jafr*, which includes letter–number correspondences; the occult arts, including pulmonancy (divination from body pulses); and hemerology (the study of calendars of auspicious and inauspicious days). These were popular among the Turks and Persians and have been reported in works known as *falnama*s. In the Indian subcontinent, these also played an important role in the popular life of Muslims and Hindus; evidence of this is found in Sindhi *pothis* (private religious manuscripts). In South Asia, Ja'far al-Sadiq is credited with writing *khab-namas* (interpretations of dreams), which are sometimes known as *risala* or *bayan* in Sindhi literature.

The plurality of Ja'far's teachings, his magnetic personality, and his spirituality have influenced subsequent generations in more ways than one. His influential contributions to Shi'i thought provided a momentum for the development of law, theology, and mysticism that is apparent in the impressive literature preserved in his name.

Arzina R. Lalani

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JAHIZ, AL-

Abu 'Uthman 'Amr ibn Bahr ibn Mahbub al-Kinani al-Fuqaymi al-Basri al-Jahiz ("Goggle-Eyes") was a ninth-century intellectual *(mutakallim)* of conceptual subtlety who composed some 200 works (of which sixty are at least partially extant) dealing with the major religious, political, and theological issues of his day. These works have later been understood as prime examples of the belletrist and encyclopedic style *(adab)*, and they are universally prized for their command of the 'Arabiyya (the Arabic of the Qur'an). For his immediate contemporaries, al-Jahiz's works were examples of dialectically informed theological speculation *(kalam)* in the tradition of the Mu'tazilite school of thought.

Born in Basra into an obscure family (possibly of Abyssinian origin) of vassals of the Kinana tribe around 776 CE, he received but scant formal education, attending the elementary Qur'an school and perhaps at one time earning a living selling fish. Through frequenting the congregational mosque of Basra and the caravan stop, the Mirbad, where philologists quizzed the Bedouins on the Arabic language, he was exposed to significant trends in contemporary thought and developed his mastery of the Arabic language. Several works on the imamate earned him the favor of the Caliph al-Ma'mun (r. 813–833), who had him brought to Baghdad. Little is known of his employment thereafter, apart from brief spells in the chancellery as a bureaucrat *(katib)* and later, fleetingly, as tutor to Caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–861). His most prominent patrons included the following: the vizier and master architect of the Mihna (the caliphal "inquisition" designed by al-Ma'mun to establish the caliph's sole right to religious leadership of the community), Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyat, (d. 847) to whom he dedicated the first version of *The Treatise of Living Creatures (Kitab al-Hayawan,* an early Islamic investigation of the "argument from design"*)*; the Hanafite Chief Qadi Ahmad ibn Abi Da'ud (d. ca. 854), the dedicatee of his distinctive theory of communication *(bayan)*, *The Treatise on Clarity and Clarification (al-Bayan wa-l-Tabyin*, a survey of Arabic rhetoric and an inquiry into the nature of language, set against the controversial doctrine of the createdness of the Qur'an*)* and of an early exercise in legal reasoning, *The Treatise on Legal Verdicts*, and for whose son, Muhammad (d. 854), al-Jahiz had written some works of ethical instruction (such as *The Treatise on the Here and the Hereafter: On Aphorisms, Managing People and Ways of Dealing with Them*); and al-Fath ibn Khaqan, al-Mutawakkil's vizier (d. 247/861), at whose request he revised his work *On the Virtues of the Turks* for the caliph (Turks having become a significant component of the caliphal army). For most of his mature career, al-Jahiz was engaged in the harmonization of the speculations of his master in speculative theology (kalam), Ibrahim ibn Sayyar al-Nazzam (d. between 835 and 845), and the natural philosophy *(falsafa)* of the Greco-Arabic translation movement in an attempt to synthesize a theologically, religiously, emotionally, and intellectually satisfying system of thought that remained faithful to the tenets of the Qur'an. He died in 868 or 869 in Basra, a hemiplegic who was crushed, according to one authority, by a pile of books. Because of their length and difficulty, al-Jahiz's two main works, *Living Creatures* and *Clarity and Clarification*, have not been translated, but there are translations of some of the shorter essays and of two satirical works, the *Book of Misers* and the *Epistle on Singing-Girls*.

James E. Montgomery

See also 'Abbasids; Adab; Arabic; Basra; Law and Jurisprudence; al-Ma'mun; Theology; Translation

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JAMI

Nur al-Din 'Abd al-Rahman Jami was born in Jam (in Khorasan) in 1414 CE, and died in 1492 in Herat, where he had spent much of his life as a valued dependent of the local Timurid court. He was honored in his own lifetime as a poet, a Nakshbandi Sufi, and a prose writer. His conscious attempt to surpass his poetic predecessors, his enormous facility as a writer of both didactic and lyrical verse, and the fact that, with the accession of the Shi'i Safavid dynasty to power in 1501, the cultural life of Iran changed radically within a few years of his death, have together led to his work being traditionally seen as the culmination of the "classic" period of Persian verse.

His major work in verse is the *Haft Ourang (Seven Thrones)*, a collection of seven masnavis (long poems in couplets) that was written in emulation of Nezami's five masnavis (his *Khamseh*). The best known of the seven are *Yusof o Zuleikha* and *Salaman o Absal*; both use stories of carnal desire as allegories for the necessity for the soul to reject the world of the flesh and aspire to the divine. His most famous prose work, the *Baharistan (The Garden in Spring)*, a collection of didactic tales interspersed with gnomic verses, was written in imitation of Sa'di's *Golestan*; predictably, Jami claims his work is superior to Sa'di's. As compared with his predecessors' productions, Jami's works undoubtedly "smell of the lamp," but his immense rhetorical mastery is never in doubt and has ensured their survival.

RICHARD DAVIS

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JAVA

Unlike the more westerly, trade-oriented Malay lands, largely agricultural Java appears to have attracted little direct interest from Muslim shippers until the late twelfth century CE, when its states began to play a more assertive role in the region politically and as a corollary to increased dealings with the southern Song dynasty of China.

Java has been the site of several major kingdoms, reflecting its diverse terrain and three major ethnic groups: the Sundanese in the west, the Javanese majority, and the people of the neighboring island of Madura, many of whom live in East Java. The most famous of Java's early kingdoms was ruled by the Śailendra dynasty, which was active in central Java until the middle of the ninth century and to which the great Buddhist stupa of Borobudur is attributed. There is also evidence that this dynasty was linked to that of Śrivijaya in Sumatra. After the ejection of the Śailendras, most of the successive rulers in the east and central plains were Śaivite, including the thirteenth-century kings of Singasari, who raided and claimed suzerainty over the ports of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. Singasari collapsed as Mongol forces, sent to Java on a punitive mission by Qubilai in late 1292, took sides with the rival court of Majapahit, which emerged victorious in 1293 and took Singasari's place as regional hegemon, reaching its apogee under Rajasanagara (Hayam Wuruk) (r. 1350–1389).

Over the course of the fourteenth century, Islam planted strong roots in the western part of the archipelago. By the fifteenth century, it was represented in some of Java's coastal ports, starting with Demak, Gresik, and Jepara, where it appears to have been introduced by local strongmen, who were recorded in the indigenous literature as being of mixed Chinese and Javanese blood.

Writing from Malacca between 1512 and 1515, the Portuguese apothecary Tomé Pires observed that, although coastal Java had been Islamicized, the major kingdom at its heart remained non-Muslim. However, there was already a Muslim presence at this court. In addition, although Demak is known to have been the first Muslim kingdom on Java, the first hard evidence of Islam on the island is to be found in fourteenth-century gravestones from near the site of Majapahit

at Trawulan and Tralaya, which suggests a Muslim presence at court there, perhaps even among the royal family.

According to some Javanese traditions, the Majapahit capital was sacked in 1478 by a force from Demak, with the hero of these raids later founding his own capital at Kudus (named after Jerusalem [al-Quds]). Although the actual course of events linking the rise of Islam to the fall of Majapahit and the foundation in its place of the Sultanate of Mataram is still unclear (1527 is the more likely date for the Demak attack), Java certainly became a more noticeably Muslim island over the course of the coming centuries. By the seventeenth century, the related sultanates of Banten and Cirebon (said to have been Islamized by a saint from the Sumatran kingdom of Pasai) had emerged and played a role in maritime trade with the Atlantic powers. Banten in particular had excellent access to holdings of pepper and maintained close links with the court of Aceh in northern Sumatra. In addition, as they were in Aceh, links were cultivated with the wider Muslim world. The Bantenese king, Pangeran Ratu (r. 1596–1651), sent a mission to Mecca in 1638 to obtain the title of Sultan, reigning thereafter as Mahmud Abd al-Qadir Abu 'l-Mafakhir.

The teachings of the mystical orders associated with the courts—particularly the Shattariyya and Qadiriyya orders—were also fostered. The cult of 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani was particularly prominent, and Javanese, Sundanese, and Malay literature contain adaptations of the stories of his life, especially those compiled by the Yemen-born hagiographer 'Abd Allah b. As'ad al-Yafi'i (1298–1367). Furthermore, these stories appear to have been seminal to the very transmission of Islam. Some of his miracles are paralleled in some of the conversion stories found in the wider region. In addition, as G.W.J. Drewes once suggested, Sultan Mahmud Abd al-Qadir Abu 'l-Mafakhir of Banten even appears to have chosen a regal title in 1638 that harmonized with that of a work of al-Yafi'i *(Asna al-Mafakhir fi Manaqib 'Abd al-Qadir)* and his favorite saint al-Jilani, who is still seen as the primary intercessor for southeast Asian Sufis.

MICHAEL LAFFAN

See also 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani; Sufism and Sufis; Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula

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JERUSALEM

Jerusalem in medieval Arabic literature is known as Ilya (from the Latin *Aelia Capitolina*), Bayt al-Maqdis, al-Bayt al-Muqaddas, or, simply, al-Quds. The latter three names all derive from the pure Arabic roots *b.y.t.* and *q.d.s.*, meaning "home" and "holy"; hence, "The Holy House." The form of the appellation, however, is an exact Arabization of the Hebrew *Beyt HaMiqdash*, the common Jewish designation for the ancient Israelite at Temple Jerusalem. The particular Hebrew locution, *Beyt HaMiqdash*, is not biblical, but it first appears in the Mishnah (c. 200 CE).

The sanctity of Jerusalem predates even ancient Israel; it was a Jebusite (and probably a pre-Jebusite) holy site, the tribal or ethnic name of which has been lost (Genesis 14:18–20). However, as Oleg Grabar has observed, memories can be released from the spaces they occupy, and new memories can fill them. Associated with the great Israelite kings David and Solomon, the Jerusalem Temple on the eastern hill of the city was destroyed by the Romans in 70, a symbolic act that ended any semblance of Jewish political and religious hegemony. Jerusalem would not become a national center again until the twentieth century, but it would nevertheless play an occasional role in the politics of nation and empire.

The city was largely destroyed and then rebuilt under the Roman Hadrian (mid-second century), and its biblical memories were replaced with the standard pagan imperial themes associated with Roman monumental structures. Only after the Christianization of the city under Constantine and his successors (fourth century onward) was Jerusalem refilled with monotheistic sanctity. However, this sanctity was Christian rather than Jewish, and its center of gravity moved westward to the Holy Sepulchre Church, in which the memories of the Crucifixion and Resurrection were linked. The eastern hill, upon which the Temple once stood, was left in ruins as a sign of God's abandonment of the Jews for the new dispensation of Christianity.

Not only did historical and pious memories infuse the city, but there were also "memories" of the future:



Temple of Jerusalem. Spanish miniature, from a mozarabic Bible, fol. 50r. Tenth century CE. Credit: Bridgeman-Giraudon/ Art Resource, NY. S. Isidro el Real, Leon, Spain.

the eschaton or end time, when humanity will be finally judged. Jerusalem became the "gateway to heaven," and the pious made their way there in pilgrimage or burial in hope of resurrection and eternal life. This infused the city with a psychological quality of expectation and hope, but it also suggested that its political control might improve one's merit for salvation. Individuals made their way to Jerusalem to die and be buried there, and Crusades and counter-Crusades would radically increase the number of the holy dead.

When Jerusalem was conquered by the Arabs in 637 or 638, the center of holiness returned to the Temple Mount, now called the Sacred Precinct (Haram al-Sharif). At this early period of Arab conquest, the religion of Islam was in its infancy, and it is not clear how "Islamic" the conquest led by the forces of the second caliph, 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab, actually was. This may account for the ambivalence reflected by the sources regarding the sanctity of Jerusalem in relation to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. In any case, tradition credits 'Umar with constructing a simple mosque on the Haram. On the same raised earthworks but further to the north, where the Solomonic Temple once stood, the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik constructed the oldest surviving Islamic monumental structure (ca. 691), the Qubbat al-Sakhra (the Dome of the Rock). Within a few decades, he or his son Walid built the mosque called Al-Aqsa ("the distant mosque"), which became associated with the night journey of Muhammad from Mecca to Jerusalem.

Unlike Christian Jerusalem, which preserved the memory of prior religions only as archaic ruins, Islamic Jerusalem allowed for Christians to maintain their religious monuments and shrines, and Jews were allowed their synagogues. Only occasionally, such as during the reign of the Fatimid Caliph Hakim during the early eleventh century, were churches and synagogues sacked and destroyed.

Medieval Islamic Jerusalem reflected the "memories" of both the past and the future Day of Judgment. In these memories, the new Dome of the Rock represents the Solomonic Temple and the gateway to heaven of past sacrifice and future salvation. At the end time, the rock under the dome will be the stronghold of Muslims against al-Dajjal (the Antichrist) and the place to which the Mahdi (the Messiah) will come in triumph to restore justice to earth. Both Mecca and Medina will be brought to Jerusalem on the Day of Judgment.

However, the primary memory of Islamic Jerusalem is the *isra* (night journey) of the Prophet Muhammad to Jerusalem and his *mi'raj* (ascension) from the *al-sakhra* (rock) to heaven. In heaven, beyond the Lotus tree, he meets God and receives the wisdom that guides him and forms the authority for his leadership and pious behavior. The Prophet's behaviors and aphorisms make up the sunna, and the sunna forms the most sacred religious literature of Islam after the Qur'an. The authority for the sunna derives from Muhammad's infallibility, and that infallibility derives from his journey through the gateway to Heaven in Jerusalem to meet the Creator.

Reuven Firestone

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JESUS

Islam celebrates Jesus as a prophet who is superior to all other prophets except Muhammad. Two particular issues in the Islamic dogma led to this recognition: (1) Jesus proclaimed the coming of Muhammad, and (2) Islam will achieve ultimate triumph with Jesus' second coming at the End of Times. The stories about Jesus in the Qur'an and Islamic literature, including the *Tales of the Prophets* genre, relate to his birth, life, career, and miracles. Most of these stories have close parallels in canonical and apocryphal Christian texts. In this respect, one can say that Jesus is a figure who is claimed simultaneously by two religions (Christianity and Islam). However, it is the nature of Jesus where these two religions differ.

Jesus is a legitimizer of Islam. According to Qur'an (61:6), one of the duties of Jesus was to proclaim the coming of Ahmad, which Muslim exegetes identify with Muhammad and relate to one of Jesus' sayings in the Gospel of John (15:26) about the coming of the Paraclete. The eminent relation between the two prophets is emphasized in the hadith; one in particular features Muhammad assuring that adding Jesus' name to the Shahada earns the believer unconditional admission to Paradise (Bukhari, *Sahih*, III, 1267, no. 3252).

The Islamic belief about the second coming of Jesus revolves around the Qur'anic assertion that he did not die but instead was taken from the world by God (4:158). Jesus shall return at the End of Time to bring about the triumph of Islam and then die like

every human, thus concluding his prophetic mission. The elaboration of this doctrine is in the hadith; the Qur'an only refers to it vaguely by nicknaming Jesus *'alamun li-l-sa'a* (sign/condition of the coming of the hour) (43:61). At first, the Mahdi of Islam came to be identified with Jesus, but this became a less-popular view after the Mahdi was determined to be a descendant of Muhammad. In Shi'i theology in particular, Jesus becomes the lieutenant of the Mahdi; his second coming will usher in the return of the Mahdi from his *ghayba* (occultation).

Islamic theology, including the Qur'an, was partly concerned with "correcting" the wrong Christian perceptions about Jesus, in particular his divinity (i.e., whether he should be considered to be God, the son of God, or part of the Trinity). This has to be understood in the context of the Islamic obsession with the concept of the oneness of God *(al-Tawhid)* and the outright rejection of any hint of divine associates. The Qur'anic denial of the crucifixion (4:157) is not addressed to the Christians, but it became an accepted discourse in Islamic theology to challenge the Christian belief about the reality of the crucifixion. However, Islam accepts particular Christian concepts about the nature of Jesus, especially Jesus as the Word of God and a Spirit from God (Qur'an 4:171).

Jesus has also been implicated in several religious and political controversies in Islam. His sayings were quoted, for instance, in support of the Murji'a's view of abstaining from judging other Muslims and referring the judging to God (see Khalidi, nos. 1 and 3), and also in support of the predestination creed that God determines everything (Khalidi, no. 69). As for Islamic asceticism and mysticism (Sufism), Jesus features as a patron saint, and his perceived lifestyle became a model to imitate, especially his celibacy, unconcern for property and wealth, and struggle against Satan. His miracles were constantly highlighted, and they were explained as resulting from the divine empowerment because of his total devotion to and reliance on God.

SULEIMAN A. MOURAD

See also Qur'an and Christians; Prophets, Tales of; Messianism; Shi'ism

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JEWELRY

In the Qur'an, the use of jewelry is not specifically encouraged or prohibited. However, its material value, aesthetic qualities, and ornamental function are definitely acknowledged through several mentions of precious sartorial accessories constituting rewards given to true believers in Paradise. For example, the faithful will be adorned with "bracelets of gold" in Surah 18:31 and "bracelets of silver" in Surah 76:21. Surahs 22:23 and 35:33 state similar promises of adding pearls to bracelets. Belonging to the category of jewelry, pearls, corals, and precious stones are especially considered in the Qur'an, because they are wonders to be found in nature, God's creation (Surah 55:22). In depicting Paradise, Surah 55:58 mentions rubies and pearls as paradigms of beauty and perfection, whereas Surah 76:19 compares heavenly creatures to pearls. By thus including jewels in the depiction of Paradise, the Qur'an attributes a great value to this branch of metalwork; however, it remains mute concerning sumptuary laws in the framework of earthly life.

One has to consult the hadith to find elements of an ethical approach to the custom of using jewels in the Muslim society. Many passages recommend the use of silver instead of gold. However, men are strictly forbidden to wear gold jewelry, although they may use silver rings in reference to the one that Muhammad possessed. With regard to women, the prescriptions appear to be less well defined. Some excerpts allow the use of gold whereas others do not, although there is a demonstrated predominance against it and a negative attitude toward goldsmiths as well. An early hadith (that was later revoked) says: "The Prophet said: 'O Ye women, bedeck yourselves in silver but any woman who adorns herself with gold and displays it



Gold necklace decorated with tiny floral designs in filigree; on the center pendant inscription "da'im" (everlasting prosperity). Naskki script. Mamluk dynasty, thirteenth CE. Credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY. Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, Egypt.

openly shall be punished.'" A few traditions report that Muhammad and after him men of wisdom compared gold to fire, obviously alluding to Hell. However, in another hadith, the Prophet also stated that "gold and silk are permitted to women of my congregation and forbidden to the men." In contrast with the ambiguous connotation of gold jewelry, silver adornments clearly constitute licit jewelry according to the Prophetic tradition.

There are numerous references to jewelry in Islamic historical and literary sources. Jewelry was a controlled commodity, subject to taxation *(zakat)*. Both the commerce and making of jewels were supervised by an inspector *(muhtasib)* in a specific office *(Dar al-'Iyar)*. The Hisba literature provides many details about the profession of muhtasib. Inventories and chronicles describe quantities of precious objects that princes of the great medieval dynasties amassed in their treasuries, like the famous one of the Fatimids. Symbols of power and social status, jewels constituted honorific and diplomatic gifts exchanged among rulers and members of the royal family or offered to court subjects and representatives of the state during official ceremonies. Together with descriptive texts, pieces preserved in the worldly museums and private collections attest to the variety of techniques and stylistic influences that shaped the art of Islamic jewelry in the Middle Ages. Goldsmiths adapted the old Oriental Persian–Sasanian and Mediterranean Greco-Roman traditions to the taste and needs of Islamic culture, thereby at once creating new forms and perpetuating the native lore of lands conquered by the Muslims.

Valerie Gonzalez

See also Amulets; Artisans; Beauty and Aesthetics; Clothing and Costume; Court Dress; Fatimids; Gender and Sexuality; Gifts and Gift Giving; Guilds, Professional; Hadith; Marvels and Wonders; Metalwork; Mythology and Mythical Beings; Precious Metal; Qur'an; Qur'an and Arabic Literature; Roman Empire, Islamic Traditions; Sasanians, Islamic Traditions; Talismans and Talismanic Objects; Tax and Taxation

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JEWS

The word *Jew* can be traced back to the Hebrew *Yehudi,* a word that comes originally from the tribe of Judah (Yehudah), named for the fourth son of the patriarch Jacof (Ya'aqov). After King Solomon died and the kingdom of Judah was split into two kingdoms, the northern kingdom was called Israel and the southern Judah. From the period of the biblical figure Ezra, the name Israel (Yisra'el) is used in all Hebrew literature, with a few exceptions during the time of the Maccabees. In the Christian Gospels, the Jews are recorded as having mocked Jesus by calling him "King of Israel," whereas Pilate the Roman and his soldiers refer to him as "King of the Jews." For early Christians, the figure of Judas Iscariot was early conflated with the gospel story about him as being linked with the devil (Luke 22:3), and there became an evil triangle of "devil—Jew—Judas"; the word *Judaeus* helped to establish the pejorative meaning of *Jew* in popular usage.

The Pentateuch became sacred scripture no later than the fifth century BCE, whereas the later works of the kings, prophets, and other important figures were finally part of the Jewish Bible, or *TaNaKH,* the letters of which stand for its three sections: Torah (Pentateuch), Nevi'im (Prophets), and Ketuvim (Hagiographia). By the second century CE important civilizations of the East (Persians, Greeks, Zoroastrians, and Romans) influenced several Jewish usages and beliefs.

From early usage in Aramaic and Persian names, there came the Greek name *Ioudaios* and the Latin *Judaeus*. These later developed into early English, and the word can be found from about the year 1000 C.E. in various forms, such as *Iudea, Gyu, Iuw, and Iew,* which developed into *Jew*.

During the nineteenth century, to avoid the unpleasant association and connotation of the word *Jew* as mentioned above, among many Jewish organizations it became usual to use the terms *Hebrews* and *Israelites.* However, these new names quickly became as pejorative as the usage of "Jews" in many nineteenth-century novels and other written works. More recently, in the twentieth century (especially during the years before the Nazi period and more so during World War II), many millions of Jews—even thousands of those who had left Judaism—suffered from the efforts to rid Europe and other parts of the world of all the Jews.

William M. Brinner

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JIHAD

Jihad is the term most often used in Islamic sources to denote war that is authorized by God. Because the ultimate authority for this category of war is the divinity, it most closely approximates what Western languages refer to as "holy war."

The actual meaning of the term, however, has nothing to do with warring or aggression. It means, rather, "striving," and it is commonly used in the Qur'an and elsewhere in the idiomatic expression "striving in the path of God" *(al-jihad fi sabil Allah)*. This is striving to do the divine will and to fulfill one's religious obligation. Such religious obligation, in the Islamic context, includes protecting the religion from both outside aggressors who would dominate it and from internal sedition or subversion away from what is perceived to be the straight path established by God and His Prophet.

In the Qur'an

Although some Qur'anic contexts in which "striving in the path of God" occurs do not convey a sense of stress or physical defense (2:218; 9:64; 49:15), most do (4:95; 8:72, 74; 5:54; 9:16, 19, 41; 31:15; 60:1; 61:11), and some quite clearly refer to engaging in war on behalf of a beleaguered young Muslim community. The more common Qur'anic term, however, is *qital*, and this word means, literally, "warring" (2:190, 244, 246; 3:13, 167; 4:74–76, 84; 9:111; 21:4; 73:20). Like jihad, qital also occurs in the idiomatic expression "in the path of God"; qital thus conveys a sense of religious war more consistently than does jihad. A third term, *harb,* also refers to wars, but this term does not occur in the idiom, "in the path of God," and it is distinguished by designating only aggression and wars that are not legitimized by religious authority.

The Qur'an acknowledges that conflict between peoples, religions, and individuals is a part of life (22:40: "If God did not push off [some] people by means of others, then monasteries and churches and synagogues and mosques in which the name of God is often cited would have been destroyed." 5:8, 48; 16:93; 34:24–26; 49:10–13, 109). Other means of resolving religious disputes, such as argument or discussion, are also found in the Qur'an (16:125; 29:46).

In the Hadith

Various activities subsumed under jihad are said by Muhammad to distinguish true believers who are loyal to God's Prophet: "Every prophet sent by God to a nation *(umma)* before me has had disciples and followers who followed his ways *(sunna)* and obeyed his commands. But after them came successors who preached what they did not practice and practiced what they were not commanded. Whoever strives *(jahada)* against them with one's hand is a believer, whoever strives against them with one's tongue is a believer, whoever strives against them with one's heart is a believer. There is nothing greater than [the size of] a mustard seed beyond that in the way of faith" (Muslim, *Sahih,* Cairo; *K. al-Iman* 20.80, 1:69-70). Muhammad is also credited with saying: "The best *jihad* is [speaking] a word of justice to a tyrannical ruler" (Abu Dawud, *Sunan*, Cairo, 1988/1408; *K. al-Malahim* 4344, 4:122).

There are, thus, various subcategories of jihad found in the hadith literature, such as jihad of the heart, the tongue, and the hand, all of which are said to promote God's kingdom on earth by behaving ethically, by speaking without causing harm to others, and by defending Islam and propagating the faith, respectively. Jihad as religiously grounded warfare—sometimes referred to as *jihad of the sword (jihad al-sayf)*—is subsumed under the last two categories of defending Islam and propagating the faith, although these need not be accomplished only through war. When the term *jihad* is used without qualifiers such as "of the heart," or "of the tongue," it is universally understood as war on behalf of Islam (equivalent to "jihad of the sword"), and the merits of engaging in such jihad are described plentifully in the most-respected religious works.

Nevertheless, Muslim thinkers (and particularly ascetics and mystics) often differentiate between the greater jihad *(al-jihad al-akbar)* and the lesser jihad *(al-jihad al-asghar)*, with the former representing the struggle against the self, and only the lesser jihad referring to warring in the path of God. It should be noted that this is not a sound tradition and cannot be found in any of the canonical Sunni hadith collections.

Even within its range of meaning as war on behalf of Islam, the term is often used in relation to conflicts between Muslims. Such examples of jihad include wars fought against groups of apostates rebelling against proper Islamic authority *(murtaddun)*, dissenting groups denouncing legitimate Muslim leadership *(baghi)*, highway robbers and other violent people, and deviant or un-Islamic leadership. The determination of when Muslim leaders may call for jihad and the requisite demands that such a call makes upon the Muslim populace are developed in the legal literature.

In Islamic Law

Muslim jurists developed a highly sophisticated legal doctrine of war, and Averroes (Muhammad ibn Rushd) makes several general points. First, it is a collective legal obligation for healthy, adult, free men who have the means at their disposal to go to war. All polytheists should be fought (Jews and Christians are included in this group). Second, the aim of warfare against Peoples of the Book is either conversion to Islam or payment of the *jizya* (a poll tax) signaling subjugation to Islam. Generally, collection of the jizya is only accepted from Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians, although some scholars allow it for "any polytheist other than Arabs" (which would include Hindus). Otherwise, conversion to Islam is required of non-monotheists. Third, damage inflicted on the enemy may consist of damage to his property, injury to his person, or violation of his personal liberty (slavery). Such damage may be directed against

men, women, and children, but some scholars omit monks. Captives may be pardoned, enslaved, killed, or released either on ransom or as dhimmi (protected Peoples of the Book), who must then pay the jizya to the Muslim head of state. Some scholars forbid the killing of captives. Fourth, certain individuals among the enemy may receive status of aman (safe conduct) to conduct political or economic activities that benefit the state. Finally, in times of war, all adult, able-bodied, unbelieving males may be slain, but noncombatant women and children may not be.

The juridical literature contains discussions of rules of engagement, the use of weapons of mass destruction such as fire, how much damage may be inflicted on the property of the enemy, and so on. Truce is permitted, but there is much discussion about who has the authority to call for it and under what conditions it may be called.

In History

The earliest references to jihad are Qur'anic, but Islamic doctrine was formulated later, during the classical period, when Islam dominated from Western Europe to the Indian subcontinent. Perpetual war against the non-Muslim world seemed natural at the time until victory, but, as with all empires, perpetual conquest could not be sustained. Reversals were considered temporary, however, so until the modern period little new thought was given by Muslim scholars to Islamic military doctrines in either the legal or moral spheres.

A renewed interest in other forms of conflict resolution has appeared recently (Salmi, 1998; Said, 2001), and less aggressive Qur'anic references are beginning to be revisited. The attacks against the U.S. World Trade Center and Pentagon in 2001 and the response of the United States by invading Afghanistan and Iraq has shocked the Muslim world and has encouraged additional reevaluation.

Reuven Firestone

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JINN

The Arabic term *jinn* means "invisible beings." The jinn are sentient beings who are composed from a subtle matter. Before Islam, they were worshiped as gods, as tutelary deities, or as spiritual protectors not only in the Arabian Peninsula but also in neighboring areas, such as the ancient Syrian city of Palmyra. Islam incorporated them into the new religion and changed their status from gods to supernatural beings that could be either good or evil. In fact, Islam is the only one of the three monotheistic religions to address its message to both human beings and jinn. Muslims accept the existence of the jinn as part of their faith.

The most important source for understanding the concept of the jinn in Islam is the Qur'an, which strongly condemns the worship of the jinn by the Arabs before Islam and their search for protection from them (72:6). In Qur'an verses 15:26–7 and 55:14–5, there is mention that they are created from "scorching winds" and "a smokeless fire," and it is also said that they are like humans in that they are rational beings formed of nations (7:38). In fact, the jinn are always addressed in the plural. The Holy Book points out also that both jinn and humans are called to worship God (51:56).

In verse 6:130, it is said that God sent messengers to both jinn and humans. Muslim sources differ regarding whether these messengers were from the side of the jinn, or if they were from the human side alone. However, if the messengers were indeed from the human side alone, how did the jinn learn about these messages? The Qur'an says that the jinn have their own communication channel that allows them to receive the Word of God. In one instance, they

listened to a recitation of the Qur'an and then went to inform their fellow jinn about Islam (72:1–5).

Islam considers the jinn to be responsible for their deeds. Both humans and jinn are described as free and fully capable of making choices that will determine their abode in Paradise or Hell, and the jinn and humankind are closely associated in the afterlife as well. Both confront the same destiny (6:128; 55:39), both will be judged simultaneously by God, and both will be rewarded or punished in accordance with their deeds (7:179; 55:56).

To understand the concept of jinn in Islam, emphasis must be placed on the repetition of the striking phrase, ''Lord of the worlds,'' that Muslims use in their daily prayers and that is mentioned at the beginning of each chapter of the Qur'an. The use of the plural implies the existence of other worlds that are inhabited by numerous kinds of intelligences, all of which are outside humankind's perception. The world of the jinn is only one of many of such realms.

In many chapters, the Qur'an reminds humankind and jinn of the impossibility of physically coming close to God (55:33). However, this incapability before God is not only physical, it also includes the mental and creative limitations that are shared by jinn and humans alike. God sets a challenge for both species (17:90).

However, the numerous instances of the association of jinn and humans do not imply that these two species are equal. God says in the Qur'an that humans alone are the inheritors of the earth. The first man and prophet, Adam, is considered God's vicegerent on earth; this honor does not go to the jinn who share the earth with humankind nor even to the angels who worship God in the heavens by day and by night (17:70). Even the basic elements from which human beings and jinn are composed give humans greater distinction over the jinn. Although the jinn generally boast about their superiority because they are made of air and smokeless fire, the element of water, which gives life to everything, and from which human beings themselves are created, bestows upon them actual superiority over the jinn. The supremacy of human beings above all other creatures derives from the fact that they are a combination of elements from lower compounds (the same as animals and plants) as well as higher compounds (angelic entities). Only human beings are constituted from both realms.

The association of humans and jinn is not limited to the Qur'an. It is also found in classical Arabic literature, Sufi texts, folklore, and even modern narratives. These diverse texts unravel the belief of a large population of the Arab Muslim world in an abiding relationship between the jinn and humans. Popular culture, even today, abounds with stories of jinn carrying off humans, of marriages between the two species, and of people possessed by jinn, in which case the jinn are internalized within the human psyche. These lasting beliefs insinuate that, where there are human beings, there are almost always jinn nearby who interfere in their existence and who are subject to the same set of laws and beliefs.

Amira El-Zein

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JUDAH HA-LEVI

The poet and religious philosopher Judah (Abu'l-Hasan) ben Samuel Halevi (c. 1075–1141) was one of the outstanding figures among Andalusian Jewry during the first half of the twelfth century. Hailing from Tudela or Toledo, he came to Cordoba at the invitation of the poet Moses Ibn Ezra. Although Halevi was a practicing physician, he also engaged in commerce and was apparently quite prosperous. His fame, however, derived from his Hebrew verse. According to Judah al-Harizi (c. 1165–1225), Halevi was the most versatile of Hebrew writers, a virtuoso in every genre of secular and sacred poetry and rhymed prose. He pioneered the Hebrew girdle song *(muwashshah)* and also produced Hebrew renderings of Arabic verse. The superscriptions to his poems indicate warm relationships with other members of the Jewish elite. Much of his verse was gathered posthumously into a *diwan* (collected poems), which has survived in two recensions. Many of his liturgical compositions are preserved in the rites of Sephardic and oriental Jewish communities.

Deeply immersed in Greco-Arabic culture, Halevi commanded a fine Arabic prose style and was thoroughly conversant with Islamic philosophy. Shi'i and Sufi influences have also been detected in his writings. However, he came to repudiate the truth claims of speculative knowledge while adopting a conservative, particularist conception of Judaism. He expounded his views in *The Book of the Khazar (Kitab al-Khazari)*, a platonic dialogue between a rabbi and a pagan king seeking religious enlightenment. The work draws upon the etiological legend of the conversion of the Khazar kingdom (located in southern Russia between the Black and Caspian Seas) to Judaism during the eighth and ninth centuries. The book's alternate title, *The Book of Argument and Proof for the Despised Faith,* aptly expresses its apologetic character. The rabbi argues for the intrinsic superiority of the Jewish religious tradition, the Jewish people, and the land of Israel while rejecting the claims of other religions (Islam and Christianity), other intellectual systems (Greek and Islamic philosophy), and heresies (Karaite Judaism). Because of its engaging form and powerful, positive message, the *Book of the Khazar* was soon translated into Hebrew by Judah Ibn Tibbon (Provence, 1167); *Sefer ha-Kuzari* became one of the classic works of Jewish thought.

Toward the conclusion of the *Khazari,* the rabbi asserts that he must leave the diaspora for the land of Israel, which is the noblest place on earth. In fact, as an old man, Halevi himself finally abandoned his comfortable life in Andalusia and traveled east to the Holy Land. This journey is documented in a remarkable series of poems that describe his longing for Zion, his planned pilgrimage, his parting from family and friends in Andalusia, and his voyage. This final chapter of Halevi's life has been illuminated by documents from the Cairo Geniza relating to his stay in Egypt (1140–1141) before his final departure for the Holy Land. He died in August 1141, apparently after reaching his destination.

Daniel Frank

See also Judeo-Arabic; Pilgrimage; Poetry, Hebrew; Translation, Arabic to Hebrew

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JUDEO-ARABIC

Since antiquity, Jewish communities have adopted local vernaculars as well as literary languages. German and Spanish, for example, have Jewish forms known respectively as Yiddish and Judezmo (sometimes Ladino). Written in Hebrew characters, they possess a traditional Hebrew and Aramaic vocabulary, which varies in size and scope according to situation and speaker/writer. Judeo-Arabic conforms to this pattern. As far back as the seventh century CE, Jews in the Arabian Peninsula spoke a dialect of Arabic called *al-yahudiya* in the hadith (tradition) literature. With the Islamic conquests, Jews throughout the Near East, North Africa, and the Iberian Peninsula began to acquire Arabic, the new *lingua franca;* by the late tenth century, it had largely replaced Aramaic as the language of Jews in Islamic lands. For the most part, they reserved Hebrew for sacred and secular poetry. Judeo-Arabic was their primary language of communication and technical writing in all disciplines, including the religious sciences (biblical exegesis, Hebrew grammar and lexicography, homiletics, law, theology, and philosophy) as well as astronomy and medicine. Sa'adyah's *Kitab al-Amanat*, Moses Ibn Ezra's book on Hebrew poetics, Maimonides' *Guide*, and the great Karaite Bible commentaries were all written in Judeo-Arabic.

Judeo-Arabic is a variety of Middle Arabic, a stage of the language that often deviates from classical usage and includes vernacular, "neo-Arabic" features. The Middle Arabic corpus includes Christian religious writings, Muslim literary works (e.g., *The Thousand and One Nights*), and Jewish texts of many different types. Aside from its Hebrew and Aramaic lexical component, Judeo-Arabic preserves all of the typical Middle Arabic features found in Christian and Muslim texts. These include the following: (1) the disappearance of case endings; (2) the replacement of the ending *-una* with *-u* in the imperfect indicative tense of verbs; (3) the interchange of certain consonants, such as *sin* and *sad;* (4) the interchange of verbal themes, such as I for IV and vice versa; (5) the use of *ma* to negate the imperfect; and (6) asyndetic syntax. Most characteristic are the numerous "pseudocorrections," or failed attempts at classical usage that result in incorrect or

even nonexistent forms (e.g., *akhyar*, "better/best"; Classical Arabic: *khayr*).

With the exception of some Karaites who preferred to use Arabic script even for Hebrew texts, most Jews wrote Arabic in the Hebrew alphabet, which all Jewish children learned. This loyalty to Hebrew characters had two important consequences. First, Muslims and Christians could not read Jewish writings of any kind unless they had been specially copied in Arabic letters. The Hebrew alphabet, therefore, constituted a boundary between religious communities in Islamic lands. Second, because the Jewish veneration for the divine name precludes the intentional destruction of any text upon which it may be written, Jews discarded all unwanted documents by placing them in special repositories, such as the Cairo Geniza. This trove of manuscripts contains Judeo-Arabic texts in a range of linguistic registers and in many different genres, from theological treatises to legal documents and personal letters. It attests to the great richness of Jewish scholarship in the lands of medieval Islam.

Daniel Frank

See also Education, Jewish; Hebrew; Judah Halevi; Poetry, Hebrew; Nissim Ibn Shahin; Scriptural Exegesis, Jewish; Solomon Ibn Gabirol; Translation, Arabic to Hebrew

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JUDGES

The *qadi* (judge) has been a key figure in Muslim societies for more than fourteen hundred years. Sometimes a trained scholar, sometimes not, the qadi performs judicial, administrative, and symbolic functions. To him belongs the domain of resolving legal disputes by hearing complaints, applying rules of procedure, soliciting and assessing witness testimony, and issuing and enforcing binding judgments. In many Muslim communities, the qadi also serves as an administrator and an intermediary between the state and its subjects, executing the ruler's decrees and collecting his taxes. The qadi is frequently a revered figure whose office is a symbol of divine justice. He is responsible for the general welfare of Muslims and non-Muslims, the safety and security of travel, ensuring that people are accorded their rights, and promoting respect for Islam and its adherents.

Early History

The early Umayyad caliphs held their own courts but also appointed the first qadis, who were subject to their authority. Recruited from the ranks of pre-Islamic arbitrators, the earliest qadis lacked formal training. Their duties included the resolution of disputes among the conquering tribesmen in the garrison towns based on their understanding of the regulations contained in the Qur'an and the example of the Prophet Muhammad. In the absence of Qur'anic stipulations or prophetic precedent, they exercised personal discretion and relied on ad hoc reasoning. For most of the first century AH, the jurisdiction of the qadis was limited to the garrison towns and to the resolution of disputes among the Arab tribesmen and their families; it did not yet extend to the surrounding countryside or to the towns and cities inhabited by Christians, Zoroastrians, Jews, and others.

Upon his accession to the caliphate, Mu'awiya (r. 661–680 CE) delegated his authority to qadis and other agents in the garrison towns. In addition to resolving disputes, these qadis served as governors, tax collectors, military commanders, leaders of prayer, and supervisors of the public treasury and the land tax. The qadi al-jund exercised authority over the Muslim soldiers who were organized according to military units in the garrison towns, distributing stipends to soldiers among the members of their respective tribes, and guarding the interests of orphans within a particular tribe. Under the Umayyads, the functions of criminal enforcement and the judgeship were often united in the hands of a single individual.

By the turn of the first century AH, the judicial apparatus had expanded outward from the garrison towns and embraced major towns in which Muslims were as yet only a minority of the population. The rapid expansion of the Arab empire and the growing complexity and sophistication of the state apparatus led to the development of the judgeship as a professional office. During the last decade of the first century AH, the functions of the qadi came to be limited to the resolution of legal disputes and the administration of the emerging judicial apparatus. Beginning with

Sulayman b. 'Abd al-Malik (r. 715–717), judges were appointed directly by the caliphs from the capital in Damascus.

The Umayyads used the qadiship as a form of patronage, appointing important and influential religious figures as qadis and using them to disseminate their ideology and to promote the popularity of the regime. Although there was no lack of qualified candidates to fill these posts, many potential candidates either refused to accept such appointments or had to be cajoled to do so, presumably because they were reluctant to associate themselves with a state regarded as unjust or impious.

The early qadis issued their judgments on the basis of their understanding of the Qur'an *(sunna)* and local custom, supplemented by *ra'y* (personal discretion), thereby contributing to the formation of nascent legal doctrine and laying the foundation for what would become the mature legal doctrine of the law schools *(madhhabs)*.

After 750 CE

In Umayyad and early 'Abbasid times, the jurisdiction of the qadi was limited to the town over which he was appointed. At first, the qadi was usually a local representative of the inhabitants of a town who was familiar with many of the residents and responsive to public opinion. Candidates for the office were invited to appear before the caliph or governor, who attached great importance to popular sentiment when making a decision to appoint—or dismiss—a qadi.

The 'Abbasid caliph al-Mahdi (r. 775–785) initiated the regular hearing of petitions and complaints in the forum that came to be known as the *mazalim* (courts of complaint). This was the institution by means of which the state assumed direct responsibility for dispensing justice and responding to complaints regarding administrative and judicial abuses.

A key step in the consolidation of state control over judges was taken by Harun al-Rashid (r. 786–809), who created the office of *qadi al-qudat* (chief qadi), appointing Abu Yusuf (d. 798) as its first incumbent. The chief qadi was empowered to appoint, supervise, and dismiss qadis and other judicial officials throughout the empire. Eventually, it became customary for the chief qadi to nominate the main provincial judge who, in turn, delegated his judicial powers to one or more local agents. Some of these agents were empowered to hear specific types of disputes, whereas others had jurisdiction in all fields in a limited geographical district.

The caliph retained the power to adjudicate cases even though, in practice, he generally assigned this power to qadis who acted as his agents. In most Muslim polities, the caliph (later, the sultan) and executive officials exercised general—albeit not exclusive—jurisdiction over criminal cases. This type of justice is called *siyasa* (literally discipline), a term that signifies both state policy and the right of the ruler and his agents to impose discretionary punishments.

With the failure of the Inquisition *(Mihna)* in 849, the caliph no longer attempted to impose religious uniformity, and, as a consequence, the status of the chief qadiship declined. By the time of al-Mu'tadid (r. 892–902), the vizier had replaced the chief qadi as second-in-command to the caliph, and henceforth it was the vizier who appointed the chief qadi and, on occasion, provincial qadis as well.

By the middle of the ninth century, the men who received appointments as qadis increasingly were people of high standing at the 'Abbasid court who were loyal to the caliph and ready to implement his policies. These men often had no ties to and did not reside in the towns over which they were appointed, and they were appointed from Baghdad rather than by local governors. The jurisdiction of a single qadi now might include as many as three or four towns and their surrounding districts, although the range of legal issues over which he exercised control became more limited. The qadi had become a state functionary whose authority emanated from and was dependent upon his nomination by the caliph.

The qadi carried out his judicial activities in his court *(mahkama)*, where he applied the fully developed legal doctrine of a specific law school. In theory, the qadi's jurisdiction was general and included both civil and criminal cases; in practice, most criminal cases were handled by the police and military governors. Qadis also administered charitable endowments, supervised funds earmarked for orphans, and, especially during later periods, collected the alms tax and poll tax.

Legal doctrine recommends that a qadi should consult with other jurists, and he may ask legal experts to sit with him in the court. Qadis worked closely with *muftis* (jurisprudents), from whom they solicited fatwas (expert legal opinions); in the Islamic West, qadi courts usually included a council of jurisprudents known as a *shura*. Indeed, a proper appreciation of the nature of Islamic justice requires a consideration of the complementary roles of the qadi and the mufti. A mufti's opinion is not binding, however, and a qadi is expected to issue his judgment on the strength of what he himself determines to be the truth of a matter. He must abide by the consensus of the jurists, and he should exercise independent

reasoning *(ijtihad)* only on matters with respect to which no consensus has emerged. If he is qualified to exercise independent reasoning, he is bound by it, and he should not follow the recommendation of his advisors, even if their juristic qualifications are better than his.

The classical position of the law schools holds that a judge's decision, when based on the proper legal texts and fulfilling the necessary procedural conditions of judgment, is binding and may not be reversed. However, this formulation leaves open the possibility of reversing a decision that fails to meet these conditions. In fact, a judgment may be reversed in two circumstances: (1) if the pronouncing judge was not legally competent to pass judgment; and (2) if a judge who was legally competent nevertheless engaged in the improper use of ijtihad—that is, if his judgment contradicts a Qur'anic text (the plain meaning of which there is universal agreement on), a widely transmitted hadith, or the consensus of Muslim jurists. Thus, if a judge is not legally competent or if a legally competent judge engages in the improper use of independent reasoning, his judgment may be nullified by another judge. Conversely, a judgment issued by a competent judge that is based on sound ijtihad may not be reversed under any circumstances. Islamic law developed a system of successor review that regulates how a succeeding judge should treat judgments issued by his predecessor.

In those areas of the Muslim world that were independent of central control, local rulers introduced variations on the above-mentioned patterns of judicial administration. In Cordoba, the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Rahman (r. 756–788) manifested his independence from the 'Abbasids by designating his military judge as *qadi al-jama'a*, a term that came to be used throughout al-Andalus and the Maghrib. After conquering Egypt in 969, the Fatimids (909–1171) established a chief qadi in Cairo, and the holder of this office exercised his authority in the name of the imam. Under the Fatimids and Mamluks (1250–1517), there were two chief qadis, one in Baghdad and the other in Cairo. Under the Mamluks, the chief qadi of Cairo delegated his authority to chief qadis in the major cities of the empire so that several chief qadis operated throughout the realm. The Mamluks also appointed a chief qadi for each of the four madhhabs.

The qadi system developed by the 'Abbasids continued to operate under the Mughals in India (1526–1858), the Safavids in Iran (1501–1722), and the Ottomans in the Middle East (1512–1918). The Ottomans, however, transformed the structure of the judiciary. In an effort to exercise greater control over the provinces, Selim I (r. 1512–1520) and Suleiman the Magnificent (r. 1520–1560) created a hierarchical judicial structure headed by the *qadi 'askar* (military qadi) and the *Shaykh al-Islam* (state mufti). Below them were the qadis of the major towns and cities, and then came local qadis, whose jurisdiction was restricted to a district or subdistrict.

Ottoman qadis played a key role in the administration of the empire, serving as conduits between local individuals or groups and the central government. They also performed important administrative duties, such as supervising guilds, recommending the suitability of buildings, securing the availability of foodstuffs, and enforcing economic regulations. The jurisdiction of qadis and of local officials was defined by legislation *(qanun)*. The local qadi monitored the lawfulness of the acts of officials involved in siyasa justice, thereby ensuring the proper conduct of criminal proceedings, including the interrogation and custody of people accused of a crime. The conduct and behavior of the qadi was, in theory, the responsibility of the sultan, although in practice he delegated this responsibility to the local governor, who was empowered to open an investigation into a qadi's actions and, if necessary, to dismiss and/or imprison him.

The Ottomans designated the Hanafi madhhab as the official law school of the empire and instructed qadis to follow the most authoritative opinion within the Hanafi school, although exceptions were allowed for political reasons or expediency. Any judgment issued that was contrary to these instructions was null and void and would not be enforced by the executive authorities.

Beginning during the early nineteenth century, the institutional framework within which qadis operated underwent major changes that have dramatically transformed the nature of the office.

David Stephan Powers

See also Caliphate and Imamate; Consultation; Courts; Crime and Punishment; Law and Jurisprudence; Prisons; Schools of Jurisprudence

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JUHA

Juha, a pseudohistorical character, is the most prominent protagonist of jocular prose narratives in the entire Islamic world. The first securely datable anecdote about Juha is narrated in both al-Jahiz's (d. ca. 255 AH/869 CE) *al-Qawl fi l-Bighal(Remarks About Mules)* and his *Rasa'il (Epistles)*. Substantial anecdotal material about Juha is available in the large adab compilations of the tenth and eleventh centuries, such as the works of al-Tawhidi (d. 414/1023) and al-Abi (d. 421/1030). By the eleventh century, Juha had already been firmly established as a "focusee" of a cycle of jocular prose narratives, and a booklet devoted to these narratives is listed in Ibn al-Nadîm's *Fihrist* (*The Index;* a late tenth-century Baghdad bookseller's bibliography of works he knew or believed to be extant). During the following centuries, the character attracted ever more material. The only monograph collection of his tales surviving from premodern Arabic literature, a booklet called *Irshad Man Naha ila Nawadir Juha (The Guidance of Those Who Feel Inclined to the Stories of Juha)*, was compiled by Yusuf ibn al-Wakil al-Milawi in the seventeenth century and contains a total of seventy-four tales. The modern image of Juha was shaped by nineteenth-century print tradition. Printed editions of Juha's tales present an amalgam of traditional Arabic material about him, together with tales that had originally been attributed to the Turkish jester Nasreddin Hodja and anecdotes derived from traditional Arabic literature.

Similar to the expansion of the narrative repertoire attributed to him, the depiction of Juha's character has also undergone considerable development. The traditional repertoire presents him mostly as an adolescent with a certain preference for sexual, scatological and otherwise "obscene" matters. Even so, the early anecdotes already imply some of the more charming traits of character, such as when he buries his money in the desert and remembers the position of a specific cloud so as to locate the place later. These traits were elaborated by later compilers, who established Juha in modern tradition as a naive philosopher and social critic.

Ulrich Marzolph

See also Books

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JURJANI, AL-

Abu Bakr 'Abd al-Qahir ibn 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad al-Jurjani (d. 1078 or 1081 CE) was born, raised and educated in Jurjan and was known during his lifetime primarily as a grammarian. Although his additional identities as Shaf'ite jurisconsult and Ash'arite theologian precluded any great official recognition or support, al-Jurjani's scholarship was sufficiently well known for him to attract a steady flow of students and disciples to his home town. He is best known for his two seminal works on Arabic rhetoric, *Dala'il i'Jaz al-Qur'an (Indications of the Inimitability of the Qur'an)* and *Asrar al-Balagha (The Mysteries of Rhetoric)*.

Indications is first and foremost a work of stylistics, in which al-Jurjani elaborates on ideas that are implicit in the work of earlier philologists and provides them a philosophical foundation that is consistent

with his theological views. In the centuries-old debate as to whether eloquence derives from the *lafz* (wording) or the *ma'na* (meaning), al-Jurjani champions the supremacy of meaning and, in particular, the thinking with which it is associated. This, he claims, is the source of excellence in discourse, and, to appreciate it, we must look at how the meanings are connected with each other. The vehicle of these relationships among the individual *ma'ani* (meanings) is the various features of grammar, which reflect the way things are ordered or constructed in the mind of the speaker or writer. Word order, for example, takes on new rhetorical significance for al-Jurjani, who examines the various possible combinations and what they imply about the intention of the speaker and the context of the discourse. Al-Jurjani thus amplifies the notion of *nazm* (ordering, construction), which was mentioned by earlier grammarians and scholars of Qur'anic style such as Abu Sulayman al-Khattabi (d. 996 or 998). Rejecting the simplistic understanding of meaning that had traditionally permitted the facile accusation of plagiarism, al-Jurjani emphasizes the individual nature of the conception or intellectual prototype *(sura)* that discourse is based on. Manipulation of the subtleties of syntax and of figurative language result in a change in the meaning and form (sura) of the discourse. A poet who in this way adds nuances to a hackneyed poetic conceit cannot be said to have plagiarized another poet's ma'na, for he has thus created a new one with its own particularities that make it distinct from the original.

Al-Jurjani's emphasis on the intimate connection between the intellectual processes at the origin of discourse and the linguistic entity itself—especially his notion of sura (form, shape)—derives from his attempt to reconcile Mu'tazilite epistemology with Ash'ari theological views of the Qur'an. His frequent quotations from and responses to the work of the later Mu'tazilite theologian Abd al-Jabbar al-Asadabadi (d. 1024) provide clear indication of this interconfessional debate. Through his emphasis on the abstract intellectual form (sura) of a particular discourse, which in turn is reflected in the way the linguistic system is put into play, al-Jurjani is able, when treating the text of the Qur'an, to remain faithful to the Ash'ari concept of God's ineffable kalam nafsi (internal speech) as distinguished from its external expression in sounds and letters while preserving, in good Mu'tazilite fashion, a means of appreciating the text as text.

In similar fashion, it is al-Jurjani's concern with important theological issues (e.g., the debate surrounding human agency [championed by the Mu'tazilities] versus determinism [as argued by the Ash'aris]; the debate about the attributes of God) that is at the heart of his distinction between two types of *majaz* (figurative expression) - majaz 'aqli (figurative expression that is intellectually based) and *majaz lughawi* (figurative expression that is linguistically based). It is noteworthy that *isti'ara* (metaphorical borrowing) does not fall under the rubric of majaz for al-Jurjani. The rationale for this is once again theological in origin: because the Qur'an, the ultimate source of knowledge, is replete with metaphors, metaphor must be, in every sense, *haqiqa* (truth). Intent on so distinguishing between metaphorical discourse that is ontologically true and that which is imaginative, al-Jurjani establishes a distinction between *ma'ani 'aqliyya* (intellectually verifiable conceits) and *ma'ani takhyiliyya* (imaginative conceits), thus also finding a way to accommodate the kind of figures found in badi' (new style) poetry, which is renowned for its abundance of rhetorical features. Al-Jurjani's two works on i'jaz greatly influenced later generations' discussions of stylistics and rhetoric. Both Jar Allah al-Zamakhshari (d. 1144) and Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d. 1209) made extensive use of al-Jurjani's texts, and the works of Jalal al-Din Abu 'Abd Allah al-Qazwini (d. 1338) and Siraj al-Din al-Sakkaki (d. 1229), who were responsible for the tripartite division of rhetoric that has dominated up until the present day, relied primarily on the works of 'Abd al-Qahir al-Jurjani.

MARGARET LARKIN

See also Rhetoric; Qur'an and Arabic Literature

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JUWAYNI (AH 419/1028 CE–478/1085)

An Ash'arite theologian and a Shaf'ite jurist, Abu'l-Ma'ali Rukn al-Din Abd al-Malik b. Abdullah al-Juwayni was born in Nishapur in northern Persia. Also known as Imam al-Haramayn, he received his primary education from his father. He later studied under Al-Bayhaqi, Al-Iskafi, and Abu Nu'aym al-Isfahani, the well-known scholars of the region, and he became a teacher *(mudarris)* in his twenties after the death of his father. He had to leave Nishapur in 450/1058 and stay in Mecca and Medina for four years as a result of the discriminations of the Seljuki Vizier al-Kunduri against the Ash'arites. Soon after his return to his hometown, he was appointed the head of the Nizamiyya Madrasa, a higher educational institution built by the new grand vizier Nizam al-Mulk. Among his many students at Nizamiyya were famous Islamic scholars such as Al-Ghazzali, Kiya al-Harrasi, and Ali b. Muhammad al-Tabari. He died in Nishapur in his fifties.

Most of Juwayni's works address theological and legal theories; his *al-Shamil*, *al-Irshad,* and *al-Burhan* are major source books in these fields. He also wrote books about governance, dialectics, and inter religious polemics. Because he did not necessarily follow his own school of thought in all theological and legal issues, he represents the period of transition between the early Ash'arite theology and the post-Ghazzalian synthesis with logic and philosophy. Contrary to the previous Ash'arite thinker al-Baqillani, for instance, Juwayni did not hesitate to include philosophical terminology and use logical premises in his theological arguments. He also tends to partly accommodate the Mu'tazilite theory of *ahwal* (modes) with regard to the relationship between divine essence and attributes within the Ash'arite system. Although he supports the possibility of *ta'wil* (rational interpretations) of certain verses in the Qur'an when the literal meaning of the text raises difficulties, he considers it to be applicable only when necessary. The sources of religious knowledge, according to Juwayni, are primarily scriptural; therefore, God's will and authority identify good and bad. Regarding the question of divine justice, he rejects the Mu'tazilite theory of the intrinsic nature of the moral act, instead defending the Ash'arite idea of subjectivity.

Juwayni was also interested in and wrote about Islamic political thought. Under the patronage of Nizam al-Mulk, he dealt with the principles of governance in his book *al-Ghiyasi*. According to al-Juwayni, some of the qualities required for governing are essential, whereas the others are advisory only and could be ignored depending on time or conditions. For example, the capability for the leadership and full control of authority are always necessary; however, characteristics such as belonging to a certain family (i.e., Kuraysh) or being a *mujtahid* (scholar) or a pious person are not to be weighted as heavily. Because the main responsibility of the governing body is the protection and public service of society, Juwayni thinks that, to avoid a potential problem, the head of state and other important officials should excuse themselves from, for example, the performance of hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca) for the sake of unity and stability. Hajj is an individual duty, whereas public interest is a collective obligation and should therefore be given priority.

Mehmet Sait Özervarli

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K

KA'BA, OR KAABA

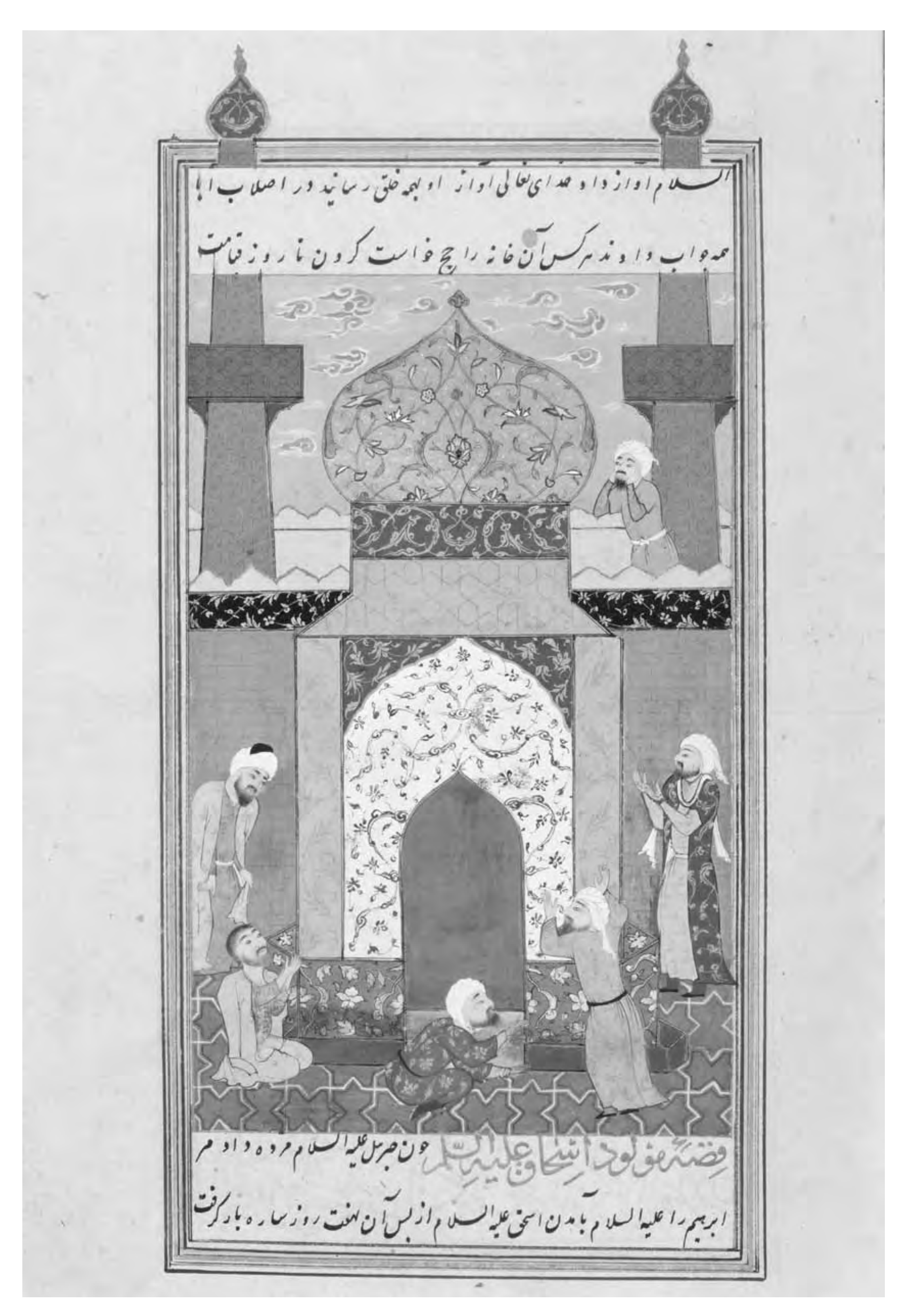
The structure and its immediate precincts in Mecca that also house a large mosque are referred to in the Qur'an and subsequently in Muslim tradition as the House of God *(bayt Allah)* and the sacred Mosque *(masjid al hayam)*. The Ka'ba is the point of orientation for Muslims when they pray, and it is also the focal point of the Pilgrimage *(Hajj)* as well as the *umra* (minor pilgrimage). The Hajj takes place over a fixed period in the prescribed month, whereas the umra may be undertaken at any other time.

During pre-Islamic times, the Ka'ba served as a shrine and a sacred space *(haram)*. Arab tribes and others made annual pilgrimages to the site and visited it to honor tribal and ancestral deities that included several goddesses. Representatives of these deities were kept in the Ka'ba, and the ritual visits were often accompanied by music, dance, and the recitation of poetry.

The Prophet Muhammad was forced to leave Mecca as a result of the opposition he encountered because of his preaching, his activities against many tribal practices and values, and his claim to be the messenger of a new revelation. He migrated to Medina in 622 CE, but he subsequently negotiated to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca with his followers. In 629, Mecca submitted to him, and he was able to enter the town peacefully and purge the Ka'ba of its idols, restoring it to its original role as the symbol of a monotheistic faith and affirming its place as the site of the Hajj, which became established as a major pilgrimage practice of the new faith of Islam. He also linked the Ka'ba to Abraham, who, with his wife Hagar and son Ismail (Ishmael), is also believed to have established a place of worship there. According to Muslim tradition, it is also the location of the first-ever place of worship. The formalized practices for the Hajj were also instituted by the Prophet, thereby linking the Ka'ba to other nearby centers to constitute the totality of pilgrimage rituals. An irregular cube-like structure, the Ka'ba itself measures approximately fifteen meters in height, ten meters in length and twelve meters in width. Its four corners are generally aligned with the four points of the compass. On one of the corners, set in a silver bezel, is the Black Stone *(al hajar al aswad)*, which is believed to be of miraculous and ancient origin. Pilgrims customarily kiss or touch it, and they also begin the circling *(tawaf)* of the Ka'ba during the pilgrimage from this point.

The Ka'ba is generally covered with a black silk covering embroidered with Qur'anic verses which is replaced annually, a practice that originated during medieval Muslim history. It has one entrance and the interior is empty, but it is customarily cleansed and swept in a ritual that precedes the Hajj.

The *maqam* (station) of Abraham is located just outside of the Ka'ba. Muslim tradition records that God instructed Abraham to establish the Ka'ba as a place of worship. In the vicinity, just east of the Ka'ba, is also found the Well of Zamzam, which carries forward the linkage with the Abrahamic traditions in which the well sprang forth by God's grace in response to the fervent prayers of Hagar. Its water is



Muslim pilgrims before the Kaaba in Mecca. Miniature, 1577. Inv.: Ding A, fol.3/fol.46a. (Pertscn Nr. 1016) Photo: Ruth Schacht. Oriental Division. Credit: Bildarchiv preussischer Kulturbestiz/Art Resource, NY. Staatsbibliothek Zu Berlin, Berlin, Germany.

now circulated through a modern system of pipes and made available to pilgrims as is ancient Muslim custom.

The symbolism and significance of the Ka'ba are evoked in Muslim mystical tradition, in which it plays a cosmic role as the center of the earth. Although the Ka'ba serves as the *qibla* (direction for prayer), Muslims also traditionally bury the dead facing the Ka'ba.

AZIM NANJI

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KABBALA

Derived from the root *qbl,* which is a cognate to the Arabic, the term *qabbâlâh* (reception, initiation) designates the Jewish esoteric tradition, but it is not synonymous with all of Jewish mysticism. It is specifically based on the system of the ten sefîrot (powers) through which the Divine Being progressively manifests itself in the existential realm. There existed pre-Qabbalistic forms of Jewish esotericism, some of which—like many of the later major developments of Qabbalah itself—flourished in an Islamic environment. Several points of contact and similarity (not only external) exist between Islamic mysticism and Qabbalah, although they are far from being variations of an identical doctrine, as early comparatists suggested. The ten sefîrot of the Qabbalistic system have no immediate equivalent in Sufism. Despite their independent developments, significant parallels exist between them. Certain Qabbalists distinguish three levels of the sefirotic world: the highest and most recondite aspect of the Divinity is called *keter* (crown); the intermediate level extends until the lowest sefîrah and is called *malkhuth* (kingship), which is the interface (much like the Sufi notion of barzakh) between the metaphysical and the lowest level, which is the phenomenal world. These three levels roughly correspond with the Sufi designations of *'alam al-jabarut, 'alam al-malakut,* and *'alam al-mulk.* Some scholars assign a post-Islamic date to the two great classics of Qabbalistic literature, the *Book of Creation (Sefer Yesirah)* and the *Book of Splendor (Sefer ha-Bahir).*

The Provençal Qabbalists and even the Ashkenazi pietists saw as their spiritual forebears the sages of the Ge'onic period in Baghdad, whose mystical speculations form the ancient strata of Qabbalistic literature. Their early writings, such as the contemplation of the Heavenly chariot (Òôfey ha-Merkâbâh), bear a striking resemblance to the Òûfî accounts of spiritual ascension, such as that of al-Bistâmî. Sufis also see Baghdad as their spiritual cradle, and it is there that Sufism's formative period evolved in the shadow of the great Eastern wellsprings of Jewish spirituality. Although recognized in early studies of comparative religion, the connections between Jewish and Islamic mysticism in Spain are still unclear. Both were imbued with prophetic and messianic aspirations, which were later transported to Egypt, a land where the two mysticisms developed into institutionalized brotherhoods. R. Abraham Maimonides' (d. 1237 CE) attempt to legitimize his Sufi-type Jewish pietism parallels Sufism's efforts to shed itself of the suspicion of heresy by espousing strictly orthodox norms, as exemplified in the works of al-Ghazzâlî (d. 1111).

Just as Sufism integrated philosophical elements from the Neoplatonist and Aristotelian systems, so too the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Spanish Qabbalists in particular undertook to reconcile the doctrines of Qabbalah and philosophy. Some, such as Judah Ibn Malka and Joseph Ibn Waqâr, composed their esoteric writings in Arabic. The "science of letters" plays a central role in the speculative and contemplative methods of many Sufis, such as at-Tustarî and Ibn 'Arabî (d. 1240), just as its Hebrew equivalent permeated the works of Qabbalists, such as R. Abraham Abû l-'Afîyah (d. ca. 1291). Indeed, the latter's "balance of letters" and his meditative technique known as hazkârâh recall both by their names and methods the doctrine of Jâbir ibn Hazyyân and the Sufi dhikr ritual. The speculative and cosmological system embodied in Muhyî d-Dîn Ibn 'Arabî's Mekkan *Revelations (al-Futûhât al-Makkiya)* completely revolutionized Islamic mysticism, as did the teachings of R. Isaac Lurya (d. 1574), which reached maturity in the Muslim East. Just as all previous Sufi theory was reinterpreted through the prism of Ibn 'Arabî's system, so too in Judaism was the Spanish Qabbâlâh; even its crowning work, the Zôhar, was reconstructed in the light of Luryanism.

Analogies can also be observed in the literary domain. The listing and clarification of istilâhât (technical terms) used by Sufis are essential components of their manuals, as are the technical lexicons (kinnûyîm) that are found in Qabbalistic textbooks. The formation of Sufi brotherhoods around their shaykhs affords yet again an instructive analogy to the various Qabbalistic groups centered around the charismatic saddîq.

Finally, the modern politicization of Sufi fraternities and the involvement of their spiritual leaders in the public areas of politics and academia (e.g., the Khalwatis in Egypt) parallels the activities in prewar Poland and contemporary Israel of Hasidic dynasties, whose ranks have furnished not a few public figures and academic scholars. The most significant influences of Sufism on the development of the Qabbala came in the period of the latter's expansion at the time of Isaac Lurya, who lived in Safed. Safed was a center of Muslim mysticism, and several practices were adopted by the Qabbalists, such as the visitation of tombs. Influence was felt too in the musical domain, where Qabbalists and Sufis often shared the same melodies and developed spiritual concerts known as *baqashhshot* that were based on the structure of the Sufi samas. At the time of the pseudo-messiah, Sabbatay Zebi, close relations were established between the Bekatshis and his disciples, some of whom, as doenme (converts), became Mevlevi shaykhs.

PAUL B. FENTON

See also Mysticism, Jewish

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KALILA WA DIMNA

There once lived a lion who terrorized the animals of the jungle by hunting them, until one day they agreed to supply him daily with an animal as long as he stopped his cruelty. The animals continued to cast their lots every day until one day it was the hare's turn. The crafty hare arrived late to the hungry and angry lion and explained to him, "I was bringing another hare for your lunch, but on our way here another lion snatched the hare from me, proclaiming that he is the true king of the jungle." The furious lion wished to confront his adversary, and so he followed the hare to a deep well full of clear water. "Look here, my king!" said the hare, perched over the well. The lion saw his reflection and, thinking it was the other lion, leaped in and drowned. Thereafter, the animals lived happily ever after.

This is just one of the many "nested" stories from the tales of *Kalila wa Dimna*, adapted and translated into Arabic from the Pahlavi in the eighth century by Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. c. 757 CE). The ultimate source of the *Kalila wa Dimna* can be traced to an original Sanskrit "mirror for princes" that was compiled by an unknown author around 300 and entitled the *Pañcatantra (Five Books* or *Five Cases of Cleverness)*. The Sanskrit tales were translated in the sixth century into Middle Persian (Pahlavi) by the physician Burzuya (or Burzoy) at the behest of the Sasanian King Khusraw Anushirwan (r. 531–579). In addition to the tales of the *Pañcatantra*, Burzuya incorporated various other stories into his corpus, principally from the *Mahabharata* epic and other Hindu and Buddhist sources. Burzuya's Pahlavi title, *Karirak ud Damanak*, was derived from the names of two jackals, Karataka and Damanaka, the principal characters in the first book of the *Pañcatantra*. Ibn al-Muqaffa''s *Kalila wa Dimna* is therefore an Arabic recension of Burzuya's now lost *Karirak ud Damanak*, although the Arab author also inserted a number of additions into his final work.

The earliest surviving manuscripts of the *Kalila wa Dimna* date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the widespread popularity of this work is clearly attested to by references to it in other medieval literary works, including the *Shahnama* of Firdawsi. However, the *Kalila wa Dimna* was never seen as a fixed corpus of stories, and later authors and editors felt free to add to, subtract from, and otherwise alter its contents. Scholars from the nineteenth century onward have attempted to trace the complex history and origins of the *Kalila wa Dimna* through both literary and art historical analysis. The tradition of illustrating the tales of the *Kalila wa Dimna* is probably based on older, well-established traditions of illustrating

the animal fables of the *Pañcatantra*. Eighth-century frescoes found at Panjikent, near Samarkand, that include depictions of the *Pañcatantra* tales attest to a well-established iconographic tradition that was later absorbed and adapted in the Muslim Near East.

Ibn al-Muqaffa' states in his introduction the fourfold purpose of the *Kalila wa Dimna*: (1) to engage the youth through the vehicle of animal fables; (2) to delight the hearts of princes through richly illustrated depictions of the tales; (3) to entice kings and common folk everywhere to acquire their own copies and benefit the painters and scribes; and (4) to engage the philosophers in the wisdom of its tales. Were he alive today, Ibn al-Muqaffa' would not have been disappointed in the least. Throughout the ages, the *Kalila wa Dimna* has been reworked and translated, as both prose and poetic verse, into Persian, Mongol, Malay, Ethiopian, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, French, German, and several Slavonic languages. The most famous Persian recension from the Timurid period is the *Anvar-i Suhayli*, which was later translated into Ottoman rhymed prose as the *Humayun-nama* for Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. A new version of the Timurid work entitled *Iyar-i Danish* was commissioned by the Mughal emperor Akbar.

FAHMIDA SULEMAN

See also Adab; Akbar; Arabic; Books; Firdawsi; Frescoes; Hindus; Ibn al-Muqaffa'; Manuscripts; Mirrors for Princes; Mughals; Painting, Miniature; Painting, Monumental and Frescoes; Persian; Poets; Popular Literature; Scribes; Shahnama; Stories and Storytelling; Suleiman the Magnificent; Timurids; Translation, Arabic to Persian; Turkish and Turkic Languages

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KARAITES

A Jewish sect, the Karaites emerged in the Islamic East during the eighth and ninth centuries CE. The Hebrew name *qara'im* (Arabic *qara'iyun*) probably derives from *miqra*, or "scripture," because the Karaites are scripturalists who deny the authority of the rabbinic tradition embodied in talmudic and midrashic literature, depending instead directly on the Bible, which they interpret rationally. Although the sect's origins remain obscure, medieval sources connect its rise with a certain Anan ben David (active in Iraq during the middle of the eighth century). During the late ninth century, Karaite ideology crystallized around three principal ideas: (1) opposition to rabbinic teachings and leadership; (2) an apocalyptic worldview; and (3) the physical return to Zion. Daniel al-Qumisi of Damaghan argued that the Jews' suffering in exile was divine punishment for their having instituted rabbinic legislation of human origin. Reading scripture prognostically, he referred prophecies to contemporary times, identifying biblical names, places, people, and images with the world he knew. Assuming a central role in the unfolding eschatological drama, his followers called themselves "Mourners for Zion" (Isa. 61:3). Settling in Jerusalem, they studied and recited scripture, observed vigils, and fasted.

The Karaites elicited firm opposition from rabbinic leaders, notably Sa'adyah Gaon. Polemics between Rabbanites (adherents of rabbinic Judaism) and Karaites were harsh, but competition between the two groups undoubtedly contributed to the intellectual flowering of eastern Jewry. During the tenth century, Karaite scholars stood at the forefront of Jewish learning. Like Sa'adyah, they wrote extensively in Arabic on a range of subjects, including law, biblical exegesis, grammar, lexicography, and theology. Most of the leading figures hailed from Iran and Iraq, but, with the notable exception of the exegete and codifier Ya'qub al-Qirqisani (d. c. 938), they migrated to the Holy Land.

During the tenth and eleventh centuries, Jerusalem became the Karaites' intellectual center. Among the foremost scholars of the city were the commentator Japheth ben Eli, the grammarian Abu'l-Faraj Harun, and the theologian and jurist Yusuf al-Basir. Writing mostly in Arabic, they adapted Mu'tazilite theology, Islamic legal theory, Qur'anic hermeneutics, and Arabic grammatical terminology to their own sectarian needs.

Meanwhile, new Karaite centers developed in Egypt, Byzantium, and Andalusia. In Egypt, where members of the Karaite Tustari family served the Fatimid caliphs, Rabbanite and Karaite Jews maintained

cordial relations, even intermarrying. With the extinction of the Jerusalem community (late eleventh century), the Egyptian center became the most important in the Islamic lands, surviving until the end of the twentieth century. In Spain, Ibn Hazm documented the presence of Karaites during the mid-eleventh century. Andalusian Rabbanites, such as Judah Halevi, Abraham Ibn Daud, and Maimonides, sharply condemned Karaite teachings, and they recorded efforts to suppress the sect. In Byzantium, the sectarians translated a large body of scholarship from Arabic to Hebrew, adapting Karaite teachings and practices to a new Christian environment. The communities that later developed in the Crimea, Poland, and Lithuania originally looked to Constantinople for spiritual guidance. Today, there are perhaps twenty-five thousand Karaites in the world; most are of Egyptian extraction and reside in Israel.

Daniel Frank

See also Hebrew; Judah Halevi; Judeo-Arabic; Kalam; Polemics and Disputation; Sa'adyah Gaon; Scriptural Exegesis, Jewish; Translation, Arabic to Hebrew

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KARBALA

Karbala is the site of one of the earliest tragedies in Muslim history, where Husayn (grandson of the Prophet Muhammad) and several members of his family and supporters were killed in 680 CE. It became in time a place of pilgrimage for the Shi'is and other devotees and the location of the mausoleum of Husayn. At present, it is one of the largest towns in southern Iraq, located some sixty miles southwest of Baghdad, and it has grown to become one of the most important pilgrimage centers for Shi'i Muslims.

More recently, after the fall of Saddam Hussein and his regime in 2003, Karbala became the scene of battles and conflict for control by various Shi'i groups and others, but it has also regained its significance as a pilgrimage site for the global Shi'i community after a long period of the suppression of devotional practices associated with its historical significance. Its many seminaries attract Twelver Shi'i students for study and training as religious teachers and leaders.

In 680 CE, after the death of Muawiyah, who had forcibly assumed the role of caliph and established his rule based in Damascus, Yazid, his son, whom he had nominated as his successor, faced opposition from several quarters. Many Muslims saw an opportunity to restore just and legitimate rule though Husayn, whose accession to power they supported. He set out from Medina to Kufa to build further support and to challenge Yazid. However, he and his band of followers and family members were intercepted by Yazid's troops and forced to camp at Karbala. The battle—or, more appropriately, the massacre—that ensued at the hands of Yazid's army is recorded by Muslim historians as an event of tragic proportions and as an act of brave defiance, leading to the martyrdom of Husayn. The event and the site became reference points for commemorating the tragedy and elaborating a set of ritual acts and remembrances that reflect themes of suffering, persecution, oppression, and martyrdom that have since dominated Shi'i writings and rituals.

Husayn and his brother Abbas, as well as others killed in the battle, were buried in Karbala, and soon members of his family and followers visited Karbala for prayers and remembrance. Over the course of Muslim history, several rulers opposed to its significance as a pilgrimage site either attempted to destroy the site or to restrict access to it, and the tomb was also destroyed by fire. The great fourteenth-century traveler Ibn Battuta describes his visit to Karbala and the site of the tomb as well as the presence of a mosque and madrasa. Over the course of subsequent history, Safavid rulers from Iran and the Ottoman sultan visited the site to pay homage and to endow improvements and enhancement of the shrines of Imam Husayn and his brother Abbas. The present gold covering of the dome of the mausoleum was donated by the Iranian Qajar ruler toward the end of the eighteenth century.

In 1801, Karbala was taken by the new Wahhabis from Arabia, who destroyed and looted the shrine, sacking the town in the process. However, the shrine was restored in due course through donations from the devout, and it has undergone continuous refurbishment and expansion since that time. During the regime of Saddam Hussein (1979–2003), the Shi'is

of Karbala and other groups who were opposed to Hussein were severely persecuted, and heavy restrictions were placed on visits to the shrine as well as on scholarly activity in Karbala. Karbala is surrounded by a number of cemeteries, reflecting the wish of many devout Shi'is to be buried near Imam Husayn and other martyrs. It is also the seat of several places of learning, and, after its recent turbulent history, Karbala is struggling to revive its traditional role as a pilgrimage city and a seat of religious learning and scholarship.

AZIM NANJI

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KHALID IBN AL-WALID

Khalid ibn al-Walid was the most famous military commander of early Islamic times. He was a member of the powerful Makhzum tribe, who converted to Islam after the hijra. He fought against Muhammad at Uhud in AH 3/625 CE, where his tactical brilliance played a significant role in Muhammad's first military defeat. After his conversion, Khalid assisted Muhammad in taking Mecca in 9/630. He then subdued the Hawazin and the Thaqafis, who continued to defy Muhammad after his success at Mecca. During the ridda wars, Khalid aided Abu Bakr in preserving the community by defeating the false prophet Musaylima at Akraba in 12/633.

Khalid is most famous for his leadership of campaigns against the Byzantines and Sasanians to the north. Abu Bakr sent a force under Khalid's command to Iraq in 12/633. There, Khalid subdued al-Hira and other important cities along the Euphrates. In 13/634, he was ordered to turn his forces to the west to reinforce the Muslim armies fighting the Byzantines in Syria. His six-day march through the waterless Syrian desert is one of the most daring and celebrated exploits of the Muslim conquests. After successfully crossing the desert, he led Muslim forces at Bostra and Yarmuk, and he then negotiated the surrender of Damascus in 14/635. 'Umar ibn al-Khattab dismissed him from his command soon thereafter. Khalid continued to campaign on the Byzantine frontier until his death in 21/642.

Like 'Amr ibn al-'As and others, Khalid was an elite Meccan who joined Muhammad's movement rather late but rose to prominence despite his earlier opposition to Muhammad. The historical sources display a certain ambivalence about him, reflecting the distrust many of the ansar held for the Meccan latecomers who supplanted them in leadership positions. Consequently, his tactical brilliance and martial valor were tainted by suspicions about his morality and the sincerity of his faith. His moral shortcomings were apparently sufficient to persuade 'Umar ibn al-Khattab to dismiss his most successful general.

There is also some debate among scholars about details of Khalid's famous journey across the Syrian desert. It is impossible to reconcile contradictions in his itinerary, which has him taking either a northern or a southern route through the desert. However, details of his route are less important than the evidence of the centralized command presented in the stories. The caliph's orders to his army in Iraq to reinforce his army in Syria suggest a high degree of coordination of forces under the command of the caliph. Khalid's willingness to submit to the command of other generals in Syria and to accept the caliph's dismissal also suggest that the command structure of the conquering armies was more sophisticated and hierarchical than is sometimes suggested.

STEVEN C. JUDD

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KHARIJIS (768 CE)

The Khariji "seceders" or "those who go out" (khawarij) were a sect that arose at the time of the first Rashidun (Rightly Guided) Caliphate and during the struggles over succession between the companions of the Prophet. Kharijis who had initially supported 'Ali's (656–661) accession to the caliphate found that his compromises with Arab interests after the battle

of Siffin (in 657) against Mu'awiya after the murder of 'Uthman were a violation of religious principles. Kharijis rose against 'Ali at Nahrawan in 658 and were defeated, but a Khariji later assassinated 'Ali in 661, indirectly leading to the Arab succession of Mu'awiya and the Umayyad dynasty.

The Khariji opposition centered on the political leadership of Islam and the rejection of the worldly authority of the (initially) Umayyad caliphal regime. They maintained that there was no precedence in Islam except for virtue (the fulfillment of all laws and duties incumbent on Muslims as individuals), and, by committing a sin, sinners had apostatized, renounced their faith, and—some extreme Kharijis said—thus incurred the penalty of death. The Kharijis thus rejected the hereditary succession to the caliphate and the restriction of it to Arabs; rather, Kharijis held that the head of the Islamic community was the imam elected on the basis of religious learning and piety. Ultimately, the Kharijis contributed to the emergence of a self-conscious Islamic identity.

With such an uncompromising stance, especially toward the incumbent caliphal regime, the Kharijis became a disparate and persecuted group with rebellious and fanatical inclinations, and they often found refuge in the peripheral regions of the empire. Initially based in Basra, the Kharijis inspired numerous rebellions against Umayyad rule in the Arab east (Mashriq) from the 660s. In Iraq, Kharijis led by Ibn al-Azraq (known later as Azariqa) gained the support of non-Arab Persian Muslims and propagated the most extreme form of Khariji doctrine. However, from 675 to 684, the Umayyad Governor 'Ubayd Allah ibn Ziyad undertook a bloody campaign against the Kharijis, supplying numerous martyrs to the sect. From their ideological epicenter in Basra, the Kharijis gradually divided into three distinct groups named after their eponymous leaders: the extremist Azariqa ("blues"), the radical Sufriya ("yellow"), and the moderate Ibadiya ("whites"). In the Arab peninsula, Najda ibn Amir in particular used Kharijism as a banner for rebellion in the empire, and the Najdites controlled large territories in eastern Arabia, Yemen, and the Hadramawt until they were finally defeated by 'Abbasid power. Later in the ninth century, Khariji doctrine inspired a revolt of African slaves (the Zanj) in southern Iraq. At times and places in which the caliphate was weak, Khariji leadership filled the void.

Khariji Islam had its most profound influence in North African Maghrib. Political fugitives from the Arab east (Mashriq) brought the Khariji teachings and found a receptive audience in the independently minded Berber populations in the Maghrib. Khariji missionaries (both Sufrite and Ibadite Khariji) are reputed to have appeared in Qayrawan (Ifriqiya) at around 719. Sufrite Khariji influence in the Maghrib is attributed to a Berber missionary, 'Ikrima. Berbers used the Khariji doctrine against the remote and sometimes oppressive rule of their Arab conquerors, denouncing caliphal rule as having departed from the true Islamic path. At issue were the demands that the Arab conquerors of the Maghreb made on the Berber populations, who, as well as the usual—and Islamic—principles of *jizya* (poll tax) and *kharaj* (land tax), also bore the unlawful levying of human tribute, especially of slave girls. Moreover, as non-Arab converts to Islam (mawali; clients of Arab tribes), Muslim Berber recruits to the Muslim army were given a status that was inferior to Arabs.

The Berbers, who were initially under the leadership of the Sufrite Maysara, a "water carrier from Qayrawan" who was influenced by 'Ikrima, rebelled against caliphal rule in 739 and 740 in Tangier. In 741, they destroyed a large Umayyad army in North Africa, but they were prevented from taking Qayrawan. Only in 756 did the Sufrite Kharijis (and the Warfajuma Berbers who dominated the ranks) conquer Qayrawan. Ibadi Kharijis then briefly conquered Qayrawan in 758 and installed the (Iranian) Imam Ibn Rustman, who was forced westward by the consolidation of the new 'Abbasid dynasty over the empire.

Resistance and recalcitrance continued, which brought about the foundation of small sectarian Khariji states in Algeria and Morocco. The western Maghrib became a stronghold for independent Khariji Berber leaders. Berber-Khariji states were founded at Tlemsen (under the Sufrite leadership of Abu Qurra), Tahert (Ibadite Rustamids), and Sijilmassa (Sufrite Midrarids). The Berber Kharijis also founded small trading oases, and they developed trade routes with the Sudanic African kingdoms and were among the first carriers of Islam into Sudanic Africa.

CEDRIC BARNES

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KHATIB AL-BAGHDADI, AL-

Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi, Abu Bakr Ahmad ibn ‘Ali ibn Thabit ibn Ahmad ibn Mahdi al-Shafi’i, the “Preacher of Baghdad” and the “Traditionalist of the East,” was born in 1002 CE in a village in the vicinity of Baghdad, and he died in the city in 1071. Beginning his studies very early with his father and other local sheikhs, he soon immersed himself in the science of the prophetic traditions (hadith), which remained the focus of his intellectual pursuits thereafter. His keen interest in the hadith led him to undertake long journeys to several centers of learning, reaching as far as Nishapur in search of knowledge. He sought to hear Islamic traditions directly from the lips of various authorities and, through them, become a link in the chain of transmission extending back to the Prophet. During the years after his first return to Baghdad in 1028, he became a great authority on hadith, and his fame spread far beyond the city’s walls.

Al-Khatib’s life belonged to a particularly crucial period in the history of Baghdad and the eastern part of the ‘Abbasid caliphate as a whole, a period marked by the expansion of Shi’ism under the Buyids and the restoration of Sunnism under the Seljuks. During the “Shi’i century” as well as the period immediately after, Ibn al-Hanbal’s pupils, who were numerous and powerful in Baghdad, not only took it upon themselves to persecute the Shi’is, but they were also occupied in fighting rationalism of all types. At first a Hanbali like his father, al-Khatib later followed the Shafi’i school of jurisprudence and adopted the Ash’ari opinions, thereby entering upon the clashes between the Hanbalis and the “masters of opinion” over the status of rational investigation. The religious and political turmoil in Baghdad at his time further encouraged him to embark on long journeys to several Syrian towns and on a pilgrimage and long sojourn to Mecca. Finally, in 1059, he returned to his native city after the Seljuks restored order there.

Al-Khatib’s magnum opus is *Ta’rikh Baghdad,* an immense biographical dictionary containing more than 7800 entries about scholarly, pious, and famous men and women connected with Baghdad from the earliest times. Prefaced by a substantial topographical introduction, the *History of Baghdad* was intended by its author to convey the imperial splendor of the city’s physical image and the intellectual climate created by its thousands of noted scholars and pious individuals. In the view of the famous preacher, Baghdad was the geographical center of the Islamic empire and the most important center of Islamic thought. At the same time, his monumental work set the model for the genre of local history, one of the most productive genres of Arabic and Persian historiography during the Middle Periods (950–1500).

For all its value as a local history and for furthering the evolution of this genre, *Ta’rikh Baghdad* should not be regarded merely as a panegyric of local intellect. The accuracy with which al-Khatib reconstructed the chains of transmission over the generations and the judicious care with which he recorded and narrated the transmitters’ lives and activities resulted in a comprehensive work of scholarship and the product of a renowned traditionalist. His extensive work on hadith demonstrated his profound erudition in this science and established his authority as one of the greatest critical experts of hadith methodology throughout the Islamic medieval period.

Daphna Ephrat

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KHURASAN

One of the most important cradles of the Iranian civilization, the province of Khurasan (also called Khorasan) has been a crossroads of cultures since antiquity. The cultures of Iran during the pre-Islamic, Islamic and Pahlavi (ca. 1925–1979 CE) periods, the cultures of Central Asia up to China, and the cultures of India encountered each other constantly. The name is probably a contraction of *Khur* and *istan*, literally the “place of the sun.”

The province’s borders have blurred and changed with time. One can, however, roughly delineate them

during the classical and medieval eras from the southeast of the Caspian Sea to the center of modern Afghanistan and from the upper Oxus River in Central Asia up to the north of Sistan.

During the Middle Ages and up to the Mongol invasion at the beginning of the AH seventh/thirteenth century CE, the city of Marw and the capital city of Nishapur were two of the biggest metropolises of the Islamic empire. Both were almost entirely destroyed by the Mongol troops, and even if historians have possibly exaggerated, it seems that about 1.5 million people were massacred there. The devastation of Khurasan would last for more than a century, and it would not be until the arrival of the Timurids in the mid-eighth/fourteenth century that both great cities—and others, such as Herat and Bayhaq—would gradually recover their former prosperity.

What was once the village of Sanabad became the city of Mashhad ("place of martyrdom"), which was built around the mausoleum of the Twelvers' eighth imam 'Ali al-Rida; the mausoleum was already richly decorated by the time of Ilkhanid Iran. Mashhad began to grow more and more, starting with the Safavid era (tenth/sixteenth century) and the proclamation of Shi'ism as the state religion in Iran. To this day, Mashhad remains the capital city of Khurasan, with more than two million inhabitants.

The population of Khurasan has always been mixed. The Iranian substratum has of course always been its main component. After the Arab conquest, however, under the reign of the third caliph 'Uthman, expatriates from Yemen's Qaysite and Azdite tribes settled there permanently. In addition, Turkmens, Kurds, Baluches, Hazaras, and Central Asian nomads contributed to make the population a rich ethnic melting pot.

Around 130/748, Khurasan became the center of the 'Abbasid revolution, and the Khurasanian troops of the famous Abu Muslim were its main participants. Al-Ma'mun acceded to the caliphate from Marw in 193/813. This explains, at least in part, the great influence of the Iranians under the first 'Abbasid rulers.

During the Islamic era, Khurasan was indeed the heart of what could be called "Iranity." The Samanids from Khurasan, succeeding two other Iranian dynasties, the Tahirid and Safavid, started in the third/ninth century the great movement to preserve Persian culture and language. Thus, Persian became the second language of Islam, after Arabic.

To illustrate this Irano-Islamic Renaissance, one need only recall the great numbers of scholars, learned persons, and intellectuals that came from Khurasan: Bukhari, Muslim, Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Ghazali, Bayhaqi, Nasir-i Khusraw, the authors of the great classics of Sufism (Sarraj, Kalabadhi, Qushayri, Ansari, and Jami), and the founders of Persian mystical poetry (Abu Sa'id Abu 'l-Khayr, Sana'i, and 'Attar).

Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi

See also Nishapur

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KHUZA'I, AHMAD IBN NASR

Ahmad ibn Nasr al-Khuza'i died in 846 CE at the hands of the Caliph al-Wathiq. Of the different versions of this story, al-Tabari presents the most complete account. Ahmad's execution is usually pointed to as being the result of a steadfast refusal to acquiesce during the Mihna (the Inquisition of 833 through 848 or 851); however, when his activities are considered in context, this assessment seems to be less certain. The basic outline of events is that, in 846, Ahmad, at the prodding of a group of prominent hadith (tradition) scholars, proclaimed his vehement opposition to the createdness of the Qur'an, and followers quickly gathered around him. Al-Tabari, in an aside, tells us that Ahmad was one of the members of the "vigilante" movement in Baghdad from 813 to 819; however, he does not mention this in his recounting of those troubles. One suspects that this information was added to enhance Ahmad's prestige as one who had a long history of commanding good and forbidding evil.

Ahmad gathered followers and prepared for a revolt. There is disagreement about the particulars, but his attempt to rebel was discovered, and the plotters were rounded up. Evidence was found to implicate some of them, but not Ahmad. He and five other conspirators were sent off to Samarra to face trial in front of the caliph. At this point, the narrative turns to focus on Ahmad exclusively. The Caliph al-Wathiq (r. 842–847) tried Ahmad himself. Asked twice about his position on the createdness of the Qur'an, Ahmad responded twice saying that it is "the word of God" and refused to go any further.

Next, Ahmad was questioned about the beatific vision—that is, whether one would be able to see God on the Day of Judgment. His response did not

mollify the caliph. The caliph then turned and asked those around him for their verdict. Ahmad's blood was declared forfeit, and the caliph moved to enforce the verdict. However, it is made clear that the caliph was in charge the entire time. Al-Wathiq called for his sword and proceeded to implement the sentence. It took a series of blows, but the job was eventually done. This, however, leaves the central question unanswered: for what was Ahmad convicted that incurred the death penalty? There were many others tried during the Mihna, but very few were actually executed. In all versions of the narrative, Ahmad's body was then gibbeted next to the notorious rebel Babak. His head was sent to Baghdad to be put on display, with a description of his crime hung on his ear. This gives us some clues as to what al-Tabari perceived to be his crime. He was clearly tried and convicted as a rebel against the community of believers as embodied in the caliph. His association with rebellion established a case against him, and his refusal to answer the caliph correctly under questioning defined and proved his rebellion. Some sources characterize him as a steadfast defender of the faith in the same vein as Ibn Hanbal; other versions characterize him as a rebel worthy of his punishment. Al-Tabari includes the removal of Ahmad's body from the gibbet in 851 as part of his notation that al-Mutawakkil forbade any debate about the createdness or uncreatedness of the Qur'an, thus indicating that the Mihna had come to an end.

JOHN P. TURNER

See also Commanding Good and Forbidding Evil; Ibn Hanbal; al-Ma'mun; al-Tabari

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KILWA (KILWA KISIWANI)

Kilwa is an island off the coast of southern Tanzania. The urban settlement located there and known by the same name (also known as Kilwa Kisiwani; "Kilwa on the island") was one of the earliest Swahili trading towns. From approximately the tenth century CE, stone structures were erected, as were sea barriers. Iron was used, and it was also an important trade item. During the following centuries, because of its safe harbor and good fresh water supply, Kilwa rose to become the foremost entrepôt of East African



Kilwa, East African trading town. The ruins of the great mosque which was founded in the thirteenth c. and much extended in the fifteenth c. by Sultan Muhamed. Islamic. Credit: Werner Forman/Art Resource, NY. Kilwa, Tanzania.

coast goods such as gold, slaves, and ivory from the interior. Imported goods included cloth, beads, furnishings, and pottery, mainly of Asian origin. Chinese pottery and Persian earthenware have been excavated from the early Kilwa settlements.

Like many of the Swahili cities, Kilwa mythological origins are recorded in a chronicle. The oldest recorded version of the Kilwa chronicle was recorded by the Portuguese de Barros during the sixteenth century. This was called the *Cronica dos Reyes de Quiloa,* and it referred to the arrival of kings from Shiraz, Persia, who set up kingdoms in Kilwa, as well as other places. Later research has interpreted the chronicle as the arrival of social and political hierarchical structures related to the emergence of Kilwa as a Muslim society as well as the transition from hunting and fishing to trade.

Archaeological evidence has demonstrated that the minting of coins took place at Kilwa and in the northern islands of Pemba, Zanzibar, and Mafia in the period from about 1000 to 1150. There is also architectural evidence of a uniform layout of mosques and prayer rooms. On this basis, Horton and Middleton have suggested that a closely related Muslim dynasty may have lived on these islands during the period before 1200, thus adding some substance to the mythical origins related in the chronicle. There exists also a corresponding Arab foundation myth, which is also found in the chronicles. Here, the newcomers arrive from Arabia (most likely Yemen or al-Hasa near

Bahrain), and they are Zaydis. Here, too, archaeological and historical evidence suggest some truth to the myth, revealing information about ruling houses of Arab origin that ruled from approximately 1300 to 1600.

By the time the Moroccan traveler Ibn Battuta visited Kilwa in 1331, it was a well-established city with one- or two-story houses and a Friday mosque that was first constructed during the eleventh century and expanded during the 1300s. Between about 1100 and 1500, Kilwa remained one of the principal ports for Indian Ocean trade.

Starting in the late fifteenth century, Kilwa went into a decline. This was marked by the arrival of the Portuguese on the coast and later by the rise of the northern cities of Mombasa, Lamu, and—finally, during the nineteenth century, under Omani rule—Zanzibar. After a brief period of revival based on slave trade, Kilwa, by the late eighteenth century, had become an outpost of the Omani empire. By the mid-nineteenth century, it was abandoned. In 1981, the ruins of Kilwa Kisiwani were named a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Anne K. Bang

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KINDI, AL-,

Al-Kindi was a tenth-century Arab–Muslim historian of Egypt who died in 961 CE. There is little available information on the life of Abu ‘Umar Muhammad ibn Yusuf al-Kindi apart from that transmitted by a contemporary, the historian Abu Muhammad ‘Abd Allah ibn Ahmad al-Farghani (d. 973). The latter's writings, in turn, are known only from quotations in later Arab-Islamic sources, most notably the *Kitab al-Muqaffa al-Kabir* of al-Maqrizi (d. 1441), which contains a short biographical note about al-Kindi with material from al-Farghani. A small amount of information can also be culled from al-Kindi's two surviving works (see below). Born in Egypt in 897, al-Kindi was of Arab descent. He received a classical education that consisted mainly of Qur'anic exegesis, study and transmission of hadith (tradition), and the law. Al-Maqrizi identifies him as an historian *(mu'arrikh)* and legal scholar *(faqih)* and adds that he belonged to the Hanafi legal school. Among those from whom al-Kindi learned hadith were the prominent scholar and author of one of the canonical Sunni collections of hadith, Abu ‘Abd al-Rahhman al-Nasa'i (d. 915). Another teacher, ‘Ali ibn al-Hasan ibn Qudayd (d. 925), was a key historical informant judging from the frequent citations of his name in al-Kindi's writings.

Al-Kindi is credited with at least eight works, only two of which appear to have survived. These two works, preserved in a British Museum manuscript, are *Tasmiyat Wulat Misr* (The Enumeration of the Rulers of Egypt), usually called *Umara' Misr* (The Governors of Egypt), and *al-Qudat* (The Judges). These were edited and published in 1912 by Rhuvon Guest. Both works are used extensively by later writers, most notably al-Maqrizi who, in many instances, is content to do so without acknowledgment.

The Governors, in its extant form, covers the period from the Arab-Islamic conquest of Egypt (641) to the end of the reign of Muhammad ibn Tughj (d. 946), the first of the Ikshidid rulers of Egypt. A later unknown writer added material to the manuscript that brings the work up to the arrival of the Fatimids (969). The book, arranged chronologically, is divided into sections that are each devoted to a particular governor or ruler. It consists largely of political and administrative history, although it provides valuable details about the lives of the officials themselves. It is often cited as a key example of provincial histories from the early Islamic period that provide counterweight to the sources generated in Iraq, most notably al-Tabari's *Ta'rikh (History)*. Among the sections of greatest value are those devoted to al-Sari ibn al-Hakam (d. 820), an early ‘Abbasid governor, and to Ahmad ibn Tulun (d. 884), head of the Tulunids (868–905), the first autonomous dynasty in Egypt. Al-Kindi's lost works apparently included a biography of Sari ibn al-Hakam.

The second work, *The Judges,* concludes around 861 (with the appointment of a certain Bakkar ibn Qutayba) and is similarly supplemented by two continuations, one attributed to an Ahmad ibn Burd and the second by an anonymous author, that bring the work into the eleventh century; it is organized chronologically as well. Information, often given in anecdotal form, sheds valuable light on the judicial and legal history of Egypt during the early Islamic period.

Matthew S. Gordon

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KINDI, AL-, PHILOSOPHER

Al-Kindi, Abū-Yūsuf Ya’qūb ibn-Ishāq ibn-al-Sabbāh (d. ca. AH 252/865 CE), was a scientist and philosopher. Coming from a distinguished family of the Kinda Arabs, he was connected with the caliphal court of Baghdad until the political changes of the mid-century. He was tutor to the ‘Abbasid Prince Ahmad ibn al-Mu’tasim (son of the Caliph al-Mu’tasim, r. 833–842). Both as a scientist and as a literary figure, he reflected the practical and intellectual interests of the autocratic aristocracy and its administrative elite. His enormous oeuvre encompasses the whole range of the Hellenistic sciences, which were made accessible during his lifetime through translations from Greek and Syriac, where al-Kindi appears to have been directing his own circle of translators. His activity marks the taking over—after the predominantly Iranian bias of the early ‘Abbasid administration—of Hellenism (allied with Arabism in literary erudition [adab]) during the formative period of classical Islamic culture; this earned him the byname of “Philosopher of the Arabs” *(Faylasūf al-‘Arab)*.

In astronomy, his writings attended the final success of Ptolemy’s Almagest (e.g., his *Book on the Great Art* [*k. fī –Sinā‘a al-‘Uzmā;* dependent on Theon’s commentary]), and descriptions of observational instruments. In astrology, while applying the Iranian “world year” model, he used it for predicting the continuance of the Arab caliphate *(Epistle on the Kingdom of the Arabs and Its Duration [Risāla fī Mulk al-‘Arab wa-Kammiyyatihī])*. In optics, he contributed to the Euclidian geometry of vision and perspective in his *Revision of Euclid’s Book on Optics (Islāh al-Manāzir)*. In musical theory, he presented the Greek doctrine of harmonic proportions (e.g., in his *Risāla fī Khubr ta’līf al-Alhān*). In pharmacology, he applied Galen’s doctrine of the forces of the simplicia to develop a theory of the action of composite drugs (*K. fī Ma’rifat Quwā l-Adwiya al-Murakkaba* and other works on pharmacy and perfumes). His works on magic and the occult (e.g., *De Radiis,* which is extant in a Latin version) and also his doctrine of the immortal soul and its return to the “world of intellect” are based on a system of cosmic sympathy in which the gnostic and hermetic tendencies of late Neoplatonism survive in a religion for intellectuals.

His philosophy is based on the physics and metaphysics of Aristotle as well as on the Neoplatonic sources transmitted under Aristotle’s name, all of which were translated in his circle. In his treatise *On the First Philosophy,* which was dedicated to the caliph al-Mutasim *(K. ilā l-Mu’tasim bi-Llāh fī l-Falsafa al-ūlā)*, he demonstrated that the First Cause—the cause of being and the highest object of knowledge—must, by necessity, be one. With this, he legitimized the rational sciences by exposing their consistency with the Islamic creed, the unity of God *(tawhīd Allāh)*. Employing the creationist Neoplatonism of his sources, he built a philosophical ideology that was in harmony with Islam and in which the revelation to the Arabic Prophet serves as a necessary mediator of absolute knowledge to all of mankind.

GERHARD ENDRESS

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KIRMANI, AL-, HAMID AL-DIN

Hamid al-Din al-Kirmani was a major Islamic theologian–philosopher who was the most prominent voice of the intellectual tradition among the Ismailis

at the time of the Fatimid Caliph al-Hakim (r. 996–1021). A substantial number of his writings survive, although—typically—almost no information about his life and career is available. In fact, all of the details available now derive from chance comments made by him in his own books and treatises. They indicate that he was originally active in Iraq and that later he visited Egypt and taught there before ultimately returning eastward again. The only dates known for him range from 1007 CE, when the earliest of his works was written, to 1021, the year of his last known work; all carry an explicit dedication to al-Hakim.

In his exposition of Ismaili doctrine, al-Kirmani followed his predecessors in that movement except with regard to the exceptional rigor that he himself brought to the explanation of it. In matters of philosophy, by contrast, he tended to steer away from the Neoplatonism of the earlier Ismaili writers, such as al-Sijistani and al-Nasafi, and instead to favor of a more Aristotelian approach. In doing so he was evidently influenced by the famous philosopher Abu Nasr al-Farabi, many of whose ideas were reinterpreted by al-Kirmani to create an Ismaili version of them. In his adoption of such elements from the thought of al-Farabi, he resembles his contemporary Abu 'Ali Ibn Sina (Avicenna).

His most important teachings include the following: a radically austere concept of God's absolute, unqualified unity that excludes the supreme deity from any form of intellectual apprehension; a scheme of ten angelic intellects that correspond with the heavenly spheres that together govern the physical realm; a doctrine of human soul that has it commence its existence as the first perfection of the natural body, then be devoid of knowledge but able thereafter both to learn and to perform worthy acts, if properly guided, and finally to achieve a second perfection when it survives the death of its body; and a doctrine of prophecy that considers the prophets to be the intermediaries between the higher intellects and the human community, making of them those who are responsible for conveying the enduring reality of the world of intellect to mankind and thus lead the latter to salvation and ultimate bliss.

His major works are The Comfort of Reason *(Rahat al-'Aql)*; The Golden Sayings *(al-Aqwal al-Dhahabiyya)*; The Meadow *(al-Riyad)*; The Exhortation to the Guiders and the Guided *(Tanbih al-Hadi wa'l-Mustahdi)*; The Pure Treatise Concerning the Hallmarks of Religion *(al-Risala al-Wadi'a fi ma'A-lim al-Din)*; The Protecting Links to Guidance and the Validation of the Superiority of 'Ali Over the Companions *(Ma'asim al-Huda wa'l-Isaba fi Tafdil 'Ali 'ala al-Sahaba)*; and Lights to Illuminate the Proof of the Imamate *(Masabih fi Ithbat al-Imama)*. All of these survive, although several have not been published; others exist in unreliable editions. A number of his minor treatises are also important, but to date none have been translated.

Although a towering figure in his own time, al-Kirmani's subsequent influence during the era of Fatimid rule was not as remarkable. Among the later Tayyibi Ismailis of the Yemen and India, however, he and his works rose once again to the highest levels.

Paul E. Walker

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KONYA

The modern town of Konya in Turkey is dominated by the green cupola of the shrine marking the torbat (grave) of its most illustrious son, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Maulānā. Today Rūmī is big business, and the Rūmī industry pervades the town as once the spirit of the Mevlevi dervish order did Konya's mosques and bazaars. Although Konya, which was named Iconium in Roman times, has a long history, it was the Seljuk sultans of Rum that saw the city in its heyday, and it was the Seljuk sultans under Mongol domination that nurtured the creative and vibrant milieu in which Rūmī and the ethnically and culturally diverse citizens of Konya thrived.

The apogee of the Seljuk state in Anatolia with its capital in Konya occurred during the thirteenth century. Under the reign of Kay Khosrow I (1205–1211 CE) through to that of his grandson Kay Khosrow II (1237–1246), the city blossomed. The battle of Köse Dag in 1243 saw the Mongols defeat the heterogeneous Seljuk armies. Using classic Mongol maneuvers of feigned retreats, Baiju Noyen, the Mongol commander, achieved so overwhelming a victory that he felt he could afford to be gracious in his triumph, and he allowed negotiations to decide the fate of Anatolia. Batu Khan of the Golden Horde, the kingmaker of the Mongol Empire, recognized the Seljuk sultans and endorsed their continued rule from Konya as Mongol vassals. Real power, however, was exercised by the Mongols through their own appointee, the

pervāne: Mu'īn al-Dīn Suleymān, governor of the province.

Medieval Konya reflected the cultural, religious, and ethnic diversity that made up the Anatolian peninsula during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Turcomans, Mongols, and other nomadic elements usually kept to the mountains and hills outside of the city. In the city, Greeks, Turks, Arabs, Persians, Jews, Europeans, and the Mongol elite each had their own quarters. Émigrés, refugees, religious exiles, wandering dervishes, qalandars (antinomian heterodox dervishes), poets, and Sufis all found a home in this spiritually and culturally vibrant city. The Mongol–appointed pervāne maintained the delicate balance between representing the interests of the citizens and satisfying the mainly monetary demands of the Il-Khans (the Mongol dynasty ruling greater Iran from 1256 to 1335) in their capital, Tabriz. His moral dilemma is recounted by Rūmī in the poet's book *Discourses.*

Medieval Konya acted as a beacon of hope and a symbol of enlightenment in what was often a chaotic and violent period in western Asia. By being in but not of the Mongol Empire, the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum with its capital of Konya gained all of the advantages of inclusion in the greatest contiguous land empire ever while retaining enough independence to fully exploit the cultural and economic benefits that the empire bestowed on those it encompassed.

George Lane

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KUFA

After the defeat of the Iranian Sasanian dynasty in 637–638 CE, the conquering Muslim army occupied Iraq and established on the banks of the Euphrates a garrison town called Kufa. The new province would henceforth be ruled from this newly founded settlement. In time, it grew into a major administrative capital that had a mosque, a governor's palace, markets, and accommodation for a growing population of soldiers and immigrants.

As the diverse population of Kufa that included various Arab groups as well as converts of Iranian origin increased, it also grew as a center of learning, attracting scholars and also becoming a commercial center for trade and agriculture. The expansion of the economy of the growing Muslim state and the rise of a cosmopolitan Muslim community were largely under the control and direction of the caliph in Medina. Under Caliph Uthman (r. 644–656), growing differences and an increasing pattern of decentralization of authority often caused conflicts with regard to official appointments and the distribution of land and wealth, mirroring emerging tensions within the Muslim community based in Medina.

Opposition to Uthman's policies, emanating from Kufa, erupted into conflict and resulted in his assassination, throwing the young Muslim community into turmoil. Ali, the prophet's cousin and son-in-law, whom many regarded as the originally designated successor to the Prophet, received majority support and became the new caliph. He shifted his headquarters to Kufa, effectively making it the new center of authority. He was opposed by several leaders in Medina but supported by the Prophet's wife Aisha. He was forced to put down the revolt, but he faced a more serious challenge from the governor of Syria, Muawiyah, an appointee as well as a close relative of Uthman who was putting pressure on Ali to execute those he held to be responsible for the murder. These divisive events are recorded by Muslim historians as *fitna* (civil disorder), and Ali eventually found himself having to confront Muawiyah in battle as the governor's larger ambitions for power became apparent.

After attempts were made to prevent bloodshed, hostilities were ended, and arbitration was agreed upon. However, emotions ran high on the part of some of Ali's followers who were adamantly opposed to Muawiyah and to arbitration, and the group seceded, turning its wrath on both armies. One of the secessionist murdered Ali while he was at prayer in the mosque in Kufa in 661.

After Ali's death, Muawiyah succeeded in gaining power and eventually control of many of the new Muslim dominions, and he imposed his authority in all regions. He appointed a new governor for the region that included Kufa, who was ordered to institute public cursing of Ali's name during the Friday prayers in the mosque of Kufa and to brutally suppress all partisan support in favor of Ali. During the Ummayad period to 751 and later under the 'Abbasids, Kufa had evolved into a major city, particularly as the, 'Abbasids made it their headquarters while awaiting the construction of Baghdad, their new capital.

As other towns and cities developed and the focus of trade and political power shifted to other regions, Kufa declined in importance. However, as a center of Shi'i influence and scholarship and as the city closest to Najaf, where a mausoleum was erected over Ali's grave, Kufa continued to be influential as a center of

learning and Shi'i activity throughout the period of later Muslim history. In particular, Kufa became well known as a center for Arabic literature, language, and grammar. It gave birth to a new Arabic script called Kufic, and it continued to attract important scholars, jurists, historians, and poets. In addition, it remains to this day a major site for visits and remembrance, including to the grave of Muslim b. Aqil, a cousin of Husayn who was executed by the Ummayads for supporting the Ali cause. In modern times, Kufa has continued to be a cultural and religious center and a home to various scholars and centers of Shi'i learning and scholarship.

AZIM NANJI

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KULAYNI, AL-

Muhammad b. Ya'qub al-Kulayni (d. AH 329/941 CE) was a Twelver Shi'i compiler of *al-Kafi fi 'Ilm al-Din (What is Sufficient in the Knowledge of the Faith),* a collection of more than sixteen thousand hadith (traditions) attributed to the Shi'i imams of whom the twelfth had disappeared in 260/873–874. A native of Kulayn, near the Iranian city of Rayy, al-Kulayni resided in Qum for some years before relocating to Baghdad, where he assembled *al-Kafi.*

Although the bulk of *al-Kafi*'s traditions come from a handful of members of Qum's Ash'ari tribal elite, the collection speaks to an effort to strike a balance between conflicting tendencies within the contemporary Shi'i community.

Traditions circulating in Qum, the region's only Shi'i city-state that had withstood repeated challenges from Sunni Baghdad, presented the imams as possessing near-miraculous knowledge and powers and depicted the twelfth imam's return as imminent. In Baghdad, the Shi'i minority, facing rising Sunni traditionism (typified by the appearance of such great Sunni hadith collections as the *Sahih* of al-Bukhari [d. 256/870]) and hostility to Shi'i messianism, were disavowing the imams' traditions as the source of knowledge and inspiration in favor of rationalist and politically quiescent discourse.

Al-Kafi's traditions downplayed the separatist and messianic tendencies of the previous century, rejected the anti-traditionist tendencies of Baghdadi Shi'is, and countered rising Sunni traditionism with a collection of texts that at once addressed both theological issues and, on a par with contemporary Sunni collections, practical issues.

ANDREW J. NEWMAN

See also Ibn Babawayh; Al-Tusi, Muhammad ibn al-Hasan

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KURDISH

In general, the term *Kurdish* applies to a range of languages and dialects belonging to the Iranian language family spoken in the Kurdish areas, from eastern Anatolia via northern Iraq and northern Syria to western Iran and by significant groups in Georgia and Armenia (see also Kurds). From a perspective of historical linguistics, however, these languages can be divided into Kurdish proper on the one hand and Gurani and Zazaki on the other. The latter two languages derive from a different Old Iranian dialect than does Kurdish. The oft-heard assertion that Kurdish derives from ancient Median is not borne out by the available data.

Kurdish proper can be divided into three groups of dialects: Northern, Central, and Southern Kurdish. Northern Kurdish, which is also known as Kurmanji, is now spoken in Turkey, northern Syria, northwestern Iraq, northwestern Iran, Georgia, and Armenia. Central Kurdish, or Sorani, is spoken in northeastern Iraq and the adjoining regions in Iran. Southern Kurdish dialects, such as Lakki, are spoken in Iran in the provinces Ilam, Kermanshah, and Lorestan. Southern dialects do not have a standard written form and have not yet been adequately studied. Zazaki is spoken in eastern Anatolia in the triangle formed by Diyarbakir, Sivas, and Erzurum. Gurani or Hawrami, once an important literary language in the region, is now spoken by a relatively small number of people in the Iranian province of Kermanshah.

There is no evidence that a significant written literature existed in any of these languages before the late sixteenth century CE. The textual traditions of religious groups such as the Yazidis and Ahl-i Haqq were composed during the medieval period; these were mainly transmitted orally, but writing may have played a role in their genesis. For most forms of written communication, however, Kurds used the dominant language of their region—Arabic, Persian, or Turkish—so that no literary standard languages evolved until later. The existence of a standard language often counteracts a tendency for dialects and subdialects to diverge rapidly.

Their absence in the Kurdish sphere during the medieval period may account in part for the profound differences that developed between, for example, Northern and Central Kurdish. Although the former dialect still has case endings and gender, the latter does not; contacts with Gurani, it seems, caused Central Kurdish to adopt a number of grammatical features of that language, which are unknown in Kurmanji. Therefore, from a grammatical point of view, these dialects are very different from each other. Even subdialects belonging to the same dialect group can show considerable differences. Given the use of languages other than Kurdish for purposes of writing and the considerable similarities in vocabulary, it seems unlikely that dialectal or linguistic differences were perceived as markers of separate linguistic identities during the Middle Ages.

PHILIP G. KREYENBROEK

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KURDS

The word *Kurd* is generally used for an ethnic and linguistic group living in a more or less continuous area from the eastern part of Anatolia, via northern Iraq and northern Syria, to the central western regions of modern Iran. During the medieval period, some Kurdish groups lived in Transcaucasia. An account of Kurdish society and history during the period from the mid-seventh to the sixteenth centuries CE can at best be tentative, owing to the scarcity of reliable data. A contributory factor to these uncertainties is that the word *Kurd* was not necessarily used in medieval sources in the sense it has today. In pre-Islamic, Sasanian Iran, it is thought, the word denoted the largely tribal populations of the mountainous areas to the west of the Iranian heartland, so certain non-Iranian tribes in those areas may have been referred to as *Kurd,* whereas sedentary people speaking an early form of Kurdish may not. Because a significant part of the population in question spoke Iranian languages, however, the word eventually came to be used particularly for speakers of these languages. Except in discussions of historical linguistics, speakers of the Gurani and Zazaki languages are generally regarded as Kurds.

During the period under discussion, Kurdish society was strongly tribal in character, with tribal confederations, (semi-)nomadic tribes, and subtribes and a sedentary population at the bottom of the social structure. Tensions usually existed between the Kurds' aspirations to autonomy and the desire of surrounding states to control them. During the early centuries of Islam, the Kurds were a force to be reckoned with. They are known to have revolted several times against the Umayyads. They supported the 'Abbasid al-Ma'mun against his brother al-Amin in the 810s CE, and they rebelled repeatedly when 'Abbasid power grew weaker during the second half of the ninth century. On the other hand, Kurdish troops, with their reputation for military prowess, were often recruited into the 'Abbasid—and later into the Seljuq—army. Saladin (Salah al-Din, born in 1138 of Kurdish parentage), who defeated the Crusaders and founded the Ayyubid dynasty that ruled in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, is the best known of many Kurds who achieved fame as military leaders in the Islamic army. Among the Kurdish tribes in the heartlands, Islamization was a slow process, and large tribal groups were still said to be Magians (adherents of a non-Islamic Iranian faith) during the early thirteenth century.

As 'Abbasid power waned, several Kurdish dynasties emerged for a time, most notably the Shaddadids (955–1075) in Transcaucasia, the Marwanids (984–1083) in the region from Diyarbakir in the north to the Jazira area in the south, and the Hasanwayhids (959–1095) in the Zagros region. None of these dynasties seem to have been very influential, and they were quickly defeated when the Seljuqs and others reasserted their authority over the region. The Kurdish areas suffered greatly under the Mongols from 1231 to 1258 and later again under Tamerlane in 1393 and 1401. With the new balance of power between the surrounding Safavid and Ottoman states during the sixteenth century, the Kurds entered a new phase in their history.

PHILIP G. KREYENBROEK

See also Kurdish

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L

LAND TENURE AND OWNERSHIP, OR *IQTA*‘

Iqta‘ is an Arabic term designating the land or tax revenues allocated by the great amir or sultan to soldiers in return for military service *(khidma)*. *Khubz* (bread) was synonymous with this term in Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt and in Syria. Its holder was called *muqta*‘ in Arabic and *iqta‘dar* in Persian.

Qati‘a and Day‘a in the Early Islamic Period

Three Sunnite schools of law (the Shafi'is, Malikis, and Hanbalis), but not the Hanafis, regard that the land conquered by force belonged to the Muslim community as *fay*', which was not to be assigned to the Arabs. However, since the early Islamic period it was often granted as *qati‘a* to the people who rendered distinguished services to the state. According to al-Mawardi (d. 1058 CE), the iqta‘s in Islamic law are classified into two types. The first type is an "iqta‘ of private ownership" *(iqta‘ al-tamlik)*, which means privately owned land assigned by the state, provided that owners pay the land tax *(kharaj)* or the tithe *(‘ushr)* according to land category. The second type is an "iqta‘ of usufruct" *(iqta‘ al-istighlal)*, by which revenue from a piece of land is apportioned in place of a salary (al-Ahkam al-sultaniya: 190–198). The first type of iqta‘ is termed *qati‘a* in the early historical sources, while the second type of iqta‘ designates the military iqta‘ since the middle of the tenth century.

Apart from the qati‘a, the privately owned land that was valid for the duration of life was called *tu‘ma*, and other privileged landownership appeared, such as *ighar*, carrying with it partial immunity from taxation, and taswigh, having complete immunity from taxation. As C. Cahen suggests, based on such privileged landownership, large-scale landownership developed gradually from the Umayyad to the ‘Abbasid periods. A.A. al-Duri further advanced this topic, showing that the land system was connected closely with the origin of the iqta‘ system (1969:3–22). He states that in the early Islamic period there rose a new aristocracy who held the qati‘a assigned from treasury lands *(sawafi)*. Besides, since the cultivated land was evaluated as a source for stable income during the ‘Abbasid period, tax collectors aimed at obtaining private domains *(day‘a)*, and merchants also invested their commercial profits to purchase day‘a. According to J. Shimada, large-scale day‘as were invented by such means as reclamation, promise of protection, and enclosure *(hawz)*, whereas small-scale qati‘as were apportioned by the person superior in rank (caliph or provincial governor). The state coffers thus suffered as such privileged landownership by merchants, high officials, and the Turkish commanders developed, particularly in Iraq after the ninth century.

As Turkish soldiers (mamluks or ghulams) extended their power after the middle of the ninth century, the authority of the ‘Abbasid caliphate declined significantly. In addition, the independence of local governors—for example, the Samanids (875–999) in Iran and the Tulunids (869–905) in Egypt—led to decreases

in state revenue, which caused great fiscal difficulties. Other than the development of privileged landownership, pecuniary waste by the 'Abbasid court also added to these difficulties. Al-Maqrizi (d. 1442), an Egyptian historian, explains that the '*ata*' (salary) system was conducted in the early Islamic period, paying salaries to the soldiers and officials out of the state treasury (Khitat I:95). However, these serious problems made it more difficult to maintain the 'ata' system by the early tenth century. Accordingly, when the Buwayhid army entered Baghdad at the beginning of the year 946, the military iqta' system was first introduced in Islamic history.

Establishment and Development of the Iqta' System

Miskawayh (d. 1030) relates that Mu'izz al-Dawla, the Buwayhid great amir, granted iqta's to his officers *(quwwad)*, his associates *(khawass)*, and his Turkish chivalry (Tajarib al-Umam, II, 96). A few years later, when the whole of Iraq came to be apportioned into iqta', small iqta's were granted to Daylamite foot soldiers as well. The peasants under the iqta' system, who now paid the land tax not to the government but to their muqta' (iqta' holder), had to bear hardships of the unjust rule of the muqta'. According to B. Johansen, the distinction between tax *(kharaj)* and rent *(ujra)* first became vague through the spread of the iqta' system, which led to the fundamental changes of the rural society in the Middle East.

The Seljukids, who entered Baghdad in 1055, inherited the Buwayhid iqta' system almost as it was. When Tughril Bek advanced from Nishapur to Baghdad, he consolidated his authority through iqta' assignments to the local rulers and their subordinates. A. K. S. Lambton observes that the iqta' system in Islamic society was quite different from feudalism in Europe, in the sense that the element of mutual obligation inherent to European feudalism was notably absent in the iqta' system. Under the Seljukid rule the administrative iqta's, as opposed to the military iqta's, were granted to amirs who conducted both rights of administration and tax collection. As disclosed in Siyasat nama, Nizam al-Mulk, a Persian vizier of the Seljukids, intended to clarify the muqta's rights and duties, to change their iqta's every 2 to 3 years, and to send, if needed, supervisors to the local provinces. However, as the sultan's authority decreased after Malik Shah died in 1092, the atabeks and amirs gained independence by means of inheriting iqta's from their ancestors.

In Syria and Jazira, iqta' grants by the Zankid rulers followed the breakup of the Seljukid empire. 'Imad al-Din Zanki (1127–1146), who entered Mosul in 1127, allocated iqta's to his amirs and soldiers and introduced similar allotments into Jazira and northern Syria. I. Khalil relates that each amir was assigned a district including local towns, while soldiers were granted small iqta's. The rights of muqta' during the Zankid period, as in the Seljukid period, was legally restricted to the levying of taxes on their iqta's; but soldiers, who wished to hold stable iqta's, insisted that iqta's were privately owned land (milk) to be inherited from father to son. Accepting this argument, Nur al-Din al-Zanki (1146–1174) consented to the inheritance of iqta' holdings and ordered that a guardian be chosen if the heir was still a child (Ibn al-Athir, al-Ta'rikh al-bahir, 169). This Zankid iqta' system was soon introduced into Egypt by Saladin (Salah al-Din).

In Fatimid Egypt, amirs and high officials held privately owned lands called qati'a or iqta'. According to H. Rabie, the muqta's were not required to provide military service except in a few cases, but they had to pay the tithe to the government. In this sense the Fatimid iqta' system was still different from the military iqta' system during the Buwayhid or Seljukid periods. When Salah al-Din was installed as the Fatimid vizier in March 1169, he began to confiscate the iqta's held by the Fatimid soldiers and assigned the confiscated lands to his followers in the form of iqta' (Abu Shama, Kitab al-rawdatayn, II, 450). As al-Maqrizi relates, from the reign of Salah al-Din, all the Egyptian lands have been distributed to the sultan, amirs, and soldiers as iqta's (Khitat, I, 97). In Ayyubid Syria also, the iqta' assignment was the most crucial factor for maintaining the Ayyubid state order. However, one of the characteristics peculiar to the Ayyubid iqta' system was that demands to the sultan were made concerning iqta' holdings. This was due to the fact that the rules and regulations of granting iqta's were not yet established, particularly at the early stages of the Ayyubid period.

Because iqta's in the early Mamluk period were often granted according to the amir's requests, iqta' assignments had features similar to those of the Ayyubid period. However, by the end of the thirteenth century the power of the royal Mamluks had eventually emerged. The sultans saw the necessity of getting rid of the old amirs and strengthening the basis of their power by means of their own Mamluks. To achieve this objective they twice carried out countrywide cadastral surveys, al-Rawk al-Husami (1298) and al-Rawk al-Nasiri (1313–1325). These rawks, especially al-Rawk al-Nasiri, resulted in the iqta' revenue *('ibra)* of the royal Mamluks being

increased sharply at the expense of the freeborn *(halqa)* chivalry (al-Maqrizi, Khitat, I, 88). Amirs from these Mamluks operated advantageous iqta' holdings, which they used as a basis of strengthening their control over the agricultural communities in Egypt and Syria. Al-Rawk al-Nasiri has considerable historical significance in the sense that it brought about great change in the organization of the iqta' system and prescribed the state structure during the middle of the Mamluk period.

TSUGITAKA SATO

See also Waqf

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LAW AND JURISPRUDENCE

Law *(fiqh*, lit. "understanding"*)* and jurisprudence *(usul al-fiqh*, lit. "roots of understanding"*)*. *Fiqh* is the technical term for Islamic substantive law. Developed largely by scholars, Islamic law has been described as a paradigmatic example of "jurists' law." Medieval treatises of Islamic law typically began with ritual law (purity [*tahara*], ritual prayer [*salat*], fasting [*siyam*], alms-tax [*zakat*], and pilgrimage [*hajj*]) and then proceeded to various topics of private law, such as family law, transactional law, and tort law, and various topics of public law, such as criminal law, the law of war, and constitutional law. Jurists of the medieval period also authored specialized treatises that addressed particular topics in much greater detail than could be done in the generalized treatises that were the foundational texts of both legal education and the administration of the law.

Fiqh should not be confused with Islamic ethical norms or morality. Legal treatises are principally concerned with the positive rules of Islamic law *(al-ahkam al-wad'iyya)*, in contrast to rules of obligation *(al-ahkam al-taklifiyya)*. Whereas the latter category of rules speaks to the status of an act (such as obligatory, forbidden, favored, disfavored, or indifferent), the former speaks to the consequences of an act (such as valid, invalid, binding, void, voidable). They are addressed not to the generality of believers but rather to legal specialists *(fuqaha')* for use in resolving judicial cases *(qada'), and the delivery of formal legal opinions (fatwa)*.

Usul al-fiqh is, in the first instance, a philosophical and epistemological discipline that seeks to understand the source of moral obligation (for example, reason or revelation), how moral judgments may be reached (legitimate methods of moral reasoning), and the reliability of moral judgments (for example, certain or probable).

Revelation, all Muslim scholars agreed, was an infallible source of moral knowledge and as a general matter. They also agreed that the divine commands could be found in three sources: the Qur'an (the revealed word of God), the teachings and practice of the Prophet Muhammad (known generically as the *sunna*), and consensus *(ijma')*. Only the contents of the Qur'an, however, were universally acknowledged. Otherwise, significant differences—both doctrinal and empirical—characterized Muslim approaches to the sunna and the doctrine of ijma'.

Usul al-fiqh also included techniques of practical reason that were to be used to determine the moral status of an act. The most important such tool was analogy *(qiyas)*. Various utility-related arguments were also widely discussed (and often used), but their legitimacy was more controversial.

Finally, because of the primacy of revelation as a source of ethical knowledge, hermeneutics was a matter of central concern in usul al-fiqh. As a general matter, Muslim scholars accorded only presumptive weight to the apparent meaning of revelation, which was sufficient, in their moral theory, to give rise to moral obligation. The apparent meaning of revelation, however, could be overcome if other evidence existed demonstrating that the apparent sense was not intended. It is only the rare revelatory text that is considered, from a hermeneutical perspective, to be conclusive.

MOHAMMAD H. FADEL

See also Customary Law

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LIBRARIES

Maktaba is the Arabic word normally used to mean "library," but in classical Islam, corresponding appellations were used: "treasure house of books" *(khizanat al-kutub)* or "abode of books" *(dar al-kutub*, an expression that is still in favor for a national library, such as the one in Cairo*)*. In Iran, *kitab-khana*, and in modern Turkey, *kütüphane*, are the equivalents. These institutions were never one and the same in the Middle Ages as real public libraries, but the most important were part of institutions of learning created on the initiative of sovereigns or officials of the caliphal government and the different dynasties. For that reason they were also often designated by the name of institutions: House or Abode of Wisdom *(bayt or dar al-hikma)*, Abode of Knowledge *(dar al-ʿilm)*. From the AH fifth/eleventh CE century onward, they were often a part of the higher colleges, called *madrasas*. Individual scholars or officials, sometimes families, had also private libraries.

Since antiquity, small libraries existed in the great mosques of the most important towns of the empire, and many a scholar bequeathed his library to the mosque of his city. With time, however, many mosques also had large libraries. We shall only mention three of them. In Baghdad, we have considerable information of the library of the mosque of Abu Hanifa. Among many other famous people who bequeathed their private book collections, the grammarian, Muʿtazilite theologian, and exegete al-Zamakhshari can be mentioned (d. 538/1143).

The library of the mosque of Qayrawan in Tunisia had its time of glory under the Zirid al-Muʿizz b. Bads (r. 406–54/1015–1062), but the tribesmen of Banu Hilal destroyed most of the book collections.

Built in 245/859, the Qarawiyyin mosque of Fez had a library founded by the Marinid sultan al-Mutawakkil Abu ʿInan, which opened its doors in 750/1349. However, an earlier sultan of the same dynasty, Abu Yusuf Yaʿqub (r. 656–685/1258–1290), is credited with founding a book collection at the same mosque, which had also the Mansuriyya library, established ca. 996/1587 by the scholar-king of the Saʿdi dynasty, Ahmad al-Mansur al-Dhahabi.

Three Great Libraries

According to the secretary of the Mamluk chancellery, al-Qalqashandi (d. 82/1418), there were three great libraries in Islam: the House of Wisdom in Baghdad, the library of the Fatimids in Egypt, and the Spanish Umayyad in Cordoba.

Before then the historical data on public or semipublic libraries are not well supported; for instance, the establishment of the so-called House of Wisdom *(bayt al-hikma)* in Damascus by the Umayyad caliph Muʿawiya (r. 41–60/661–680). This library should have been herited by his grandson Khalid b. Yazid, who never became a caliph, and who the legend has made an alchemist. The Umayyad central administration in Damascus followed Byzantine practices by and large, and the language of administration, until the reform of ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 65–86/685–705), was Greek. Umayyad employed Christians in their administration, the most famous of them being St. John of Damascus, and they could benefit from them in collecting books and translating some of them into Arabic. However, because as in the seventh century the Byzantine high culture was indifferent to pagan Greek learning. As hellenism was the defeated enemy, it was probably impossible in this intellectual climate to conceive of a translation movement, supported by Greek-speaking Christians, of secular Greek works into Arabic, as D. Gutas has shown. So it is possible to put in doubt the importance of the so-called House of Wisdom in Damascus, and its library.

With the ʿAbbasid revolution, the foundation of Baghdad, and the transfer of the caliphate to Mesopotamia, the situation of the Arab empire changed drastically. A new multicultural society developed in Baghdad: Aramaic speakers, Christians and Jews, Persian-speakers, and Arabs were concentrated in the cities. The ʿAbbasids had to rely on the local Persians, Christian Arabs, and Arameans for their administration. The culture of these people in the employ of the ʿAbbasids was hellenized, but without the animosity of the Orthodox Christian Byzantine circles in Damascus against the ethnic Greek learning. For these reasons, the transfer of the caliphate form Damascus to Iraq had the paradoxical consequence of allowing the preservation of the classical Greek heritage, and this was not without consequences for matters of the library.

It is said that the institution of the House of Wisdom underwent its greatest development in Baghdad in the time of the ʿAbbasid caliph al-Maʾmun (r. 198–208/813–833), who is considered responsible for it. The library should have come into being in

conjunction with the House of Wisdom, probably on the model of the Academy of Gundishapur. However, it is also possible that a library *(khizana)* could have already existed during the time of his father, Harun al-Rashid (r. 170–193/786–809) and his viziers, the Barmakids, who had begun to have Greek works translated (see Pre-Islamic Learning into Arabic).

In fact, we know nothing about the construction, the location, and the date of foundation of the House of Wisdom. For some scholars, such as D. Gutas: "In reality we have absolutely no mention in our most reliable sources of any such 'founding." In Sasanian times, the palace library functioned as an idealized national archive. The term House of Wisdom is a translation of the Sasanian designation for a library, as it appears clearly from a statement of Hamza al-Isfahani (d. after 350/961). It seems that the Islamic House of Wisdom was a library, most likely established as a bureau under al-Mansur (r. 136–158/754–175). It may have been a part of the 'Abbasid administration, modeled on that of the Sasanians. It was devoted to the translation of texts from Persian to Arabic, and to the preservation of the translated books. Under al-Ma'mun it seems to have gained another function related to astronomical and mathematical activities. For the same scholar, the Greco-Arabic translation movement does not seem to have been related to any of the activities of the House of Wisdom. It was also not an academy for teaching the ancient sciences. According to al-Qalqashandi, the greatest lustre shines on the second great library—the library of the Fatimids in Cairo, a branch of the Ismailis. The Fatimid rulers aimed to create rivals to the Baghdad tradition. They founded a completely new Cairo alongside the old, erecting a magnificent palace and a mosque, al-Azhar. They fitted out libraries in the palace and also in the mosque, including their own House of Wisdom, called also Abode of Knowledge *(dar al-'ilm)* in the vast palace covering half of their new capital city of Cairo. According to a contemporary writer, al-Musabbihi (d. 420/1030), caliph al-Hakim (r. 386–411/996–1021) endowed the dar al-ilm with books on a range of subjects, from his palace treasury, and paid for the scholars to teach there and, crucially, for support staff and furnishings. The institution was open to all who wished to study there and included writing materials. The institution came under the jurisdiction of the government's head of propaganda *(da'i al-du'at)*, who invited learned men to meet there twice weekly. A new catalogue prepared in 435/1045 listed at least six and a half thousand volumes on astronomy, architecture, and philosophy. The palace and academy libraries flourished during prosperous years preceding the reign of caliph al-Muntasir (r. 427–487/1036–1094), but the library was looted during the civil wars in 461/1068. It was closed when the Fatimid dynasty came to an end (567/1171). Salah al-Din sold the palace treasures, including the books, but fortunately some of them were repurchased by enlightened men such as Salah al-Din's learned counselor and secretary (not his vizier), the bibliophile al-Qadi al-Fadil al-Baysani (d. 596/1200). It is said that he gave one hundred thousand volumes to the school he had established, al-Madrasa al-Fadiliyya. According to another report, he collected seventy thousand volumes on diverse subjects. The great Mu'tazilite exegete and theologian 'Abd al-Salam al-Qazwini (d. 488/1095), who had lived for a long time in Cairo, had a collection of forty thousand volumes, of which some had been purchased from people who had plundered the Fatimid palace. As usual, the figures quoted by Arabic authors for the Fatimid library vary widely. Al-Maqrizi gives three figures: 120,000, 200,000, and 601,000 volumes, but Abu Shama says two million!

The third great library, according to al-Qalqashandi, was that of the Umayyad in Spain. When the Fatimids made their entry in Cairo, al-Hakam (II) al-Mustansir (r. 350–366/961–976), occupied a prominent place among the scholars and bibliophile princes of Islam. He created a vast library at Cordoba on the model of the 'Abbasid libraries of Baghdad, with some four hundred thousand volumes and a catalogue in forty-four registers of twenty sheets each. The problem in these hyperbolic figures is in the fact that among these "volumes" could have been also "fascicles" *(juz's)*. The library was in the palace of Cordoba, under the management of the eunuch Bakiya. The splendor of the library was dimmed under al-Hakam's son and successor, Hisham, in order to please the orthodox Maliki religious scholars—what was, above all, distasteful to them was the collection of books pertaining to the ancient sciences, that is, works of philosophy, astronomy, and so forth. The all-powerful al-Mansur allowed them to remove and burn these books. In 1011, when Cordoba was locked in battle with the Berbers, the minister Wadih sold the major part of the library to obtain money for the war; the rest of the books were despoiled.

Other Libraries

Besides the three libraries enhanced by al-Qalqashandi, other great libraries existed. The Buyids, a Persian house that nourished Shi'i sympathies and exercised hegemony over Iraq and Western Persia (334–447/945–1055), took into their service

men with an interest in books. Rukn al-Dawla, who ruled Rayy in Western Persia, had in his service Abu l-Fadl Ibn al-'Amid (d. 360/970), a celebrated scholar with a large library, of which the historian Misakawayh was the librarian. The disciple, secretary, and then successor of Ibn al-'Amid, the man of letters al-Sahib Ibn 'Abbad (d. 385/995) had a library in Rayy; the theological works alone amounted to four hundred camel-loads (or two hundred and six thousand volumes). When Mahmud (b. Sebüktigin) of Ghazna, the defender of the "orthodox" Sunni faith, invaded Rayy, he had some of these books burnt as "heretical literature" and some sent to his capital city in 420/1029. He also plundered all the treasures of the last Buyid Majd al-Dawla, including 50 loads of books, excluding those that had Mu'tazilite content or dealt with philosophy and which were therefore burnt under the corpses of the crucified "heretics." A third Buyid vizier, the servant of Baha' al-Dawla, Zaydit Abu Nasr Sabur b. Ardashir (d. 416/1025), founded an Abode of Knowledge (ca. 383/993), in the Baghdadi quarter of "Between the two walls" (quarter of al-Karkh). Its library should have counted ten thousand volumes (according to other sources, one hundred thousand to four hundred thousand), including one hundred exemplars of the Qur'an in the handwriting of Banu Muqla. After the death of Sabur, it seems that the Shi'i poet, grammarian, and theologian al-Sharif al-Murtada (d. 436/1044) was in charge of it. It was used by many scholars, such as the Syrian man of letters Abu l-'Ala' al-Ma'arri, during his brief sojourn in Baghdad (399–400/1009–1010). This library was destroyed by fire during Tughril Beg's march on Baghdad in 451/1059. Bahram b. Mafanna (d. 433), the vizier of Abu Kalijar, which was the penultimate Buyid Amir in Baghdad, established at Firuzabad in Fars: a library consisting of seven thousand volumes, of which four thousand were folios in the handwriting of Abu 'Ali Ibn Muqla and Abu 'Abd Allah Ibn Muqla.

Almost every college *(madrasa)* in Baghdad had a small or large library of its own. Those attached to the Nizamiyya college (inaugurated in 459/1067), founded by the famous Saljukid vizier Nizam al-Mulk (d. 485/1092), and to the Mustansiriyya college, founded in 631/1234 by the caliph Mustansir, were particularly remarkable for their large size, as well as the value of their books. Other towns such as Nishapur, Samarqand, Tus, Bukhara, Shiraz, Isfahan, Herat, Najaf, Kerbela, Damascus, Jerusalem, Cairo, Tunis, Mecca, Medina, and Oman also had colleges with libraries, or libraries without colleges. Later, Istanbul also had libraries (such as Sülemaniye Kütüphanesi, established in 1557; Köprülü, 1661; Nurosmaniye, 1755; Raghib Pasha, 1763; and Murat Molla, 1775). In India, the first Rohilla chief of Rampur, Nawab Sayyad Faizullah Khan (r. 1175–1193), was a great patron of learning. He was at the origin of a library that was enlarged by his successors. Many private collections of books are still extant among Khariji Ibadi families (or now in public libraries) of the Algerian Mzab. The Zaydi imams of Yemen also had libraries that contained many Mu'tazili works.

Bibliophiles' Collections and Scholars' Libraries

Despite the high prices of books, many individual bibliophiles and scholars collected fine libraries. Of the traditionist and soldier of the Holy War, a model for pious Muslims—'Abd Allah b. Mubarak (d. 181/797)—it is said that: "the number of his books from which he transmitted [hadith] was twenty thousand." Here we cannot speak of a library; the so-called books were more notebooks written to help with memory. When the historian al-Waqidi died in 207/822, he left six hundred bookcases *(qimatr)*. Ibn Hanbal's (d. 241/855) library amounted to twelve and a half camel loads, whereas that of his contemporary (who was also a traditionist like Ibn Hanbal) Yahya b. Ma'in (d. 233/847) filled one hundred and fourteen or one hundred and thirty bookcases and four large jars. Of course, for these two scholars the books or notebooks of their library consisted of hadith materials or related matters like statements on the reliability of hadith transmitters. The library of the son of the Buyid Mu'izz al-Dawla (d. 356/957) in Basra comprised some fifteen thousand volumes, in addition to fascicles and unbound sheets. Al-Qadi al-Fadil's brother is reported, with some hyperbole as usual, to have amassed two hundred thousand titles, each title in a number of copies. Al-Qifti (d. 646/1248), too, was a fervent book collector. His collection is said, again with some hyperbole, to have been the largest ever amassed. He traveled to faraway places and paid large sums (he never married and had no children) for books. He bequeathed his books (worth some fifty thousand dinars) to the ruler of Aleppo, the Ayyubid al-Malik al-Nasir. The library of the physician Sa'id al-Samiri (executed in 649/1251) contained ten thousand volumes. The Cordoban Maliki judge Abu l-Mutarrif Ibn Futays 'Abd al-Rahman (d. 402/1011) was a great collector of books. He always had six copyists working for him. He never lent a work but would willingly get it copied and make a gift of it.

The historian Ghars al-Ni'ma Muhammad b. Hilal (d. 480/1088), of the celebrated al-Sabi' family

(physicians, and then official and literary men under the ʿAbbasids and Buyids), collected at Baghdad a small library of one thousand volumes (with a waqf, in 452/1060), in various Islamic sciences, to which admission was granted to a limited number of students. He had the hope of replacing the library founded by Baha' al-Dawla. After the death of Ghars al-Niʿma, the "vile and avaricious" superintendent of the library sold the books on the excuse that the installment of the Nizamiyya college in Baghdad had made Ghars al-Niʿma's library superfluous.

The libraries of the Shiʿi scholars were no less impressive than those of the Sunni. For instance, six hundred Jarudi Zaydi, author of the Kufan Ibn ʿUqda (Ahmad, d. 333/944) wanted to move his books. They amounted to six hundred loads, and the costs was accordingly one hundred dinars. We have already encountered previously the case of al-Sahib Ibn ʿAbbad. Al-Sharif al-Murtada, already mentioned, left at his death thirty thousand *juz's* (fascicles), whereas others say eighty thousand volumes.

"Traveling in quest of knowledge," or seeking knowledge, offered to scholars the opportunity of visiting many libraries and of collecting books. The Iranian Avicenna (d. 428/1037), for instance, benefited from the libraries of the Iranian princes. His first visit to the royal library was in Bukhara on the invitation of the Samanid King Nuh (II) b. Mansur. He describes this personal event in the following words: "I found there many rooms filled with books which were arranged in cases row upon row. One room was alloted to works on Arabic philology and poetry; another to jurisprudence, and so forth, the books of each particular science having a room to themselves. I inspected the catalogue of ancient Greek authors and looked for the books which I required: I saw in this collection books of which few people have heard even the names, and which I myself have never seen either before or since." He also used the libraries of the town of Gurgang in Khwarizm, of the Buyids in Rayy and in Hamadhan (Shams al-Dawla), of the Kakuyids (ʿAla' al-Dawla Muhammad) in Isfahan, and so forth. The example of the celebrated man of letters, bookseller and copyist Yaqut al-Rumi is also representative of that. He had extended visits to the library of Ibn al-Qiti in Aleppo, the two libraries of the family al-Samʿani in Marw, and so on.

Books in Figures

It must be said that almost all the figures of books that are provided in this article thus far cannot, as a rule, be accepted at face value; a lot of them are hyperbolic. Many of these libraries, both "public" and private, had catalogues, but none of the six first centuries of Islam are known to have come to us. Perhaps the earliest extant known to us is the catalogue of the library of the Qayrawan mosque, dated 693/1294. A manuscript dated 694/1295 and entitled *The Selection of [the books] in the Libraries of Aleppo* was not, as its title indicates, the catalogue of a special library. One of the methods to ascertain accuracy consists in the writing of exhaustive monographies on authors. This was done, for instance, for the Shiʿi scholar Ibn Tawus (d. 664/1266), who was born in Hilla and established himself in Baghdad. He wrote a catalogue of his library, which is now lost. However, thanks to a precise study, we know that his library contained some one thousand five hundred titles. It included works on all major branches of knowledge of his time. He had a ten volume copy of Koranic commentary of the Muʿtazilite Abu ʿAli al-Jubba'i (d. 303/915). Apart from the number of volumes, which is a problem, there is another one that is encountered when speaking of figures in Islamic libraries: the term *juz'* (fascicle), which can refer to several things: a gathering of sheets (often some twenty folios or more), forming a separate volume; a number of booklets bound together; a volume consisting of a number of booklets; or a notebook.

Claude Gilliot

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LINGUISTICS, ARABIC

"In Arabic—the only Semitic language that has remained the language of a whole civilization—ideas spring forth from the matrix of the sentence like sparks from the flint." If Louis Massignon finds the Arabic language inseparable from the civilization it enveloped, then Arabic linguistics played an indispensable role in setting Islamic scholarship ablaze.

Following the advent of the Qur'an in the seventh century CE, the intellectual fervor spurred by the direct contact Arabs and non-Arab Muslims alike had with other civilizations made it impossible for the learned among them not to reflect on the sacrosanct language of the Qur'an. The exchange of knowledge and ideas in the first Islamic centuries between the Arabs and the Byzantines, Greeks, Indians, and Persians—initially in the garrison towns of Basra and Kufa and later in the imperial capitals of Damascus and Baghdad—occurred alongside the development of the Arabic linguistic tradition. As other fields advanced, they borrowed heavily from the logic and methodology of the linguistic sciences. Certainly law and jurisprudence, the prose, poetry and polite learning of the Islamic period *(adab)*, scriptural exegesis, and theology all have their methodological roots in Arabic linguistics. In addition, medicine, mathematics, and the natural and applied sciences were expounded upon and expanded primarily in the Arabic language. Thus the Arabic language became the primary tool for research and a sine qua non to the development of Islamic civilization.

Pietistic and pragmatic concerns also necessitated the development of the linguistic sciences. Most, if not all, Arabic linguists were employed as reciters of the Qur'an in their official capacities. One motivation for linguistic analysis of the Arabic language was to explain the recitational variants of the Qur'an, which Muslims throughout the world use in their obligatory *salah* (prayers). Moreover due to the rapid expansion of the Arab empire, and with it of Islam, the need emerged for teaching correct readings and recitations of the Qur'an to the newest members of the faith, because mistakes in pronunciation can significantly alter the Qur'an's meanings. Extant manuscripts exhibit a native Arabic-speaking laity and their charges making basic grammatical errors (see Arabic, Middle Arabic), which suggests that Arabic grammars became necessary for teaching Arabic to the Arabs and the faithful for practical reasons.

Indeed, by the 800s, little more than one and a half centuries after the death of Islam's "unlettered Prophet," the Arabic linguistic sciences constituted a paradigm or "normal science" as defined by Thomas Kuhn, which is an established method that facilitates problem solving and attracts scholars to the field. This paradigm is not a single grammarian's possession but is rather constitutive of the entire Arabicist assemblage, and is still accepted as authoritative by modern scholarship, so much so that when researchers today find results that contradict the normal science, they ascribe the divergences to their own error rather than to any shortcomings of the paradigm.

Although paradigms of Arabic phonology, morphology, grammar, and lexicography were first articulated in the works of al-Khalil ibn Aḥmad (d. ca. 786), random data collection, field research, error analysis, corpus collection, anomaly study, and symbolic generalization had been pursuits of the scientific community to which Al-Khalil belonged since the writing of the Qur'an more than one hundred years earlier and the collection of pre-Islamic poetry a little

later. However, before al-Khalil's systematized Arabic linguistic paradigm, only facts about Arabic existed, and all facts were equally relevant. Al-Khalil condensed and formalized morphological rules into symbols from which all word patterns derive. Based on these patterns, he devised the first Arabic dictionary, the *Kitab al-'Ayn*, that served as a comprehensive and systematic accounting for all the Arabic lexemes. His most famous student, Sibawayh (d. ca. 793), authored *Al-Kitab*, which is regarded to this day as the prototypical descriptive grammar for Arabic. In this way, normal science developed while continually complementing—but not superseding—what was inherited from previous generations. Hence the Arabic linguistic tradition presaged the rise of the Arabic language as the lingua franca of the Islamic world, a state of affairs that lasted well into the medieval period.

AL-HUSEIN N. MADHANY

See also Grammar and Grammarians; Poets; Qur'an; Scholars; Scribes

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LOVE POETRY

Pre-Islamic poetry knows no independent love poems, but *qasīdas* (poems that traverse a sequence of major themes) commonly open with an elegiac remembrance of a love affair *(nasīb)*. Often the vestiges of an encampment trigger a memory. The woman, it may be, belonged to another tribe and left with it. She may have sent the poet packing once she saw his hair turning gray. The essential motif is that of a past parting. With fine descriptions of the desert setting, the *nasīb* is often beautiful in itself, but its function in the *qasīda* is to contrast the elegiac with the poet's self-possessed brio in other episodes (desert journeys, war, feasts, and so on), and the personal with his life as a member of the tribe.

Love poetry proper *(ghazal)* appeared in the Umayyad period. It was now possible to write about love in the present and future. 'Umar ibn abī Rabī'a (d. ca. 103/721) is the foremost representative of the ijāzī school, based in the cities of Mecca and Medina. Whether he is describing jolly, amorous encounters occasioned by the pilgrimage, or tears exacted by caprice, his poetry is usually distinguished by a lightness of spirit, an urban atmosphere, and a delicious diction incomparably simpler than that of pre-Islamic poetry. Some of the poets of Kūfa—not quite a school, perhaps—wrote with pleasant frivolity about slave girls and libertinism. Very different is the 'Udhrī ghazal. The Banū 'Udhra were said to be a people who die when they love. 'Udhrī poetry (among whose principal representatives are Jamīl ibn Ma'mar and Qays ibn al-Mulawwa, known as Majnūn Laylā) is informed by chaste yearning for an unattainable woman, often leading to melancholy, madness, or death. The romancing biographies of these poets were widely read.

In the early 'Abbasid period, Bashshār ibn Burd (d. ca. 167/783), Abū Nuwās (d. ca. 200/815), and the other "moderns" embraced the diverse strains inherited from the Umayyad age, and enriched the ghazal with wit and rhetorical charm. The classical ghazal (which was to last through all of premodern Arabic literature) abounds in conventions of form and image but can reach great sophistication in its psychological insight—tender or ironic—into the lover's condition.

In the 'Abbasid age and thereafter, love poetry, written to boys as often as to women, could be sly

or even earthy. More often, however, in an exaltation of sensibility, the poet would revel in checked desire and the torments laid on him by a proud or skittish object of his affections. Ibn Azm of Cordoba (d. 456/1064), the author of a famous treatise on love, soberly reminds us that there is no shame in the lover's humble submission, for in reality the beloved is his social inferior. Aspects of Arabic love poetry have been compared to courtly love, but it has also been noted that these same aspects could also be found in Ovid. The troubadours' emphasis on the joy of love is on the whole absent from Arabic love poetry, and while Arabic treatises on love do speak of the virtues induced in a lover, the ennobling effect of love was not a major theme for the poets.

ANDRAS HAMORI

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M

MADRASA

A *madrasa* is a college of Islamic law. The madrasa was an educational institution in which Islamic law (fiqh) was taught according to one or more Sunni rites: Maliki, Shafi'i, Hanafi, or Hanbali. It was supported by an endowment or charitable trust (waqf) that provided for at least one chair for one professor of law, income for other faculty or staff, scholarships for students, and funds for the maintenance of the building. Madrasas contained lodgings for the professor and some of his students. Subjects other than law were frequently taught in madrasas, and even Sufi seances were held in them, but there could be no madrasa without law as technically the major subject. In theory—but not always in practice—professors held their positions for life. Most madrasas were endowed by persons of wealth and power, such as sultans, viziers, amirs (military commanders), merchants, and qadis (judges) or their wives.

There is no consensus on the origin of the madrasa. Various scholars have tried to show that it was inspired by Buddhist monasteries in Central Asia, that it derived from the Turkish muyanliq (a charitable fortified hospice, or ribat in Arabic) in Central Asia, that it was stimulated by the growth of libraries, that it was the outgrowth of the function of the mosque (where law was also taught), or that it arose from inns (khans) that were built near mosques. In the latter case, these inns served as residences for the students. The mosque–inn complex thus represented the transition to the madrasa.

The first madrasas appeared during the late tenth century in the eastern Islamic world. By the early eleventh century, there were several in Nishapur. The Seljuk vizier Nizam al-Mulk (1064–1092) greatly promoted their spread. He founded the renowned Nizamiyya Madrasa in Baghdad in 1065 for the Shafi'is and proceeded to establish similar colleges in other cities of the Seljuk Empire. His primary objective was to use this institution to strengthen Sunnism against Shi'ism and to gain influence over the religious class. Madrasas rapidly spread from east to west. By the middle of the thirteenth century, they were found in profusion in Anatolia, Syria, and Egypt. They reached Andalus by 1349, but they apparently did not take root there.

In addition to being centers of instruction in law, madrasas could be used to exercise influence over the religious class, because the founder of a madrasa could specify in his deed of endowment the subjects to be taught and the salaries to be paid. The ruling elite often took advantage of this. However, madrasas played other roles in Muslim society that often differed according to time and place. In Anatolia, their waqfs often came from conquered Christian property; they thus developed there at the expense of the Church. In Syria, they probably stiffened Muslim resistance to the Crusaders by helping to rally the faithful. In Egypt, they added to the pressure on Copts to convert to Islam. Altogether, they were probably the most important Muslim religious institution after the mosque. There is evidence that the Western college originated from the madrasa.

Gary Leiser

See also Buddhism and Islam; Christians and Christianity; Law and Jurisprudence; Malikism; Merchants, Muslim; Schools of Jurisprudence; Seljuks; Sufism and Sufis; Sultan; Sunni Revival

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MAHMUD OF GHAZNA

Abu'l-Qasim Mahmud (971–1030 CE, r. 998–1030) was the second ruler of the Ghaznavid dynasty in the eastern Islamic lands. The eldest son of Sebuktigin (a Turkish commander under the Samanid dynasty of Transoxiana) and the daughter of a chief of Zabulistan, Mahmud fought along with his father in the internecine warfare that characterized the end of the Samanid empire and was awarded honorifics and command of the army of Khurasan. In 994, Mahmud secured direct investiture of Khurasan from the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Qadir, consolidated Samanid domains south of the Oxus, including Ghazna, and brought under control the dynasties of the upper Oxus that had paid tribute to the Samanids.

Mahmud's reign saw constant campaigning, an unbroken string of victories, and the establishment of the largest empire in the eastern Muslim world since the 'Abbasids. His massive centralized administration, financed by often excessive taxation of Khurasan and Afghanistan, laid the foundations for a Persianate state in India and provided a military-state model for later Muslim rulers. Mahmud's empire building combined direct conquest with the creation of tribute-paying states. He defeated the Qarakhanids near Balkh (1008), the Khwarazmshahs in Gurganj (1017), the Ismaili rulers of Multan (1010), and the Buyids in northern Persia (1029), and he made vassal states out of the Farighunids in Juzjan (998), the Shers of Gharchistan (998), the Saffarids in Sistan (1003), and the rulers of Makran and Kushdar in Baluchistan (998 and 1011, respectively). The 1008 defeat of a confederacy of Hindushahis, headed by Anandpal of Waihind, also ensured success in northern and central India. Mahmud's signature campaigns against Hindu religious centers, including the Somnath temple in Gujarat in 1020, brought an influx of bullion to Ghazna and further financed Mahmud's sophisticated bureaucracy and professional army. Despite financial success, however, Mahmud established Muslim dominion in India only up to Lahore, where he left a governor in 1020 and which remained a frontier for campaigns for two centuries.

Although it was the subject of controversy, the religious impetus of Mahmud's Indian campaigns was minimal; he fought equally tenaciously against Muslim rivals and maintained many Hindu troops as a check on their Turkish counterparts. However, Mahmud did project himself as a staunch Sunni and supporter of the 'Abbasid caliphs. The dynasty as a whole favored the Hanafi school, but some sources reveal Mahmud's sympathy for the Karramiyya sect as well as his later decision to become a Shafi'i.

Ghazna inherited Samanid administrative and cultural traditions and, under Mahmud, became second only to Baghdad in importance. Keen to join the larger Muslim tradition of sponsoring scholarship and the arts, Mahmud founded an academy and a royal museum that were enriched by the libraries of conquered cities. Although Mahmud spoke Turkish, his court oversaw new developments in Persian, most notably in lyrical romances and romantic epics as well as a budding Turkish literature. Well after his death, Mahmud's Indian campaigns inspired epic and hagiographical literature, and his relationship with a slave created the famous poetical pairing of "Mahmud and Ayaz." Luminaries of Mahmud's court included the poets Firdawsi (of *Shahnama* fame), Farrukhi, Manuchihri, and Unsuri, and the polymath al-Biruni.

Homayra Ziad

See also 'Abbasids; Abu Hanifa; Al-Biruni; Al-Shafi'i; Buyids; Epics, Persian; Firdawsi; Ghaznavids; India; Iran; Ismailis; Khurasan; Lahore; Persian; Poetry, Indian; Poetry, Persian; Samanids; Shahnama; Sindh; Turkish and Turkic Languages; Turks

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MAHMUD-AL-KATI, AFRICAN SCHOLAR

Mahmud-al-Kati was a scholar of Soninke origin who died near Timbuktu in 1593. He married one of the daughters of Akiya Dawud, who reigned in the Songhay Empire from 1549 until 1582. He wrote a work about the history of the Songhay Empire that was later incorporated in the *Ta'rikh al-Fattash,* a compilation of texts to which sons and in-laws later added data or edited the existing text. This compilation is currently one of the most important sources for the history of the Sudan and for that of the Songhay Empire in particular. The authorship and interpretation of some parts of this compilation are still points of scholarly debate.

Jan Jansen

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MAIMONIDES, RABBI MOSES BEN MAIMON (1135–1204)

Maimonides is one of the most illustrious and influential Jewish figures of the medieval period. He was born in Cordoba, where tolerant and enlightened Muslim rulers had turned the city into a center of excellence for Jewish and Muslim knowledge. His lineage was scholarly—his father, Maimon, was dayyan (judge of the religious court) of the city—and Maimonides received the best of Jewish education and Islamic sciences.

As the result of religious persecution by the Almohads of North Africa, who invaded the caliphate of Cordoba, Maimon and his family left Cordoba in 1148 and wandered in Spain and North Africa for eight or nine years, finally settling in Fez in 1160. It was during this difficult period of wandering that Maimonides began his halakhic activity. His commentary on the Mishnah, written in Arabic, is an attempt to explain the meaning of the Mishnah without expecting the reader to have knowledge of the minutiae of the Talmudic discussions and commentaries. Also, it is the beginning of his lifelong efforts to harmonize Aristotelian philosophy with revelation. In the book, he discusses his Thirteen Principles of Faith, the first such creed in Jewish law, which include the three principles of Unity, Incorporeality, and Immutability of God.

In Fez, Maimonides continued his general studies but concentrated specifically on medicine. He also began his continued and consequential response with Sephardi Jewish communities, which lasted until his death. Maimonides' personal experiences of religious persecution and wandering had caused him to have an empathic awareness of human suffering. His consoling and educating outlook in these matters is well demonstrated by his famous letters to communities under religious persecution. In his *Iggeret ha-Shemmad (Letter on Forced Conversion),* also known as *Iggeret Kidush ha-Shem (Letter of the Sanctification of the Divine Name)*, while utterly condemning religious persecution, he did not advocate martyrdom for the persecuted Jews. His religious decision was that Jews must leave the country where they are obliged to negate the divine law; this was certainly the decision that Maimonides and his family followed. Despite bitter experiences with religious persecution, Maimonides did not become an anti-Muslim and declined to classify Muslims as idolaters.

Around 1165, Maimonides and his family were again put under pressure to convert. They left Morocco and took a hazardous boat journey to Acre, which was at the time under Christian rule. The family sailed for Egypt, and, after a short stay in Alexandria, settled in the Jewish quarter in Fostat near Cairo.

In Fostat, Maimonides took up the honorary position of becoming the religious leader of the community as well as continuing his intellectual output. His first wife had died young, so in Egypt he married his second wife and had his only son, Abraham, to whose education he devoted himself. He completed his commentary on the Mishnah in 1168. A year later, the tragic drowning of his beloved brother, David, a merchant who had supported Maimonides in his studies, dealt him a heavy blow. Maimonides rejected the idea of earning his living as a paid rabbi. Being a religious leader was an honor, not a means of employment. He advised his student that it was better to earn a meager living as a weaver than as a paid rabbi. Maimonides chose to practice medicine, and, in 1170, he became personal physician to the family of Sultan Salladin of Egypt, a position that he kept until his death.

The two most scholarly and influential books of Maimonides are *Mishneh Torah (Repetition of the Law)* and *Dalālat al-Hā'irin (The Guide of the Perplexed)*.

Mishneh Torah, the only work that Maimonides wrote in Hebrew, is an authoritative legal code that revolutionized the study of Jewish law. Written in a lucid and succinct Hebrew for an educated and believing Jew, it is the first attempt in Jewish history at an innovative systemization and categorization of the Jewish Law based on rational philosophy.

The greatest Jewish Aristotelian and the supreme rationalist, Maimonides' magnum opus is *The Guide,*

which was completed in 1200. Written in terse philosophical language, it is a systematic exposition of Aristotelian philosophy and its synthesis with Jewish faith. The book addresses a faithful and religious Jew, who, having studied philosophy, is troubled by the anthropomorphic biblical references to God. Maimonides demonstrated that all such readings should be understood allegorically and went on to present God as an Aristotelian first cause and self-intellectualizing intellect. Furthermore, Maimonides posits the theory that the human individual's share in divine providence is proportionate to his intellectual perfection.

Mehri Niknam

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MAJLISI, AL-

Al-Majlisi Muhammad Baqir ibn Muhammad Taqi (1627/28–1699/1700) was one of the most authoritative and prolific hadith (tradition) scholars within Shi'ism. During the reign of the last Safavid Shahs, he was appointed Shaykh al-Islam of Isfahan (1686/87) and thereby also assumed an unprecedented political importance. Western judgment of both his activities and his character has remained extremely controversial until today, ranging from a cautiously benevolent assessment (Donaldson) to outright condemnations for his fanaticism (Browne, Lockhart, Turner). Among Shi'i authors, by contrast, al-Majlisi's decisive role in spreading Shi'ism thought in Iran is nearly universally acknowledged. Al-Majlisi managed to popularize his teachings by writing numerous works in an easily understandable Persian style in which he summarized the essential doctrines for the common people. At the same time, he used his power to fight anything that he considered to be a heresy. Apart from non-Muslims (above all Hindus), his main enemies came from within Islam, and he propagated a relentless persecution of Sunni Muslims as well as of Sufism.

Al-Majlisi's most important field of interest was the hadith, which in Shi'ism is not restricted to the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad but also comprises the sayings of the twelve Imams, most important among them being Muhammad al-Baqir and Ja'far al-Sadiq. His encyclopedic compilation *Bihar al-anwar (Oceans of Lights)* is the monumental continuation and perfection of earlier works, such as al-Kulayni's *al-Kafi*. Far more than a mere collection of legal prescriptions, the 110 volumes of this work may be regarded as the cornerstone of Shi'i identity. The scope of topics ranges from epistemology, theology, and law to cosmography, medicine, social behavior, ritual purity, and the Qur'an. Most important, however, is the doctrine of the Imamate: approximately one-third of the entire work is devoted to the Shi'i understanding of history, the virtues of the Imams, and eschatology as embodied by the hidden twelfth Imam, the Mahdi. Apart from this compilation, al-Majlisi composed a number of other works about the hadith, most notably *Hilyat al-Muttaqin (The Adornment of the God-fearing), Haqq al-Yaqin (The Absolute Truth)*, and *Hayat al-Qulub (The Life of the Hearts)*.

Rainer Brunner

See also Eschatology; Hadith; Isfahan; Safavid; Shi'ism; Sufism

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MAJUSI, AL-, OR HALY ABBAS

'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Majūsī (fl. AH 364/975 CE) eminent name in Islamic medicine as the author of a single known work, *al-Kitāb al-Malakī: Kāmil al-Òinā'a al-Ôibbīya* (*The Royal Book: Completion of Medical Art;* the title has often been abridged to just one of its two components), one of the most renowned Arabic medical compendia.

Life

Apart from the few data that can be gleaned from his names and his unique book, no reliable biographical evidence about al-Majūsī is extant; this suggests that he never made it to the caliphal and (political turmoil notwithstanding) cultural capital of Baghdad. Rather, al-Majūsī ("the Magian"; his name indicates a Zoroastrian family background, as his father's and his own fairly nondenominational given names may do also) appears to have studied and practiced in his native Iranian province of Fārs—or rather its administrative center Shīrāz—at the time the residence of the ambitious and powerful Būyid governor 'Aud al-Dawla. Al-Majūsī's teacher of medicine, Mūsā ibn Sayyār, having operated within the Būyid orbit, he himself inscribed his work to 'Aud al-Dawla, indeed presenting it to him exclusively; perhaps only after the dedicatee's death did it become accessible to the wider public. On the basis of 'Aud al-Dawla's royal *(malakī)* title as extant in al-Majūsī's work, its presentation to him can be dated to the interval 363–367/974–978, the only approximately precise date in al-Majūsī's life (the presumed year of his death, 384/994, cannot be ascertained).

The Royal Book

The Royal Book: Completion of Medical Art ranks as one of the foremost examples of classical Islamic Galenism, primarily because of its extensive scholarship, lucid exposition, and dominant rationalism (i.e., the near-total absence of occult material) but also because of its wide reception in subsequent centuries; despite its being overshadowed by Avicenna's *Canon Medicinae (Kitāb al-Qānūn fī l-Ôibb*, *Canon of Medicine)*, it continued to be perused not merely within Islamic civilization but also in Hebrew and Latin Europe. In Constantine the African's pioneering adaptation (ca. 1080 CE), it was titled *Pantegni*, whereas Stephen of Pisa/Antioch stayed closer to the original in his own translation of 1127 and its title, *Liber Regius* (and variants). According to a pattern established since late antiquity, the author presents the entire syllabus of medical learning in one book; however, not merely in his own view, his work surpasses his predecessors both quantitatively and qualitatively. It is neatly divided into two sections—theory and practice—of ten treatises each and that cover the areas of anatomy, physiology, dietetics and preventive medicine, etiology and symptomatology of localized and general ailments, diagnosis by the pulse and uroscopy, medicinal therapy and surgery, and, finally, pharmacy.

Lutz Richter-Bernburg

See also Medicine

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MALAY PENINSULA

Early Knowledge and Trade

From around the second century CE, the Malay Peninsula was a major meeting point along the maritime

counterpart to the Silk Road. During the early tenth century, Abu Zayd of Siraf even described the narrow isthmus at Kra as the midpoint between the lands of the Arabs and China. Although there is evidence of some overland traffic at Kra—carried between Krabi on the west coast and Chaiya in the east—the vast bulk of international shipping, with holds filled with Chinese ceramics and Middle Eastern glass and glass products (some of which are thought to have contained unguents or perfumes), seems to have passed through the Straits of Malacca to the south. For this reason, the history of the peninsula is inextricably linked to the major island Sumatra and most especially to East Sumatra, which is the site of a series of kingdoms. Of these, the eighth- and ninth-century rulers of Srivijaya claimed some authority over the Straits and as far north as Kra from their bases in Palembang and Jambi.

At various points in the region, Chinese, Indian, and Middle Eastern vessels would harbor to take on supplies and await the appropriate monsoonal winds to carry them further on their respective journeys. Indications are that eastward-bound vessels would have skirted the Sumatran coast, calling at Lamreh in present-day Aceh before docking at the major ports in East Sumatra. Then, after gaining the appropriate shift in winds, they would head north through the Riau Archipelago and on to Tioman island, the coast of Champa, and southern China beyond.

At all of these points, the prestige goods of the archipelago's seas and forests were exchanged. These included shells, alluvial gold, ambergris, forest products such as resins and rare birds, camphor wood, textiles, and—perhaps most famously—spices. Some spices, such as cloves, were in use in both Rome and China by the second century. These, like nutmeg and mace, had already been brought from their sources farther afield in the Moluccas and the Banda archipelago by archipelagic shipping.

Muslim knowledge of the straits passage varied in accordance with the security and prosperity of both the maritime routes and the mainland Silk Road. Much of what was known until the time of al-Idrisi reflected information gathered during the ninth century, at a time when the ʻAbbasids were actively pursuing the Indian Ocean trade with China from the Persian Gulf port of Siraf. It is in these accounts that there are clear references to peninsular Kra, the north Sumatran Lamreh (known in the texts as Ramni or Rami), and echoes of the claims of the eighth-century rulers of Srivijaya, known to Abu Zayd as Sribuza or even as Zabaj, a term long used as a coverall for the lands of the Malay peoples inhabiting both sides of the Straits.

Although the name *Zabaj* has clear salience and importance in the early Arab accounts, its etymology has been disputed. Some have seen it as a distant pronunciation of an Indian adjectival form, Javaka, meaning "peoples of Java," whereby Java is understood to refer to both Sumatra and Java. However, comparison with reconstructed forms of the Chinese gloss for an older archipelagic state based in Sumatra called Jaba (Jia-ba-dej; i.e., Jabadesh) and the phonetic agreement of this form with Greek names for the same entity (Zabai, Iabadiou) are much closer to Zabaj.

Even so, by the time al-Idrisi did record information relating to the areas once covered by Zabaj and Kra, Palembang—the former chief entrepôt of Srivijaya—had long been reduced by a raid from the Tamils of southern India in 1025. In any case, as Jacq-Hergoualc'h has suggested, various entrepôts on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, such as Tambralinga, already exercised a degree of independence well before the eleventh-century raids, especially during periods of relative quiet in the China trade. One might also draw the same conclusions for many of the Malay and Khmer ports in the region. Certainly various toponyms are emphasized in the geographies of al-Biruni and al-Idrisi at the expense of Zabaj and Sribuza, including Malayu (Jambi), Fansur, and Rami, as well as the more stable mainland entities of Cambodia (Qmar) and Champa (Sanf).

During the late thirteenth century, the region of Sumatra and the Malay peninsula came under the hegemony of the Javanese kingdoms of Singasari and then Majapahit after a Mongol intervention in 1293. Both dynasties actively sought to monopolize both intra- and extraregional trade. It is also apparent that Javanese claims of suzerainty were accepted by both the southern Song and the later Yuan (Mongol) dynasties. The view of a Java-dominated world was also accepted in the Indian Ocean. The geographies of Yaqut and his successors refer more and more to Java as a regional construct and relegate Zabaj and its affinates to the fields of cosmography and the bizarre.

Although Arab geographic knowledge vacillated in accordance with the rumors of shifting patterns of authority in a distant region, the success and continuity of trade was not tied exclusively to the durability of the states that sought advantage from it. One scholar has remarked about the relative durability of trading guilds—often tied to ethnic and religious networks, whether Tamil, Arab, or Chinese—as compared with the kingdoms that rose and fell along the same coasts. Although it seems clear that most Muslim vessels were bound for China, this was not the only West Asian trade to touch on insular Southeast

Asia. Documents from the Geniza trove, found in Cairo during the late nineteenth century, suggest that there was also direct contact between Egypt, Kra, and the west coast of Sumatra at Fansur between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. This was handled by Jewish merchants and their Malay partners, and it facilitated the movement of the all-important spices from the Indian Ocean into the Mediterranean through the port of Alexandria.

Java, Spice, and Conversion

Today the area that constitutes the nation-states of Indonesia, Brunei, and Malaysia is largely Muslim and Shafi'i in orientation. Although the presence of Muslim traders seems certain from at least the ninth century, there is great uncertainty about how or when Islam came to prevail in the western reaches of the archipelago. The first epigraphic evidence of any Muslim ruler comes from the northern tip of Sumatra, the site of the former port kingdom of Samudra (also known as Pasai). Here is to be found the restored tomb of a sovereign called Malik al-Salih, conventionally dated to 1297. Even so, Samudra is not remembered by Malay accounts as the first Muslim kingdom of the archipelago. Malay literature speaks instead of the neighboring port of Perlak as the first Muslim kingdom and the agent of the conversion of Samudra Pasai. This chronology is confirmed by the account of Marco Polo, who passed through the Straits in approximately 1291 and mentioned the existence of a major island called Java Minora that consisted of eight separate kingdoms. Of these he described Ferlec (Perlak), Basma, Samara, Dagroian (Indragiri), Lambri (Lamreh), and Fansur and remarked that, although most were under the rule of the Great Khan (of Java), Ferlec had been recently won over by the Muslim merchants who frequented the place.

Although trade must have played a vital role in the conversion of Sumatra's entrepôt ports, indigenous accounts stress the role of saints from the Middle East who had ventured to the islands via ports in southern India. The great lag between first contact and royal conversion—as opposed to the local instances that must have occurred betwen traders and locals—has caused some scholars to suggest the possibility of a new missionary impulse led by Sufis after the Mongol sack of Baghdad. A. H. Johns once proposed that these activities were perhaps entwined with the activities of trade guilds, whereas others have pointed to the complex nature of conversion in the archipelago involving merchants of many ethnic groups (Tamil, Persian, Chinese, and Arab) who came to play a greater role at courts.

One possible argument for the slow spread of Islam in the region after the late thirteenth century is that it was connected to a weakening in previous structures in the face of the spread of Javanese power and then a vacuum caused by its decline. According to the account of Prapanca, which was written during the mid-fourteenth century, the Javanese sent military expeditions into the Straits in the 1270s, and the various statelets of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula remained loyal vassals. However, it is possible that the Javanese appointed relatively disinterested outsiders as local governers or tax collectors with ties to the all-important international trade and most probably with Ayyubid Yemen and Egypt. The fact that Malik al-Salih adopted an Ayyubid-style name and that the first known individual in the Middle East with a patronymic connection to Southeast Asia was a mystic active in Aden and the Red Sea Coast linked to the spice trade, Abu ʻAbd Allah Masʻud b. ʻAbd Allâh al-Jawi (fl. ca. 1277–ca. 1315) points to such a connection. Furthermore, the hagiographic stories about ʻAbd al-Qadir al-Jilani, which were collected and edited by an adept of al-Jawi, ʻAbd Allâh b. Asʻad al-Yafiʻi (1298–1367), were later reworked as Malay, Javanese, and Sundanese recensions, and they appear to have influenced one of the earliest stories of royal conversion in the archipelago. One legend of al-Jilani speaks of his gaining the gift of eloquence from the sputum of the Prophet. The king of Pasai was said to have been converted in a dream in which the Prophet also spat in his mouth and gave him the ability to recite the Qur'an in its entirety.

When Ibn Battuta passed through the region in around 1345, he, too, commenced his account of the island of Sumatra by remarking that it was the island of the Javanese people. He also made sure to note that it was the source of the famous incense Luban Jawi (benzoin). Meanwhile, within the area of Java, which he seems to have located as the lands below the Peninsula in toto, Ibn Battuta detailed his experiences in two kingdoms. One of these was Samudra, which then consisted of a walled settlement upriver under the authority of a ruler called Malik al-Zahir, a form that echoes that of his predecessor Malik al-Salih. The next court he visited—and where he received a much more cursory welcome—was called Mul Jawa. Although his slighting description of its non-Muslim king could have been applied to any number of potentates east of Samudra and indeed is most often identified with Java or the Peninsula, this was most likely Jambi given that Ibn Battuta was following the same well-worn route that his predecessors had followed for more than five centuries.

Whatever the roots and reasons for royal conversion, the spread of Islamic rule and its concomitant symbolic forms—including dress, Arabic script, and titles—gathered momentum during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, although this process often contained clear reference to the previously prevailing Indianized traditions. For example, the next major known inscription after the tomb of Malik al-Salih comes from the eastern side of the Malay Peninsula at Trengganu. This inscription, datable to either 1303 or 1387, takes the form of a large stone engraved in Malay written in a modified Arabic script and records the adoption of new Islamic rules. Even so, although the rules and script pay tribute to Islamic models, much of the terminology—including the name of God—is drawn from Sanskrit and Malay. Certainly rules and rulings were adopted by local sovereigns. According to Ibn Battuta, the ruler of Samudra was an avid discussant on matters of Shafi'i law, the school that now predominates in the region to the practical exclusion of all other forms.

The Malacca Sultanate

As Islam spread down the coasts of Sumatra—being adopted by the courts of Aru and Deli in the 1400s—it also gained adherents on the peninsula. It may also have served a useful purpose for escapees from Javanese hegemony seeking international support. According to what is often regarded as the preeminent account of Malay royal lineage, the *Sulalat al-Salatin (Malay Annals)*, the dynasty of Malacca was founded around 1400 by a refugee prince from Palembang after an interim period in Temasek, now occupied by the city of Singapore.

Oliver Wolters has presented the Malaccan story as an account stressing the continuum of authority from long-lost Srivijaya, although much interpretation is required to extract the precise details from the narrative. What is clear, however, is that the city came, in the fifteenth century, to play the role once performed by Palembang and Jambi as the key mediator for the China trade in the Straits, with its rulers continuing the practice of monopolistic protection, close partnership with the sea peoples who both patrolled the islands and gathered its hinterland products, and good harbor facilities with low taxation.

Most relevant to present concerns, however, is that the ruler of Malacca appears to have adopted Islam with the encouragement of the lord of Pasai. The subsequent history of Islam during this period is often presented by Malaysian national and colonial historiography as a golden age, with Malacca playing the dominant role in Straits shipping.

It is clear that Malacca became an important hub for trade with the wider region through its ties to international commerce. Recognition from the Chinese emperor in 1405 combined with statements of loyalty to both the neighboring powers of Tai Ayudhya and Java's Majapahit, would also have served this end. Ultimately, it surpassed Samudra in influence, although it, Aru, and Kedah on the peninsula remained strong rivals. Sultan Muzaffar Shah (d. ca. 1459) even managed to incorporate much surrounding territory—Dinding, Selangor, Muar, and Bintan—and secured the allegiance of Pahang on the east coast of the peninsula. Malaccan influence was also felt across the strait, in Inderagiri and Kampar, which had access to the mineral wealth and pepper plantations of the Minangkabau highlands. The successors of Sultan Muzaffar then added Bernam and Perak on the peninsula, the Riau archipelago, and Siak. By the time of the last ruler, Mahmud Shah (r. 1488–1528), the Sultanate took in Pahang on the east coast, the west coast between Perak and Johor, large swathes of the east coast of Sumatra, and insular possessions in the South China Sea and the Riau archipelago. Even so, it was never in total control of the passage and always had to contend with the rivalry of other Malay states to the north under the influence of the Thais and the still-active Sumatran entities of Aru and Samudra-Pasai.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Malacca was the principal Muslim power that was responsible for the wider dissemination of the faith to the further reaches of the archipelago (e.g., in the spice-gathering zones of the Moluccas) and indeed the propagation of its form of Malay as the prestige language of interethnic communication. Its ruler was confident enough to pledge his fealty to China and Ayudya, but he no longer regarded Java as a threat. Indeed, Malacca was now the primary magnet for both intra-archipelagic and international trade. Its regional foci were reflected in the appointment of four different harbormasters to deal with the traffic from Gujerat; the peoples of southern India, Bengal, Pasia, and Pegu; those from Java, Palembang, Banda, and the Moluccas; and those of China, Champa, and the Ryukyu archipelago.

Because of the volume of trade and its strategic location, Malacca was identified by the Portuguese as the key regional prize after their arrival in the Indies in 1509. The city was captured by Albuquerque in 1511.

Some have seen this moment as one of galvanization for the Muslims of the archipelago against Christian aggression, but such claims are overstated.

Significantly, the displaced Sultan Mahmud appealed to China for aid. By the same token, the taking of Malacca did not guarantee any Portuguese monopoly in the region but rather a chance to compete with the emerging states of importance. Among these, Aceh, which overwhelmed most of north Sumatra—including Samudra—gained in influence in the 1520s. The Acehnese also seem to have engaged in a degree of trade with the Portuguese, just as the rulers of Samudra had done, even allowing a Portuguese factory to be established there. Peninsular Johor also maintained trade relations, although only after a long period of intermittent attacks. It was then forced into an uneasy alliance with Malacca after 1536. Despite Acehnese ambitions of regional hegemony and trading relations with the Ottoman Empire, it would appear that it was only in the middle of the century—and perhaps with encouragement from local Ottoman spice procurers—that Aceh engaged Malacca in open warfare. To this end, the Acehnese rulers requested aid from the Ottomans, and a fleet was even dispatched in the 1560s. However, it was forced to deal with an uprising in Yemen, and what forces did arrive were primarily in the form of large cannon and artillery experts.

Aceh remained a regional force well into the seventeenth century in the company of the comprador states of Banten in Java and Johor on the peninsula. It was also during the seventeenth century that the Atlantic nations became more actively involved in the spice trade to the cost of their Portuguese and Spanish predecessors. Both the Dutch and the English sought to establish factories in Aceh, but they were refused and settled instead in ports further to the east at Batavia and Bencoolen. In the emerging struggle, Portugal was slowly excluded, even if Portuguese retained its importance alongside Malay as a language of regional importance. Malacca itself was finally taken by the Dutch in 1641.

The Doctrinal Importance of Aceh

Whereas Malacca holds center stage in modern Malay accounts of Islam and Islamization, it was Aceh that played the preeminent role in determining the future course of Malay Islam and indeed the mystically leaning Islam of many of the courts of the archipelago, such as Banten and Cirebon on West Java. Unlike earlier periods, there is a great deal of textual evidence surviving from the seventeenth century showing that north Sumatra was regarded as the leading site for interpretations of Sufism in the archipelago, especially as compared with Malacca, for which there is little evidence of great scholarly concern with Islamic matters outside of those of trade and legislation. Some of the earliest known Malayo-Muslim writings were composed by Hamzah al-Fansuri, whose patronym indicates that he came from the west Sumatran region of Fansur, which was long noted as a source of excellent camphor. Indeed, camphor is often referred to in his poetry, which also hints at induction into a Sufi order in Ayodhya and further travels to Mecca and Jerusalem. Although al-Fansuri was long thought to have died in Aceh during the late sixteenth century, the evidence—again based on a headstone—points instead to his passing in Mecca in 1527.

Whereas al-Fansuri was clearly a member of a mystical order, he left no known writings of an expository nature regarding his belief or his scholarly affiliations. Instead, the first such indigenous writings come from the pen of a scholar who acknowledged his intellectual debt to al-Fansuri, Shams al-Din al-Samutra'i (often spelled al-Samutrani; d. 1630), who highlighted the place of Malay as the primary language of exegesis of Arabic and Persian works.

Certainly Southeast Asia remained interlinked with an Indian Ocean world. The earliest accurately datable Malay work, the *Taj al-Salatin,* which was composed in Johor in 1601, makes repeated references to events and persons in India and to Arabic and Persian books read there. Even so, the intellectual motor of change lay not so much in the historical links with India itself but with the ongoing interaction with expatriate communities throughout the entire Indian Ocean, whether among Malays abroad in the Yemen and the Hejaz or with peripatetic scholars linked by trade and patronage of the courts.

One of the most famous such émigrés was apparently a Hadrami from India, Nur al-Din al-Raniri (d. 1656), who rose to prominence at the Acehnese court around 1637 under Sultan Iskandar II (r. 1636–1641) and who is often remembered for his condemnation of the works of al-Fansuri and al-Samutra'i as constituting deviant or heterodox understandings of Sufism. Under al-Raniri, a form of local inquisition was instigated, which resulted in the public burning of these works, and, apparently, of some of the followers. However, al-Raniri is also remembered more widely for his major contribution to Malayo-Islamic juridical literature, the *Sirat al-Mustaqim,* which remains one of the most important works of Shafi'i jurisprudence used in Malay-literate religious networks; it is often regarded as a work that sits in good company with the works of al-Ghazali. It is also noteworthy that, although the Islamization legends of Kedah (on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula) backdate Islamization to a putative connection with Pasai, the name

of the primary saint and the works cited in this regard are clearly linked to al-Raniri and his *Sirat*.

The contentious ascendancy of al-Raniri was undone in 1641, when a local challenger who was remembered as a scholar and mystic from the Minangkabau highlands gained the favor of the reigning sultana, Taj al-Alam Safiyat al-Din Shah (1641–1675); this was not unusual for Southeast Asia, with queens having ruled over Islamic states such as Pasai and later in Patani.

Although al-Raniri instituted a campaign against ostensibly deviant forms of mysticism, he was himself a Sufi. One Indonesian scholar, Azyumardi Azra, sees him as a key leader in a centuries-long program of reform and further Islamization in the archipelago as a whole. Still, the message of teachers like al-Raniri appears to have gained greater acceptance over time but in a more accommodationist local guise. This was presented by Abd al-Ra'uf al-Sinkili (1615–1693), who served under Iskandar II's female successor, Sultana Safiyat al-Din, and composed the first complete Malay exegesis of the Qur'an. This work, the *Tarjuman al-Mustafid*, was based heavily on the tafsir of "the two Jalals," al-Mahalli (1389–1459) and al-Suyuti (1445–1505). Although al-Sinkili's work is now increasingly rare, he laid the groundwork for the lasting importance and popularity of the Jalalayn in Southeast Asia.

MICHAEL LAFFAN

See also 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani; Al-Biruni; Ghazali; Ibn Battuta; Ibn Khurradadhbih; Al-Idrisi; Java; Merchants, Guilds; Merchants, Jewish; Scriptural Exegesis, Islamic; al-Shafi'i; Silk Roads; Southeast Asia, Languages and Literatures: Malay and Javanese; Sufism and Sufis; Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula; Sufism and Sufis; al-Suyuti; Yaqut; Yemen, Hadramaut; Hejaz; Ayyubids; Rasulids

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MALI EMPIRE

The Mali Empire gained fame from descriptions of Arab authors such as Ibn Battuta and Ibn Khaldun as well as from the fact that the founding of the Empire by Sunjata has been transmitted since the Middle Ages in the so-called Sunjata epic. As Ghana collapsed, Mali established itself as the leading power in the western Sudan, and it was famous for its riches derived from its gold mines. In the fourteenth century, the Mali Empire covered large parts of the African savannah. The heyday of the Mali Empire was either the period of Sunjata (probably the first half of the thirteenth century) or the reign of Mansa Musa (the first half of the fourteenth century). Around 1380, the Mali Empire lost influence to the rapidly growing Songhay Empire. In the Middle Niger, references to the Mali Empire seemed to have faded away occasioned by the rise of the rulers of Ségou in the seventeenth century. However, it is also possible that the rulers of Mali never had as strong a hold in this area as they did in the Upper Niger region. Currently, the Mali Empire is particularly remembered by the Maninka (Malinké) who live south of the city of Bamako (the capital of the present-day republic of Mali) and in northeastern Guinea.

The history of the Mali Empire has not been well documented in contemporary written sources. Most of the few available sources were written either after the heyday of the empire or/and from the perspective of a successor state of the Empire. Current scholarship envisions the Upper and Middle Niger area during the Middle Ages as going through centuries of a trend toward the creation of state organizations with

central agencies of redistribution and possessing a majority or monopoly of power and authority, at least episodically, for the duration of one or more regimes. Rulers accomplished centralization by absorbing—first politically through conquest or clientship and then culturally—regions into the Empire. Whether Mali was an "empire" depends to a large extent of the definition of the word.

Historiographically, the Mali Empire is the most illustrious empire of the medieval west Sudan. To understand the importance of the Mali Empire, a closer look at scholarly interpretations is necessary. The French colonial regime, according to the oral traditions, emphasized Sunjata's role as the alleged founder of the dynasty of rulers of Mali. Although Sunjata's name is mentioned in the Arab sources, data about his deeds come from oral accounts that were written down after 1850. These accounts, known as the Sunjata epic (Austen, 1999; Johnson, 2003) narrate Sunjata's quest for the throne of Mande. He was said to have been sent in exile by his older brother Dankaran Tuman, a weak figure who was subsequently defeated by the sorcerer-king Sumaoro Kanté of Susu (a kingdom that is not related to the present-day Soso ethnic group, who live in Guinea). After the occupation of Mande by Sumaoro, the people of Mande sent a delegation in search of Sunjata, a delegation that convinced him to return to Mande. The actual confrontation between Sunjata and Sumaoro Kanté is a wonderful story full of witchcraft and magic. Sumaoro is said to have transformed himself into the rocks near Koulikoro, which is one hundred kilometers east of Bamako. Sunjata thus liberated the people of Mande and became ruler. He gave each family a task in society at a meeting at the plain of Kurukanfugan (five kilometers north of present-day Kangaba, along the river Niger), thus establishing Mande society. Inherent to present-day Mande society is a tripartite division of its population into status categories: noblemen, artisans, and servants: This is a social system that was probably already in existence during the Middle Ages. In the village of Kangaba, every seven years, a ceremonial restoration and reroofing of the Kamabolon sanctuary takes place. During this ceremony, which evokes the imagination of many people in Mali and beyond, the authoritative recitation of the Sunjata epic is performed by the *jeliw* of the village of Kela. However, this recitation is a "secret" family affair; it takes place inside the sanctuary, and the hundreds of attendees are only allowed to watch the event from a distance. The Kamabolon ceremony is clear proof of the importance of the memory of the Mali Empire in present-day historical imagination.

Inevitably, Arab writers, when writing about the foundation of Mali, refer to the Sunjata epic. Moreover, this narration has functioned for centuries as a political charter for the Maninka (Jansen 2001). Sunjata also has a major appeal to political elites in West African nation states such as Mali (a name chosen by the political elite of Soudan Français in the 1950s, at the eve of independence), Guinea, and the Gambia. These countries base national histories on the Sunjata epic, and each considers the Mali Empire its historical predecessor, which sometimes leads to doubtful strategies to appropriate Sunjata into their own nation's medieval history (Conrad 1994).

Academic history, which considers the reign of Mansa Musa as the heyday of the Mali Empire, has traditionally emphasized information from written sources. It rejected history reconstructed by the French colonial regime on the basis of its solely oral traditions. However, this academic search for external validity seems to be in the process of falling victim to decreasing popularity, particularly among scholars of African origin, who are in search of a paradigm that may allow for an intensive use of twentieth-century oral tradition for African medieval history (Diawara, 2003). Hence, a politically inspired struggle regarding epistemologies is at the moment of this writing central in the scholarly appreciation of the Mali Empire.

The position of Islam in the Mali Empire is an issue of academic debate. It is generally accepted that most of the rulers of Mali adhered to Islam. Moreover, long-distance traders adhered to Islam; whether the common people adhered to Islam is not well known. Arab sources suggest that the rulers of Mali had economic interests that were achieved by not striving actively for the conversion to Islam of the local populations; after conversion, these individuals would work less in the gold mines.

Jan Jansen

See also Ibn Battuta; Ibn Khaldun; Mansa Musa

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MALIK IBN ANAS

Malik ibn Anas was a Medinan jurist whose teachings laid down the foundations of the Maliki school of law. He died in AH 179/796 CE in Medina at the age of eighty-five. He cultivated the study of hadith, fiqh, and qira'a.

Malik spent most of his life in Medina, where his scholarly activities appear to have been highly valued. In 144/761, the ʿAbbasid caliph al-Mansur entrusted him to transmit the Hassanids of Mecca a demand to hand over the Shiʿi pretenders Muhammad and Ibrahim b. ʿAbd Allah. The mission failed, and, in 145/762, Muhammad seized power in Medina. This rebellion seems to have been supported by Malik, because he issued a fatwa declaring that the homage paid to al-Mansur was not binding because it had been given under compulsion. When the rebellion failed, Malik was flogged by the ʿAbbasid governor of Medina, an action that strengthened his religious prestige. Subsequently, Malik came to terms with the government.

The most important writing attributed to him is the *Muwatta',* although the authorship and chronology of this book have been the subject of debate. The *Muwatta'* consists of a compilation of about two thousand Prophetic reports organized in sixty-one chapters dealing with questions of ritual *(ʿibadat)* and legal transactions *(muʿamalat)*. Its somehow hybrid character between hadith and fiqh is reflected in the fact that the *Muwatta'* is considered a legal textbook as well as—at least according to some scholars—one of the canonical collections of hadith. As the term *Muwatta'* suggests, Malik's compilation was intended to "level the path" to the implementation of justice and law. A distinctive feature of the *Muwatta'* is the role given to the practice of the people of Medina, which is put forward as an additional source of law as well as the decisive criterion in the interpretation of Qur'an and hadith.

Malik had hundreds of disciples who spread his teachings in all directions. The historian Ibn Jaldun mentions three geographical lines in this transmission: (1) Qayrawani; (2) Andalusian; and (3) Eastern (including Iraqi and Egyptian branches).

Qadi ʿIyad b. Musa pointed out the existence of twenty different versions of the *Muwatta',* the most famous and widespread being the riwaya of the Andalusian Yahya b. Yaya al-Laythi. Worthy of mention are also the transmissions of al-Shaybani, Ibn Bukayr, ʿAli b. Ziyad, al-Qaʿnabi, Abu Musʿab al-Zuhri, Suwayd al-Hadathani, Ibn al-Qasim, and ʿAbd Allah Ibn Wahb. Other relevant names in the spread and early development of Maliki doctrine are those of Ashhab, Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam, Asad b. Furat, Ibn al-Majishun, Mutarrif, Asbagh b. al-Faraj, Ibn Habib, and al-ʿUtbi.

Malik was also venerated as a trustworthy hadith scholar. The names of al-Awzaʿi, al-Layth b. Saʿd, al-Shafi'i, and al-Thawri stand out from among the mass of scholars who are reported to have transmitted prophetic reports from him.

Delfina Serrano Ruano

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MALIKISM

Malikism is a juridical–religious school the origins of which can be traced back to the teachings of Malik ibn Anas (d. Medina, AH 179/795 CE) as compiled in the *Muwatta'*. The legal arguments of this legal school are based on the Prophetic traditions *(hadith)* and the juridical practice *('amal)* of Medina, backed in many cases by Malik's personal opinion. As is true of other legal schools, Malikis base their doctrine on the Qur'an, Prophetic traditions, and *ijma*' (consensus). Malik was accused of limiting the concept of ijma' to the practice of the people of Medina, and he was accused as well of putting this practice on a level with the Prophetic traditions and with the precedents of the Righteous Caliphs and the opinions of the prominent Companions. He was additionally criticized for excessive resort to the *ra'y* (personal judgment) to restrict the application of certain hadiths or even to leave them aside. Finally, another criticism made to him was his application of the analogy *(qiyas)* to the ijma'. Malikis of later generations faced these criticisms by making an effort to "traditionalize" jurisprudence, although no significant changes were made in practice. It has to be said as well that diverse tendencies within the Maliki school existed (i.e., Iraqi, Andalusi, and Ifriqi) that were not reunited until the twelfth century. According to the historian Ibn Khaldun, this reunification was possible thanks to the efforts of the jurist Abu Bakr al-Turtushi (d. 1126).

From Medina, Malik's doctrines were disseminated in Egypt, Iraq, Khurasan, Syria, Yemen, the Maghrib, al-Andalus, and, much later, in Sudan and the Islamicized areas of the west of black Africa. Currently this is the prevalent legal school in Sudan, Morocco, Mauritania, Nigeria, and all of the Islamicized areas of sub-Saharan Africa, with the exception of the Indian Ocean coastline. Malikism coexists with Ibadi and Hanafi centers in Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya. Finally, there are some Maliki groups in the cities of Hijaz and the United Arab Emirates.

DELFINA SERRANO RUANO

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MALIKSHAH

Malikshah was the third sultan (r. 1072–1092 CE) of the Great Seljuk Empire. Born in 1055, he was a son of Sultan Alp Arslan, who named him his successor in 1066. Malikshah was with his father when he was assassinated in Transoxiana in 1072 and was immediately proclaimed sultan. Alp Arslan's grand vizier, Nizam al-Mulk, facilitated Malikshah's succession and retained the vizierate. Nizam was the guiding force behind Malikshah throughout his rule and managed the empire while the sultan expanded its borders and brought it to the height of its power and glory.

As soon as Malikshah became sultan, his uncle Qavurt, the ruler of Kirman, challenged his rule. Malikshah crushed Qavurt's revolt in Hamadan in 1074 and executed him. While Malikshah was dealing with Qavurt, the Qarakhanid ruler Shams al-Mulk pushed south from Transoxiana into Tukharistan. The sultan rushed to drive him back in 1073 and 1074, and he then gave his brother Tekish control of Tukharistan. At the same time, Malikshah shored up his borders in the same region against Ghaznavid

irredentism. Malikshah returned to suppress a rebellion of Tekish in 1080 and 1081 and again in 1084. In 1089, the sultan invaded Qarakhanid territory, taking Seljuk arms to their farthest point east and forcing the submission of the Qarakhanid ruler of Kashghar and Khotan.

In the west, Malikshah had to deal with a hostile Georgia, independent Kurdish and Arab emirates, and various Turkmen leaders. He campaigned twice in the Caucasus, during 1078/1079 and 1085, keeping Georgia on the defensive and the Kurds under control. In 1084, he destroyed the Kurdish Marwanid dynasty in Diyarbakr. Meanwhile, various independent Turkmen bands had been forcing back the Byzantine frontier. Malikshah's cousin Sulayman ibn Qutulmish was the leader of one such group. He captured Nicaea in 1075 and took control of much of western and central Anatolia. Malikshah was suspicious of him and around 1077 or 1078 sent an army to subdue him but without success. Sulayman's descendants later created the Seljuk Sultanate of Anatolia or Rum, which survived until 1307. For Malikshah, more important than Anatolia were Syria and Jazira. There he strove to ensure that the influence of the Shi'i Fatimids in Egypt was neutralized, that the major cities were in Sunni Muslim hands, and that the local Arab emirates were obedient. In 1084 and 1085, he campaigned in Syria and reached the Mediterranean.

Malikshah also devoted some attention to Arabia. Through diplomacy, he had the Friday sermon *(khutba)* in Mecca changed so that it was given in the name of the 'Abbasid caliph rather than the Fatimid. In 1076/1077, one of his commanders invaded the eastern coast of Arabia as far as Bahrain, attacking the Shi'i Qarmathians en route. Around 1091 or 1092, he sent a force to Yemen, which briefly occupied it and Aden.

Malikshah used Isfahan exclusively as his capital until his second trip to Baghdad in 1091, when he decided to make that city his winter capital and began large-scale building projects there. He generally excluded the 'Abbasid caliphs from affairs of state. Nizam al-Mulk had the task of enforcing Seljuk policy toward the caliphs. In 1087, he arranged a marriage between the caliph al-Muqtadi and a daughter of Malikshah. Relations between the sultan and caliph cooled, however, and, by 1091, Malikshah was planning to depose al-Muqtadi. Nothing came of this, because, in 1092, less than two months after Nizam al-Mulk was assassinated, the sultan suddenly died of fever. He was buried in Isfahan. At his death, the empire plunged into turmoil as his sons struggled for the throne.

Malikshah managed to unite most of the heartland of the Middle East, from Transoxiana to Syria, into one state, although this unity did not survive him. More important, he gave his full support to a revival of Sunnism, ensuring its triumph over Shi'ism. This revival was carried out on two fronts: one military and the other ideological. The sultan continuously campaigned to forcefully crush centers of Shi'ism; generally he was successful, but pockets of it persisted in remote areas. The Isma'ili propagandist Hasan-i Sabbah, for example, seized the fortress of Alamut in the Alburz mountains in Iran in 1090. At the same time, Nizam al-Mulk promoted Sunnism with the full financial and political resources of the state. He was especially renowned for establishing colleges of Sunni law (the Nizamiyya madrasas) in most of the major cities of the empire; these colleges flourished and had a lasting effect on Islam.

Gary Leiser

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MAMLUKS

The Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (1250–1517 CE) had its origins in the tempestuous middle decades of the thirteenth-century eastern Mediterranean region: the Ayyubid confederation, founded by Saladin in 1169, was troubled by intrafamily conflicts across the lands it controlled in Egypt, Syria, and upper Mesopotamia; the remnants of the Latin Crusader states were clustered around the Levantine port cities of Acre, Tripoli, and Antioch; and hostile Mongol armies were advancing from the East. In the face of challenges from fellow Ayyubids, al-Malik al-Salih Ayyub, the last major Ayyubid ruler of Egypt (r. 1240–1249), had recruited a corps of approximately eight hundred to one thousand military slaves (*mamluks*; literally "owned") to serve as a loyal bastion of his military forces (see Slavery, Military). These mamluks were referred to in the sources as either the "Bahri" corps (so named because their barracks were on an island in the river Nile [bahr al-Nil]) or the "Salihi" mamluks after their king's royal title. They subsequently played a key role in defeating



Fifteenth Century CE. The Dome of Sultan al-Ashraf Qaytbay's tomb and mosque. Exterior. Late Mamluk dynasty, 1474–75. Credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY. Mosque of Sultan Qaytbay, Cairo, Egypt.

the Egyptian Crusade of King Louis IX of France in 1248 through 1250. Al-Malik al-Salih Ayyub died during that campaign, and shortly thereafter his Mamluks murdered Ayyub's son and heir, who had threatened their lives and positions.

During the ensuing turbulent decade, this Mamluk corps fought with Ayyubid forces and each other. After they had consolidated their control of Egypt, they faced a Mongol invasion of Syria mounted after the latter's sack of Baghdad in 1258. An army led by these Salihi Mamluks and the Mamluk Sultan Qutuz (r. 1259–1260) defeated Mongol forces at 'Ayn Jalut in northern Palestine in 1260. On the return journey to Egypt, the Salihi Mamluk Baybars I assassinated Qutuz and became sultan.

Baybars (r. 1260–1277) was the true establisher of the Mamluk Sultanate, which soon became the major power in the eastern Mediterranean region. Under Baybars, the Mamluks established control over the Ayyubid Syrian provinces and began a concerted effort to eliminate the Crusaders from the eastern Mediterranean littoral; this goal was achieved by 1291. Until the mid-fourteenth century, the sultanate was engaged in a protracted struggle on its eastern borders with the Il-Khanid Mongols. The Mamluks then survived the campaigns into Syria by Timur at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and they later struggled with the Ottomans on their northern borders. The sultanate was conquered by the Ottomans in 1517, and, although their Mamluk system of rule ended, memories of Mamluk ideals and legacies played a subsequent role in the politics and society of Ottoman Egypt.

The Salihi Mamluks and their successors established a ruling system that was based on militarily defined ranks. Although actual practice over the more than two and half centuries of Mamluk history was often different, ideally the Mamluk sultan was at the top of a hierarchy of ranks and responsibilities open only to mamluks. Mamluk society valued loyalty to both the master who purchased, trained, and supported an individual mamluk and to the group of fellow mamluks belonging to that master. Because both the sultan and leading mamluk amirs (holders of military rank) would purchase mamluks of their own, the jockeying for power among the resulting factions was complex and frequently violent. A typical mamluk career might begin in the cavalry ranks and then progress through the posts of Amir of ten (number of mamluks in his retinue), Amir of forty, and Amir of one hundred. In addition to these promotions, a mamluk might receive positions in the military-political administration, from offices in the court to appointments as governors of towns or cities to commander of the army or even viceroy. As rank and position increased, a Mamluk would count on receiving an *iqta'* (a right of revenue from agricultural districts of varying size and wealth). Detailed land surveys were carried out early during the Mamluk sultanate to aid in the process of revenue determination and iqta' distribution. Although rewards would increase with higher rank, so to would risk. The Mamluk chronicles frequently relate the confiscation of wealth, imprisonment, and/or death of Amirs who had fallen from favor.

As freeborn Muslims, the sons of Mamluks, known collectively as *awlad al-nas* (''sons of the people''; i.e., the sons of those who matter), were to be excluded from this ruling system. It frequently occurred, however, that Mamluk Sultans attempted to bequeath office to their sons. Although it appears that there were family dynasties of sultans—the largest and most famous being the descendents of al-Malik al-Mansur Qalawun (r. 1280–1290)—most of these rulers were essentially place holders, controlled by leading Mamluk amirs who were themselves maneuvering to claim the throne. A notable exception to this was al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalawun, whose third reign (1309–1340) is often described as the zenith of Mamluk power.

The leading cities of the sultanate, Cairo and Damascus, were centers of learning in the medieval Islamic world. Both sultans and leading amirs patronized the construction of mosques, madrasas, hospitals, convents, dormitories, tombs, and other structures, many of which still survive. Financial support for these institutions and those who worked in them was often detailed in endowment deeds *(waqfs)*. These legal documents would typically identify the revenue sources dedicated for the expenses of the institution. One result of Mamluk patronage of the religio-educational segment of society was the composition of large number of works in many genres. Large numbers of texts survive and provide a wealth of primary source material unparalleled in other Muslim states of the time.

The revenue needed to cover the expenses of the Mamluk military system and to provide this high level of patronage came from many sources. The first and most important was the income generated by the tremendous agricultural fertility of Egypt; a second was the revenue generated from trade. The Mamluk domains were astride the lucrative trade routes linking the Mediterranean region to the Indian Ocean and points east. Mamluk Cairo and the Syrian coastal cities were thus hubs of commerce attracting goods and merchants from far beyond the Mamluk borders, many of whom did their business in commercial buildings constructed by the order of Mamluk sultans.

WARREN C. SCHULTZ

See also Maqrizi; Ibn Taghri Birdi; Ibn Battuta; Ibn Khaldun; Ibn Qadi Shuhba; Ibn Taymiyya; Ibn Wasil

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MA'MUN, AL-

'Abd Allah al-Ma'mun was the seventh 'Abbasid caliph (r. 813–833 CE). He assumed office after a brutal civil war against his brother, Muhammad al-Amin, shortly after the death of their father, Harun al-Rashid (d. 809). Al-Rashid's controversial succession arrangement had designated Muhammad as caliph and 'Abd Allah as governor of Khurasan. The ensuing conflict, informed by a debate about relations between Baghdad and the provinces and fueled by sibling antagonism and provocative gestures on the part of both brothers, led to an early rout (811) of al-Amin's forces by Tahir ibn al-Husayn (d. 822) and the subsequent assassination of al-Amin (813) in Baghdad. Years of fighting in and around the capital followed. This second round of upheaval undercut central authority in nearly every province. It was sparked by opposition to al-Fadl ibn Sahl (d. 817), al-Ma'mun's chief advisor, and al-Ma'mun's nomination of 'Ali al-Rida (d. 817) as his successor (Al-Rida, an 'Alid notable, became in due course the eighth imam of the Twelver Shi'is). The latter decision, which was quickly reversed, appears to have been an effort by al-Ma'mun to mend fences with the 'Alids and their supporters.

Relative calm in Iraq was established with al-Ma'mun's return to Baghdad (818–819). Efforts in Syria and Egypt by 'Abd Allah ibn Tahir (d. 844), followed by further campaigns (including that in Egypt led by al-Ma'mun' himself), contributed to the restoration of central control over most of the empire. The Tahirids and a mix of new Iranian, Central Asian, and Turkish forces recruited by al-Ma'mun and his influential brother, Abu Ishaq, largely replaced the Khurasani forces that had brought the dynasty to power decades earlier. (Abu Ishaq was to succeed his brother, adopting the regnal title al-Mu'tasim, in 833). These forces took part in campaigns on the Byzantine frontier, an effort to which al-Ma'mun devoted considerable energy. The period also witnessed a difficult conflict against the Zutt (a community of north Indian origin) in southern Iraq as well as turmoil in Khurasan. It was in relation to the latter troubles that the Tahirid family consolidated control over Khurasan.

The eldest of al-Rashid's sons, al-Ma'mun had received a classical education in Arabic, literature, the arts, and the Islamic religious sciences. His long reign, which was marked by a devotion to culture, is associated with two specific initiatives. The first was the Arabic translation of pre-Islamic works from Greek, Persian, Syriac, and Sanskrit. The effort, which was begun under the later Umayyads and then accelerated by the second 'Abbasid ruler, Abu Ja'far al-Mansur, became a hallmark of al-Ma'mun's reign. The effort, which provided Arab/Islamic urban culture with an array of vital works of science, medicine, philosophy, political theory, and literature, paved the way to a remarkable interplay of Hellenistic, Iranian, and Indian ideas with Arab/Islamic thought. The second initiative, which occurred very late in al-Ma'mun's reign, was closely associated with the Mu'tazili chief qadi, Ahmad ibn Abi Du'ad (d. 854). The Mihnah, a campaign in which leading Muslim scholars were required to declare support for the doctrine of the "createdness" of the Qur'an, was probably rooted in al-Ma'mun's desire to bring weight to the religious authority of the caliphate.

MATTHEW S. GORDON

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MANSA MUSA

By the fourteenth century, when the Mali empire reached its peak under the rule of Mansa Musa (also called Kankan Musa; r. 1312–1327 CE), Mali's reputation had spread throughout the Muslim world, not only because of commerce in gold, slaves, and other commodities but also because of the ruler's impressive pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324/1325. There is no direct eyewitness of this pilgrimage, but most often referred to is al-'Umari's report from 1337, according to which Mansa Musa was accompanied by an entourage of thousands. An oft-quoted anecdote reports Mansa Musa's generous gifts of gold during his stay in Cairo, which resulted in the huge inflation of the local gold price. Writers of later chronicles (e.g., Ibn Khaldun, Mahmud al-Kati) drew on al-'Umari, Ibn Battuta, and oral sources. It is of note that, although Ottoman reigning Sultans did not go on pilgrimage, they often made lavish endowments to the Holy Places, and there is a long tradition of royal pilgrimages in West Africa. Although Mansa Musa certainly struck the imagination of many generations after him, there is no direct evidence of his exploits in present-day West African oral tradition. However, it has often been suggested that the tradition of Nfa Jigin's pilgrimage to Mecca and his subsequent return with the amulets that are currently preserved in Komo secret societies was inspired by Mansa Musa's pilgrimage.

Jan Jansen

See also Mali Empire; Ibn Battuta

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MANUSCRIPTS

Islamic civilization, perhaps like no other, is a civilization of the book. Indeed, books were copied by hand for more than thirteen centuries in the main Islamic lands, and there are still places in the Islamic world where this activity is very much alive. The number of surviving manuscripts in Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish may be estimated at several million. The manuscript age produced a wealth of literature that covered the whole spectrum of the traditional branches of knowledge. The development of the early Islamic book culture, however, is closely connected with the Judeo-Christian culture of the Near East.

The speedy development of many Islamic disciplines was due to one major factor: the codification of the Qur'an. After the revelation given to Muhammad was codified in book form, the Qur'an became a model for the scribe; any innovations therefore in the way it was transcribed and embellished had repercussions on Arabic book production as a whole.

Despite the occasional destruction of books by natural or manmade disaster, early Arab authors often boasted about the number of books in circulation during their time. There was a tendency in medieval Islam to constantly create new disciplines and subdisciplines; this fact becomes evident just by looking at the great variety of types of compositions: short or long, original or abridged, commented on or glossed, versified or paraphrased.

As the intellectual output grew, it was necessary to compile lists of books in circulation, catalogs of collections, and records of study. Much of the output of this early period is documented in the well-known book catalog *al-Fihrist* by Ibn al-Nadim (d. AH 380/990 CE), which lists no fewer than 5,970 titles of books that were known or circulating during the author's time.

Medieval Islamic manuscripts were made in two different forms: the roll and the codex. The type of roll used was the rotulus (which opens vertically and in which the writing of the text runs perpendicular to the length of the roll) as opposed to the volumen (which opens horizontally).

Although most of the Arabic papyri containing literary texts survive as leaves or fragments from codices, rotuli were also used as a vehicle for their copying. A good example here is the work of 'Abd Allah ibn Lahi'ah (d. 174/790), which was made in roll form and preserved in Heidelberg, Germany. Again, although parchment was used more often for the codex, there are some early rotuli fragments of the Qur'an on parchment that have survived. The roll was also used for pilgrimage certificates, amulets (sometimes containing the complete text of the Qur'an), and calendars.

The vast majority of medieval manuscripts, however, were made as codices, consisting of one or a number of quires and each containing one or usually several folded sheets (bifolia). A typical medieval quire was made by nesting the folded sheets, and it consisted of either ten leaves (quinion) or eight leaves (quaternion).

Most of the non-Qur'anic codices from the medieval period were bound in a traditional binding that was characterized by a pentagonal flap that rested on the front of the text block (under the upper cover) and

that had a dual function: to protect the fore edge and to serve as a bookmark.

To ensure the correct sequence of gatherings and leaves, signatures (numbering of quires), foliation (numbering of leaves), or catchwords were used, although parchment Qur'ans copied in the ancient scripts never had signatures, and neither did many non-Qur'anic manuscripts.

Originally the quires were marked using the alphanumeric notation (abjad; until the end of the sixth/twelfth century) or Greco-Coptic numerals. Later (i.e., the second half of the fifth/eleventh century), the number of the quire came to be spelled out in full letters. In medieval and later manuscripts, the word *juz'* or *kurrasah* (quire) accompanied by a numeral was used. The usual position of the signature was the top left-hand corner of the first folio of each quire.

It appears that the use of catchwords goes back to the beginning of the third/ninth century (and not, as previously thought, to the early fifth/eleventh century). In some manuscripts, there are no catchwords (properly speaking) in the form of isolated words at the bottom of the recto (i.e., page a). Instead, the last word or words of the bottom line of the verso (i.e., page b) are repeated at the beginning of the top line on the recto of the next leaf. Most codices—and especially early Arabic ones—were not foliated. The practice of foliation seems to have been uncommon until some time after the introduction into the Arab world of the Indian numeric symbols, around the fourth/tenth century.

Although various writing surfaces were used by the early Arabs, papyrus and parchment were the materials most extensively employed during the first centuries of Islam. Furthermore, it seems that most (if not all) Qur'ans were copied on parchment, perhaps following the Jewish tradition of copying the Torah on kosher parchment. On the other hand, the majority of non-Qur'anic medieval manuscripts were written on paper, originally made locally and later (from the eighth/fourteenth century) imported from Europe (mainly Italy).

Most of the non-Qur'anic compositions followed a more or less standard pattern of presentation of the text. Almost invariably all texts began on the verso of the first leaf of the text block with the superscript basmalah and ended traditionally with a colophon. To guide the scribe's hand on the line, a ruling board *(mistarah)* was often used. Like many Western medieval manuscripts, Islamic manuscripts feature rubrics and abbreviations; the latter are often marked with a tilde. The text on the page is mostly justified and is often provided with a frame or a rule border. To justify the left-hand margin, the scribe would use different devices such as elongation or contraction of horizontal strokes within words, as well as word superscription. Rubrics were used extensively for chapter headings, keywords, text commented on or glossed, and abbreviations. Significant sections or elements of the text were also marked by marginal notabilia (side heads).

Deluxe copies of the Qur'an and commissioned non-Qur'anic manuscripts were often illuminated and sometimes—especially in the Turkish and Iranian/Indian contexts—illustrated. The painted decoration often consisted of double-page frontispieces and finispieces (especially in Qur'ans), or title, head, and tail pieces. The incipit page was a favorite area for decoration during the later medieval period.

The colophons were usually written in the language of the main text. However, Persian and Turkish manuscripts were often provided with colophons in the Arabic language (and vice versa). Also, in well-executed manuscripts, colophons are often written in a different script and may have been illuminated. For example, in Iran during the eighth/fourteenth and ninth/fifteenth centuries, colophons were often written in ta'liq script; from the ninth/fifteenth century onward, they were written in riqa' or tawqi'/riqa', nasta'liq, and shikastah nasta'liq scripts.

Apart from a traditional use of the Muslim date, manuscripts were also dated by feasts, regnal years (anno regni), fractions, and various non-Muslim calendar systems, although the dates were sometimes presented in the form of chronograms or chronosticons (using the alphanumeric values of the alphabet).

Except for deluxe copies of the Qur'an, most medieval manuscripts were copied in informal hands that are broadly referred to as *naskhi* (naskh-related) and *maghribi.* Also, many that have survived can be characterized as scholarly hands that were greatly influenced by various chancery scripts and styles.

Throughout the Middle Ages, knowledge was passed on from teacher to pupil in the way that was characteristic of Islamic teaching. The collation of texts and its importance—well-known in the Greco-Syriac tradition—came to be recognized as essential to the accurate transmission of the religious sciences. Many texts of the medieval period (especially those involving the religious disciplines) were transmitted through dictation in front of sometimes very large audiences. Texts were studied in circles and authenticated by means of granting audition certificates *(sama'at)*.

Naturally, as a result of the transmission of works through dictation, holographs, whether drafts or fair copies (i.e., texts written entirely in the author's hand), were extremely rare during the first four Muslim centuries. Drafts, if they existed, did not have the same academic value as an authorized text; their value

was more appreciated by bibliophiles than scholars. However, not all books were collated: Abu Rayhan al-Biruni, for instance, writing during the middle of the fifth/eleventh century, complained about the widespread neglect by scribes of collation and of the verification of a text's accuracy.

Most of the errors made in the process of copying were involuntary omissions. In well-executed manuscripts, they were marked by a signe de renvoi (reference marks), which has its origin in the Greek lambda. Some texts were heavily glossed using interlinear space and margins.

With regard to the present knowledge of the extant corpus of Islamic manuscripts, there is no fragment or codex with a non-Qur'anic text that can be attributed to the Umayyad period (41–132/661–750) or earlier. There are no dated manuscripts from the period before the third/ninth century, and those that are datable on paleographic grounds are mainly Qur'anic fragments in Hijazi and early 'Abbasid scripts. There appear to be no more than forty datable manuscripts from the third/ninth century; in this figure are included eleven Christian manuscripts and a number of Qur'anic fragments. Furthermore, there are only some 530 dated or datable manuscripts from the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries. The overwhelming majority of manuscripts that have survived span the period from the sixth/twelfth century to the end of the thirteenth/nineteenth century, with most of them belonging to the late Islamic period (tenth/sixteenth–thirteenth/nineteenth centuries).

Most of the surviving Arabic codices are written on parchment and paper, although papyrus was also used for their production during the first centuries of Islam. The oldest surviving papyrus codex, dated 229/844, contains the work *Hadith Dawud* by Wahb ibn Munabbih (d. 110/728). The second oldest, copied before 276/889, is the *Jami' fi al-Hadith* by 'Abd Allah ibn Wahb (d. 197/812). Most of the surviving manuscripts on parchment are Qur'anic fragments. There are a few large fragments of the Qur'an in codex form written in Hijazi scripts and therefore datable to the second half of the first/seventh or early second/eighth century. Some fourteen parchment fragments of the Qur'an are safely datable to the third/ninth century. The earliest non-Qur'anic codex written on parchment is a portion of *Siyar al-Fazari* dated 270/883; the oldest dated codex written on paper is *Gharib al-Hadith* by 'Abu 'Ubayd al-Qasim ibn Sallam (d. 224/838), which was executed in 252/866 and is preserved in the library of the University of Leiden.

Adam Gacek

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MANZIKERT

Manzikert was a town in eastern Anatolia and the site of the famous battle in 1071 CE between the Byzantine emperor Romanus IV Diogenes and the Seljuk sultan Alp Arslan. Throughout much of its known history, Manzikert had been a fortified Armenian town on a major trade and invasion route between central Anatolia and Iran. It was in Byzantine hands in 1054 when Toghril Beg, the first sultan of the Great Seljuk Empire, unsuccessfully besieged it. Alp Arslan, Toghril's successor, captured it in 1070. Meanwhile, acting independently, bands of Turkmen had been raiding Byzantine territory. By 1068, when General Romanus Diogenes became emperor, these raiders had reached the Bosphorus. During his third campaign to put a stop to this growing menace, he set out in March 1071 to capture Manzikert, Akhlat (some thirty five miles to the south), and close major Turkish invasion routes. Alp Arslan learned of this while in Northern Syria and turned to meet him. The emperor had divided his forces between Manzikert and Akhlat; he had just taken the former when Alp Arslan appeared. Many of the emperor's foreign mercenaries then deserted (some to the sultan), and the commander in charge of his read guard plotted against him. Outnumbered, Alp Arslan proposed a peace agreement, but Romanus refused to negotiate. During the ensuing battle (probably on August 26th), the sultan defeated and captured the emperor but released him after dictating peace terms. The emperor was deposed while returning to Constantinople. Byzantine defenses collapsed, leaving Anatolia open to large-scale Turkish invasion. Alp Arslan did not, however, order a systematic conquest of Byzantium; he immediately marched east to face a crisis in Transoxania. Nevertheless, Turkmen tribes began streaming into

Byzantium on their own. Thus began the long process of the Turkification and Islamization of Anatolia.

GARY LEISER

See also Byzantine Empire; Muslim–Byzantine Relations; Seljuks; Seljuk Warfare

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MAQAMA

The *maqama* (pl. *maqamat*) is a short narrative written in rhymed prose *(saj')* that often consists of a recasting of any number of well-known literary, scholarly, or religious discursive styles. Although the details vary from one author to another, some general characteristics can be described. The maqama features a recurring pair of characters: the narrator and an eloquent trickster. The trickster often appears in disguise and usually speaks in a recognizable style or tone. For example, he may speak as a preacher, an astrologer, a literary critic, or a poet. The climax occurs in the recognition scene, during which the trickster's identity is revealed and the two protagonists part ways, although often not before the gullible crowd, including the narrator, is convinced to hand over considerable sums of money. Studies of the maqama largely agree that it emerged out of the larger field of adab learning, drawing upon the latter's treatment and use of a wide range of themes, motifs, clichés, and images from all manner of literary and intellectual contexts. It has been argued that the original intent of composing the maqama was to lighten the mood of scholarly adab sessions. In its later manifestations, the maqama may have been intended as a pedagogical tool for the secretarial *(katib)* class.

The maqama crystallized in 995 or 997 CE, when Badi' al-Zaman al-Hamadhani (d. 1008) composed his collection of maqamat. However, it was not until the maqama collection of al-Hariri (d. 1122) appeared that the form reached its peak in sophistication, assumed its relatively standard structure, and was accepted into the literary canon as one of Arabic literature's first admittedly fictional forms. Al-Hariri had a number of imitators, the most notable in Arabic being al-Saraqusti (d. 1143), and in Hebrew, Judah al-Harizi (d. 1225); both of these writers were Andalusians. In addition to these classical imitations, the maqama also provided the inspiration for a number of creative variations. These experiments included the development of character and plot (e.g., the maqamats of Solomon Ibn Saqbel [first half of the twelfth century] and Ibn al-Murabi' al-Azdi [d. 1350]). Although direct lines of influence are difficult to draw with any certainty, strong relationships between the maqama and the Spanish picaresque novel have been discussed extensively.

ALEXANDER E. ELINSON

See also Adab; Andalus; Education; Humanism; al-Hamadhani, Badi' al-Zaman; Judah al-Harizi; Translation, Arabic to Hebrew

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MAQQARI, AL-

Al-Maqqari Ahmad b. Muhammad Abu 'l-Abbas Shihab al-Din, Algerian scholar and polygraph, was born in Tlemcen in AH 986/1577 CE from a prominent intellectual family that traced its origin to the village of Maqqara, near Masila. After an early training in Tlemcen, the young Ahmad moved to Fez in Morocco and then to Marrakech, following the court of the Sacdid sultan Ahmad al-Mansur, to whom he dedicated his *Rawdat al-As (The Garden of Myrtle)* about the ulemas of Marrakech and Fez. After al-Mansur's death in 1012/1603, al-Maqqari established himself in Fez, where he was the imam at the Karawiyyin mosque and led the standard life of a religious scholar. In 1027/1617, he left for the East, possibly after a quarrel with the local ruler, and took his residence in Cairo, where he composed his best-known work, *Nafh al-Tib*. This work was based on personal recollections and the consultation of a wide array of sources. He performed several pilgrimages to the Holy Sites, and he traveled to other intellectual centers in the East, most notably to Damascus, where he made himself a reputation as a teacher. Al-Maqqari died in Cairo in 1041/1632.

Although he was a prolific writer about various subjects (at least twenty-four works are ascribed to him), al-Maqqari's reputation is consigned to his two works of Andalusian matter: (1) *Azhar al-Riyad (The Gardens' Flowers)*, about a noted Andalusian twelfth-century judge and scholar, Iyad, which offered, in addition to his biography, a wealth of information about Andalusian and Moroccan scholars; and (2) the monumental *Nafh al-Tib fi Gusn al-Andalus al-Ratib (The Wind's Breeze on the Juicy Andalusian Branch)*, which consisted of two sections—the first one an antiquarian compilation of Andalusian geography, history, and literature and the other a biography of the Granada writer and court secretary Lisan al-Din Ibn al-Khatib (fourteenth century), together with a selection of his administrative and literary writings. The first and most popular part of the *Nafh* was partially translated into English in the nineteenth century by P. de Gayangos from the manuscripts owned by the British Museum; it was then edited by a pool of eminent orientalists led by R. Dozy, thereby providing a basis for the scholarly research on and the knowledge of the Iberian peninsula under Islamic domination until well into the twentieth century. Al-Maqqari's importance rests, even today, with his use of a multiplicity of sources that no longer exist; he quoted these at length in his two major works.

Bruna Soravia

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MAQRIZI, AL-

Taqi al-Din Ahmad b. 'Ali al-Maqrizi (1364–1442 CE) was a noted scholar, author, historian, and occasional civil servant for the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria. Born in Cairo and possibly of descent from the Fatimid dynasty, he spent the majority of his early life in that city. In his forties and after an evidently frustrating career in the Mamluk religious administration in which he held the post of Muhtasib (among others), he left for an extended teaching sojourn in Damascus. About this time, al-Maqrizi withdrew from public life, quite possibly because of his disillusionment with Mamluk rule (although one of his later works may have been an attempt to gain a new sultan's attention and influence his policies). Whether this was an active choice by al-Maqrizi or one forced upon him by the vicissitudes of his career, the fact remains that many of his works are noteworthy for

their pointed criticism of leading Mamluks, their actions, and their policies.

Al-Maqrizi is best known today for his works of *ta'rikh* (history). He may have been inspired to write history by Ibn Khaldun, whom he knew and studied under. He wrote annalistic chronicles (most notably of the Fatimids *[Itti'aẓ al-Hunafa']* and a longer one devoted to the Ayyubid and Mamluk sultanates *[Kitab al-Suluk]*), biographical works, shorter treatises, works devoted to such topics as criticizing the economic policies of the Mamluks or detailing the differences between the Umayyads and the 'Abbasids, and a thorough topographical and historical description of Cairo and its environs *(Khitat)*. His relationships with his contemporary historians—most notably al-'Ayni (d. 1451), who had replaced him as Muhtasib of Cairo at one point—seem to have been strained. Regardless of the opinions of his contemporaries, al-Maqrizi's works have proven to be a major source of information for scholars of the Mamluk Sultanate.

WARREN C. SCHULTZ

See also 'Abbasids; Ibn Khaldun; Ibn Taghri Birdi; Mamluks; Umayyads

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MARINIDS

The Marinids were the Berber dynasty that ruled Morocco from around 1250 to 1465 CE. Originally affiliated with the Almohad empire, the Marinids (or Banu Marin tribe [Zenata confederation]) began to assert control over the towns of eastern Morocco from the early thirteenth century, crushing an Almohad army in 1216 and eventually seizing Meknes, Fez, and, in 1269, the capital Marrakesh. The reign of Abu Yusuf Ya'qub (1258–1285) saw the construction of numerous mosques, madrasas (Islamic schools), and official buildings, especially in a newly laid-out capital just to the west of old Fez. During this time, the Marinids, disposing of a Berber cavalry as well as Christian mercenaries and a naval fleet, also began to intervene in Spain in support of the Nasrid emirate of Granada, but they were decisively beaten by Castille at Rio Salado in 1340 and played no part in stemming the *reconquista* after that. They were more successful on the African front, where, after numerous tries, Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali (r. 1331–1351) conquered Tlemcen and adjoining regions from the Zayyanids in 1337, ostensibly in support of the Hafsid dynasty of Tunis, whom the Marinids recognized as caliphs. Securing control of the eastern trans-Saharan caravan trade was most likely also a reason, because Abu 'l-Hasan went on to occupy Tunis itself from 1347 to 1349 before being confronted by an Arab tribal revolt and returning to Morocco, where he was deposed by his son Abu 'Inan Faris (r. 1348–1358). Abu 'Inan occupied Algeria and Tunis a second time in 1357 before being turned back by another revolt; after his reign, the Marinids increasingly fell prey to internecine struggles that saw real power exercised by their viziers. This factionalism was exploited by the Nasrids and even more so the Portuguese, who, in 1415, annexed Ceuta. Continued Portuguese encroachment saw the rise of a militant Sufism over the next decades that preceded the reestablishment of Idrisid Sharifian rule in Morocco. A subsidiary Marinid lineage, the Wattasids, effectively ruled in regency from 1420 until 1465, when a militant mob killed the last Marinid sultan and the Wattasids began to reign in their own name. If the Marinids ultimately failed to recreate the Almohad empire, they are remembered foremost as great patrons of classical Islamic architecture in Morocco and of famous literary figures such as Ibn Battuta (d. ca. 1368) and Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406).

STEFAN WINTER

See also Almohads; Berbers; Fez; Granada; Hafsids; Ibn Battuta; Ibn Khaldun; Idrisids; Madrasa; Sufism; Sunni Revival

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MARKETS

Muhammad's profession as a merchant has meant that markets and commerce have always played a central role in Muslim life. In particular, Mecca's position as a trading center, in combination with its

religious significance, ensured that it retained its commercial importance throughout the medieval period. The link between religion and commerce can be seen in the plan of many traditional Islamic cities; the markets are located around the main Friday mosque, with markets selling more valuable goods (e.g., gold) located closer to the mosque and stalls selling less pure or more polluting goods (e.g., pottery) located further away. The division of markets into different commodities is not unique to the Islamic world and was also found in medieval/Byzantine Constantinople, although the association with religion is more marked in the Islamic world. For example, in many cases, markets were incorporated into the fabric of the mosque and were used to subsidize the functioning of the mosque. Famous examples include the White Mosque in Ramla (ca. 720 CE), the al-Aqmar Mosque (1125) in Cairo, and the Suleymaniyya Mosque (1550–1557) in Constantinople/Istanbul.

The majority of markets were located in urban centers and it could be argued that markets are a prerequisite for an Islamic city or town. There were, however, some exceptions to the urban location of markets, with annual fairs held in remote rural or desert locations throughout the premodern period. These rural markets were often centred on khans or caravanserais (e.g., Khan al-Tujjar/Suq al-Khan and Khan al-Minya, both in Galilee). Markets were usually regulated by an inspector *(mutasahib)* who would ensure that correct weights and measures were used.

Although it is probable that the majority of markets were semipermanent stalls lining a street, in some cases elaborate architecture was built to house the markets. For example, at Baysan/Scythopolis/Baysan, archaeologists have discovered a market hall with a polychrome glass mosaic inscription dated 749 CE and attributed to the Umayyad caliph Walid II. In Baghdad, there is a rare surviving example of a medieval market hall known as Khan Mirjan, which was built by the Ilkhanid rulers in 1359. The building is two stories high and roofed with eight transverse ribs joined by transverse barrel vaults with windows/vents at each end.

ANDREW PETERSEN

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MARRIAGE, ISLAMIC

Marriage in Islam finds mystical, sociolegal, and cultural expression. The Qur'an states that, although God generally created everything in pairs (e.g., 51:49), He created the human being first from a single soul in His divine Presence and then fashioned it into a pair (4:1, 75:39, 39:6, passim). In mystical terms, it becomes the constant quest of the masculine and feminine aspects of this single soul to reunite so that they return to the state of completeness of the first moment of creation, when the soul was in close proximity to the divine and unaware of separate existence. This quest is facilitated through the mutual attraction of male and female. According to verse 30:21: "And of His signs is that He created for you mates from amongst yourselves, that you might dwell with them [in comfort and tranquility], and He has placed between you love and mercy."

In sociolegal terms, the union of male and female finds expression in the institution of marriage. A civil contract in form, marriage differs from the ordinary contract in that its core elements are religiously determined. Muhammad reformed the pre-Islamic practice of Arabia with the overall effect of a strengthened nuclear family and an improved status of women relative to his time. Some reforms included a limitation on polygyny and emphasis of women's status as full legal persons with accompanying property rights. For example, the bride-gift (mahr, sadaq) became one of several pecuniary rights to which the woman was entitled upon marriage. Islamic law regulates the valid conclusion and dissolution of marriage and specifies broad contours of spousal rights and duties. For a valid marriage contract, most Sunni jurists require an offer and acceptance of marriage in the presence of two witnesses with the approval or participation of the female's guardian. Shi'i jurists require neither witnesses nor the approval or participation of a guardian. In accordance with classical Islamic law, Muslims jurists still formally permit polygynous marriage, although some Muslim countries have outlawed the practice (e.g., Turkey, Tunisia). Likewise, Shi'i jurists still permit temporary marriage (mut'a), although Sunni jurists abolished it during the generations after Muhammad. Islamic law conceived of divorce as the unilateral right of the husband, and it specified limited ways for a woman to dissolve the marriage. Adherence to Islamic family law has become circumscribed or wholly voluntary, depending on the extent to which a state incorporates that law. Law in most majority-Muslim countries today combines an eclectic hybrid mix of Islamic rules, customary law, and portions of European codes.

Weddings vary widely according to cultural and local traditions, from the Near East and South Asia to China and the Americas. A simple wedding can entail a private, informal meeting during which a man and woman sign a marriage contract before witnesses. More commonly, weddings are public ceremonies that resemble local traditions and that are modified to retain core Islamic elements. Typically, guests assemble in mosques, in halls, or outdoors to listen to a short sermon *(khutba)*. Then the officiant asks the man and the woman (or her representative) whether they accept the other in marriage and whether the woman accepts the dower offered, which has been typically negotiated before the ceremony. The couple may sign the contract; this may be done symbolically if they have done so before the public ceremony. Finally, the guests participate in a celebratory reception *(walima)*, usually with food, drink, and music.

INTISAR RABB

See also Divorce

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MARRIAGE, JEWISH

In the Hebrew Book of Genesis 2:18, God says: "It is not good for man to be alone; I will make a fitting helper for him." Furthermore, Genesis 2:24 says: "Hence a man leaves his father and mother and clings to his wife, so that they become one flesh." In later Israel, Jews had to leave their land and spread through much of the world, living in many lands: the Middle East, North Africa, Europe, and eventually across the seas to the Americas. Marriage traditions were based on the Pentateuch and other fields of the Bible, such as the prophets of Israel, and they were later solidified by the many rabbis. Early traditions of marriage came from rabbinic leaders in areas such as Iran, Mesopotamia, Syria, Yemen, and North Africa, who accepted polygamy, whereas among the northern and Eastern European Jews, it became prohibited to have more than one wife. All Jews tended to marry early, and, although divorce could be obtained, it was not common, because the family had been established as the basis of Jewish life.

Traditionally, *kiddushin* was a sacred relationship in which the wife was consecrated to her husband and forbidden to all others throughout the duration of marriage. This was not merely a legal contract; although the husband acquired rights over her "wifehood," he undertook duties toward her: supplying her with food and clothing and denying himself to provide for his wife and children.

Weddings were often performed out of doors, but they were often held indoors because of problems with non-Jews. The following was and is the traditional format of a Jewish wedding: four family members or friends hold up the wedding canopy under which the bride and groom stand. The rabbi recites a blessing with a cup of wine from which the groom and bride drink. The groom then places a ring on the bride's finger, and he states the following: "Behold, you are consecrated to me by this ring, according to the laws of Moses and Israel." The *ketubah* (marriage contract) is then read, after which the rabbi or other leaders then recite seven marriage benedictions. Often, the groom crushes a glass under his right shoe; this is seen by some as a sign of mourning the destruction of Jerusalem or as a token of seriousness even in the happiest moment.

Today, Jewish marriage customs depend on different traditions—especially in the United States—among the Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist Jews and several newer groups.

WILLIAM M. BRINNER

See also Divorce

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MARTYRDOM

Contrary to general assumption, the Qur'an does not have a specific term for *martyr* or *martyrdom. Shahid,* which is the word that has become common in Arabic for martyr, is used in the Qur'an interchangeably with *shahid* for humans only in the sense of a legal or eye witness. God is also known as *shahid,* because He

witnesses everything. Only in later non-Qur'anic tradition does this word acquire the meaning of "one who bears witness for the faith," particularly by laying down his life. Extraneous—particularly Christian—influence may be suspected here, because this secondary meaning clearly overlaps with the signification of the Greek term *martys,* which is rendered as martyr in English. Scholars have pointed to the probable influence of the cognate Syriac word for martyr–witness, *sahedo,* on the Arabic *shahid* and the latter's subsequent acquisition of the secondary and derivative meaning of martyr.

Among the Qur'anic verses that have been construed to refer to the special status of the military martyr is 3:169, which states, "Do not think that those who were slain in the path of God are dead. They are alive and well provided for by their Lord." Some of the early hadith (tradition) works, however, make clear that the phrase "slain in the path of God" was not understood to be restricted only to those fallen in battle but could be glossed in several ways. For instance, the *Musannaf* of ʻAbd al-Razzaq (d. 826 CE) contains a number of Companion reports that relate competing definitions of *shahid.* A few examples will suffice. One report attributed to the Companion Abu Hurayra states that the shahid is one who, were he to die in his bed, would enter heaven. The explanatory note that follows states that it refers to someone who dies in his bed and is without sin *(la dhanb lahu)*. Another report is related by Masruq b. al-Ajdaʻ, who states the following: "there are four types of *shahada* or martyrdom for Muslims: the plague, parturition or delivery of a child, drowning, and a stomach ailment." Significantly, there is no mention of martyrdom being earned as a result of dying on the battlefield in this early report. An expanded version of this report, however, originating with Abu Hurayra, quotes the Prophet as adding to this list of those who achieve martyrdom "one who is killed in the way of God *(man qutila fi sabil Allah)*." It is this expanded version containing the full, five definitions of a shahid that is recorded later in the *Sahih* of al-Bukhari (d. 870). The early eighth-century hadith work *al-Muwatta'* of Malik b. Anas (d. 795) states the following: "The martyrs are seven, apart from death in God's way. He who dies as a victim of an epidemic is a martyr; he who dies from drowning is a martyr; he who dies from pleurisy is a martyr; he who dies from diarrhoea is a martyr; he who dies by [being burned in] fire is a martyr; he who dies by being struck by a dilapidated wall falling is a martyr; and the woman who dies in childbed is a martyr."

By the ninth century, however, *shahid* predominantly came to mean a "military martyr," and most standard hadith works typically devote a section that lists the profuse heavenly rewards earned by pious combatants who fell on the battlefield. Frequently cited hadiths relate that all of the martyr's sins are forgiven, except for debts; if the martyr is free of debt, he wins instant admission into Paradise without any reckoning. The earlier, broader semantic range of the term *shahid* became effectively superseded over time, although it was not completely effaced.

According to certain hadiths, the courting of martyrdom is expressly prohibited. Al-Bukhari records reports in which the Prophet warns that it is forbidden for an individual to long for death and to wish for an encounter with the enemy. The willful seeking of martyrdom is regarded as a form of suicide or self-destruction, which is categorically proscribed in the Qur'an (2:195; 4:29) and in hadith.

Asma Asfaruddin

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MASʻUDI, AL-

Al-Masʻudi was an Arab/Muslim historian, geographer, and belletrist who died in 956 CE. The available information about his life is limited to brief entries in later biographical dictionaries and comments on al-Masuʻdi's part in his two surviving works (see below). Born at the end of the ninth century to a respected Baghdadi family of Kufan origins, he probably died in al-Fustat. The range of his scholarly interests and his association with a number of prominent early tenth-century scholars point to a thorough education in Arabic, the Islamic sciences, and related disciplines. His writings evince a lifelong appetite for reading and extensive travel (to which al-Masʻudi makes frequent reference). There is no evidence, however, of the manner in which he sustained his career (C. Pellat, a modern biographer, has suggested a personal fortune). Imami (Twelver) authors to the present day identify him as one of their own. Sunni sources, most notably al-Dhahabi, refer to him only as a Muʻtazili.

A prolific author, al-Masʻudi contributed perhaps as many as thirty-six works about an impressive range of topics, including history, geography, theology,

heresiography, philosophy, and various fields of science. Much debated among modern scholars is the extent to which he is to be considered a historian given his extensive use of material generally defined as cultural and literary (i.e., as properly belonging to *adab* [belles-lettres]). Al-Mas'udi appears to have been largely avoided by later generations of Muslim scholars; Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406), who cites him frequently, was an important exception. This has been attributed to al-Mas'udi's eschewal of the traditionist style of history writing promoted by, most notably, al-Tabari (d. 923), the hallmark of which was contained in narratives supported by isnads (chains of transmission; see Hadith). Like al-Ya'qubi (d. 897), al-Mas'udi made no use of isnads. More to the point is that he defined history in far more expansive terms than did his contemporaries.

His principal surviving work is the ambitious *Muruj al-Dhahab (The Fields of Gold)*, which was written in Egypt around 943 and revised several times thereafter (the surviving version is early, dating to the mid-940s). Modern editions of the *Muruj* run to some half dozen fat volumes, and it is divided into two parts. The first part, whihc is encyclopedic, includes sections about the unfolding of monotheism (sacred history) during the pre-Islamic period; surveys of India and China; material about oceans, seas, and rivers; lists of the kings of Mesopotamia, Egypt, and other regions; and ethnographic data about Slavs, Africans, and the Franks. For this reason, the *Muruj* is often cited, alongside al-Ya'qubi's earlier *Ta'rikh (History),* as a notable example of Arab-Islamic world history. The second and longer part consists mainly of a detailed account of Islamic history. A section about the Prophet's life is followed by accounts of the reigns of the Rightly Guided Caliphs and those of the Umayyad and 'Abbasid houses. Introductory comments on al-Mas'udi's part indicate that these were excerpted from a far longer work, the *Akhbar al-Zaman*, of which no trace survives.

The second surviving work, *Kitab al-Tanbih Wa-l-ishraf*, brings together, in highly concise fashion, much of the information contained in the *Muruj* and, apparently, other works. It is, in this sense, a supplementary work. It appears to have been the last of al-Mas'udi's books, completed just before his death.

MATTHEW S. GORDON

See also Mu'tazilites

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MATHEMATICAL GEOGRAPHY

The Muslims inherited Ptolemy's lists of longitudes and latitudes of cities from one end of the known world to the other as well as his maps of the world and of various regions. Tables displaying the geographical coordinates of numerous localities are found in several Islamic works about mathematical geography as well as in the more numerous (approximately two hundred and twenty-five) astronomical handbooks known as *zîjes.* A minority of tables also display the qibla for each locality. Such tables are often engraved on astronomical instruments, especially those from Safavid Iran.

The maps prepared by Muslim scholars based on this geographical data and fitted with coordinate grids represent a tradition that is quite distinct from the better-known (and more colorful) tradition of maps without scales. Alas, most of them have not survived the vicissitudes of history.

The tables of al-Khwârizmî (Baghdad; ca. 825), with 545 pairs of entries, incorporated already a correction of the length of Ptolemy's Mediterranean. The Caliph al-Ma'mûn patronized the measurement of the diameter of the earth; his astronomers measured the number of miles corresponding to one degree of the meridian. The world map prepared for al-Ma'mûn, which had a square coordinate grid, has not survived.

Abu 'l-Rayhân al-Bîrûnî (ca. 1025) presented a new table of coordinates of some 604 localities. He also prepared maps based on these coordinates and discussed several cartographical projections known otherwise only from Renaissance European works. A late copy of a much-corrupted version of his world maps has recently been discovered. In his book *Tahdîd Nihâyât al-Amâkin (The Determination of the Locations of Cities)*, al-Bîrûnî set out to establish the geographical coordinates of Ghazna to compute the qibla there: the result was the most valuable work on mathematical geography from the medieval period.

Some anonymous Iranian scholar, probably during the eleventh century and possibly in Isfahan, prepared a monumental geographical work featuring more than 450 localities; the title of this work has been transmitted as *Kitâb al-Atwâl Wa-'l-'urûd li-'l-Furs (The Book of Longitudes and Latitudes of the Persians)*, and it originally included a map that has not survived. This underlies most of Islamic mathematical geography in Iran after the thirteenth century, because it was used by al-Tûsî in Maragha during the mid-thirteenth century, al-Kâshî, and Ulugh Beg in

Samarqand during the mid-fifteenth century. Shortly thereafter, apparently in nearby Kish, another scholar whose name is unknown produced yet another monumental geographical table; this one, however, was different. In addition to the coordinates of some 274 localities, values of the qibla and distance to Mecca were given—in the main, accurately, to the nearest few seconds—for each locality. The compiler(s) used the earlier Persian geographical tables and those of al-Tûsî and Ulugh Beg. This was the source for virtually all of the geographical information on Safavid instruments.

Since 1989, three seventeenth-century Safavid world maps engraved on brass have been discovered. These are centered on Mecca, and the highly sophisticated mathematical grid enables the user to read off the qibla and distance to Mecca. The geographical data for 150-odd localities is taken from the fifteenth-century Kish tables, but the underlying mathematics has been discovered in two texts from tenth-century Baghdad and eleventh-century Isfahan.

David A. King

See also Astronomy; Astrolabes; Cartography

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MATHEMATICS

Mathematics and astronomy were the two most important exact sciences in Islamic civilization between 700 and 1700 CE. Henceforth, the term *Islamic mathematics* will be used, with the adjective Islamic referring to civilization. Although a few mathematical problems were motivated by Islam, most mathematics had no relation whatsoever to religion. The majority of the mathematicians were Muslims, but notable contributions to the Islamic mathematical tradition were made by Christians, Jews, and followers of other religions. These mathematicians belong to the Islamic mathematical tradition because they wrote in Arabic, which developed into the language of science during the translation period during the eighth and ninth centuries CE. After 1000 CE, a few mathematical texts were written in Persian, but these texts are full of Arabic mathematical terms. The term *Arabic mathematics* is sometimes used, but it should be remembered that many mathematicians of medieval Islamic civilization were not Arabs; Iranian mathematics account for an estimated one-third of the discoveries.

Most of the current knowledge about Islamic mathematics is based on Arabic manuscripts that are found in libraries all over the world. The most important collections are in Istanbul, Tehran, Cairo, Paris, London, and Leiden (Netherlands). Almost all surviving manuscripts are copies made by scribes who did not have advanced mathematical training. Less than one-third of these manuscripts have been edited in Arabic or translated into a Western language or Russian. Information about Islamic mathematics can also be found in manuscripts about astronomy and optics, and, to a much lesser extent, in texts about astrology, law, and linguistics. A few treatises have been lost in the Arabic original but survive in a medieval Latin or Hebrew translation. Astronomical instruments, sundials, and Islamic mosaics demonstrate the practical skill of some of the mathematicians.

Islamic mathematics can be schematically subdivided into arithmetic, algebra, and geometry. Many treatises were written about commercial arithmetic, with detailed explanations of number systems and computations involving fractions. Algebra was mainly used for recreation and had few practical applications. For algebraic computations, a certain amount of training and mathematical talent was necessary. Geometry was studied at different levels. Some texts contain practical geometrical rules for surveying and for measuring figures. Theoretical geometry was a necessary prerequisite for understanding astronomy and optics, and it required years of concentrated work. Many mathematicians and astronomers produced handbooks of astronomical tables so that the astrologers, who did not understand the geometrical background in detail, could predict the positions of the planets by a few easy additions, subtractions, and multiplications. Some geometers seem to have prepared manuals explaining the practical construction of mosaics for craftsmen.

The early history of mathematics in medieval Islamic civilization is intimately connected with the history of astronomy. Soon after the establishment of the ʿAbbasid caliphate and the founding of Baghdad during the mid-eighth century CE, some mathematical knowledge must have been assimilated from the

pre-Islamic Iranian tradition in astronomy, which had survived until that time. Astronomers from India were invited to the court of the caliph during the late eighth century, and they explained the rudimentary trigonometrical techniques that were necessary in Indian astronomy. Around 800 CE, the astronomers in Baghdad turned to the more sophisticated astronomy of the Greeks. The fundamental work of Greek astronomy was the *Almagest* of Ptolemy (c. 150 CE), which was translated into Arabic several times. Because the *Almagest* was impossible to understand without an intimate knowledge of the *Elements* of Euclid and other Greek geometrical works, these works were also translated into Arabic during the early decades of the ninth century. During the second half of the ninth century, Islamic mathematicians were already making contributions to the most sophisticated parts of Greek geometry. Islamic mathematics reached its apogee in the Eastern part of the Islamic world between the tenth and twelfth centuries CE.

Little is known about the biographies of most Islamic mathematicians. It is clear that many mathematicians and astronomers had difficulty finding support for their work. Some of the best mathematicians of the Islamic tradition worked at the courts of kings, such as the Buwayhid dynasty in Iran during the tenth century CE and Ulugh Beg in Samarkand around 1420 CE.

From the late tenth century on, mathematical knowledge was transmitted from the Western part of the Islamic world to Christian Europe. The Romans had not been interested in science. As a result, the knowledge of mathematics in Christian Europe was very limited, and the notion of a mathematical proof was nonexistent. During the twelfth century, many Arabic mathematical and astronomical texts (including Arabic translations of Greek texts) were translated into Latin in Spain and, to a lesser extent, in Sicily and other areas. This was the beginning of the development of science in Medieval Europe. Many achievements of Eastern Islamic mathematicians remained unknown in the West, until the European orientalists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries turned their attention to Arabic scientific manuscripts.

Some important discoveries of Islamic mathematicians are discussed in articles about algebra and geometry. The mathematicians also worked on the theory of numbers and magic squares. Thabit ibn Qurra proved a general formula for finding amicable numbers, using the example 17296, 18416. Each of these numbers is the sum of the divisors of the other number. A magic square of order n is a square in which the numbers 1, 2,…, n^2 are written in such a way that the sum of the numbers in each row, in each column, and in each of the two diagonals is the same. During the ninth through twelfth centuries, several Eastern Islamic mathematicians (including Ibn al-Haytham) invented elegant methods for finding magic squares of arbitrary order. The name *magic square* is modern, and the medieval Islamic mathematicians, who were generally uninterested in magic, talked about "harmonious dispositions of numbers."

Three problems in Islamic religion can be solved by means of advanced mathematics:

1. The Islamic calendar is a lunar calendar. The day begins in the evening, at sunset, and a new month begins when the lunar crescent is first sighted on the Western horizon. Whether or not the crescent is visible depends on its perpendicular distance to the horizon at sunset, the distance along the horizon between the sun and the moon, the ripeness of the crescent, and also on atmospherical phenomena. From the ninth century onward, Islamic mathematicians and astronomers proposed a multitude of visibility criteria, theories, and tables for the prediction of the first visibility of the lunar crescent.
2. It is a religious duty of the Muslim to pray five times a days towards the qibla (i.e., the direction of Mecca). From the ninth century onward, Islamic mathematicians began to interpret this problem mathematically. In their view, the qibla should be taken along a great circle on the spherical earth through the locality of prayer and the Ka'ba in Mecca. Approximate methods were used in the ninth century, but, from the tenth century onward, exact methods became popular among the mathematicians and astronomers in the Eastern Islamic world. Exact solutions were proposed by al-Biruni, Ibn al-Haytham, and others. The exact determination of the qibla by crude methods from the early Islamic tradition. They did not understand the mathematical methods, and they generally ignored the results of the exact computations.
3. The times of the five daily prayers are determined by the height of the sun above the horizon or its depression under the horizon. From the ninth and tenth centuries onward, Islamic astronomers computed prayer tables, determining the times of prayer in equinoctial or seasonal hours. For these computations, one needs difficult spherical trigonometry. A large amount of material about prayer tables written by the tenth-century Egyptian astronomer Ibn Yanus is still in existence.

Because most Arabic mathematical manuscripts have not yet been published and investigated, the preceding survey is necessarily incomplete, and it may turn out to be misleading in the light of future research. Important new discoveries have been made during the last decades, and there is no evidence that this process has come to an end.

JAN P. HOGENDIJK

See also Geometry; Algebra; Numbers; Ibn Al-Haytham; Al-Biruni

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MAWARDI, AL-

Abu ʻl-Hasan ʻAli ibn Muhammad ibn Habib al-Mawardi was a Muslim polymath who was born in Basra around 975 CE and who died in Baghdad on May 27, 1058.

Mawardi studied Shafiʼi law in Basra and Baghdad. He was appointed to various judgeships but probably appointed deputies to do the actual work. He carried out diplomatic missions on behalf of the Caliph al-Qaʼim (r. 1031–1075) to the Buyids, who actually controlled Iraq and Iran, and also once to their rivals, the Seljuks.

In modern times, Mawardi has become most famous for *al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyya,* a treatise describing the Islamic polity. The ʻAbbasid caliphs of his own time were in fact fairly weak figures, although they slowly regained power as part of the Sunni Revival; almost their only means of influencing politics was refusing to confirm appointments and titles made or claimed by the warlords and threatening to call in other warlords from further afield, such as the Ghaznavids. Accordingly, Mawardi stresses that all authority flows by delegation from the caliph; he appointed military commanders to maintain order and judges to maintain justice. There is a close verbal parallel to Mawardi's *Ahkam* under the same title by the Hanbali judge Ibn al-Farraʼ (d. 1065), probably a rebuttal of Mawardi's work. The chief substantial difference between the two is that Ibn al-Farraʼ does not allow an incompetent caliph to be deposed, whereas Mawardi does.

During the Middle Ages, Mawardi's most famous work was *al-Hawi al-Kabir,* of which only recently has a full text been published. Formally a commentary on the *Mukhtasar of al-Muzani,* it rehearses and defends the ordinances of Shafiʼi law at great length (see Law and Jurisprudence). Mawardi systematically adduces Qurʼan, prophetic sunna (precedent), consensus, and analogy, in that order. He expressly commends Shafiʼi law as the best combination of revelation with reason.

Mawardi's style of argument is notably uneven, and he continually piles flimsy evidence and reasoning on top of apparently sound arguments. It thus marks the transition from a tradition of legal writing that aims to establish the correctness of one school's doctrine to one that aims to establish only its plausibility; this demonstrates that there will always be multiple schools. Implicitly, the different Sunni schools of the eleventh century had become somewhat like modern Protestant denominations; the adherents of each sect may think theirs is the best, but they recognize that theirs is not the only one that is adequate.

Also currently in print is Mawardi's commentary on the Qurʼan, *al-Nukat Wa-l-ʻuyun*. It goes through the entire Qurʼan in order, quoting a few verses at a time and then providing short glosses, mainly from exegetes of the eighth century; occasionally textual variants are also used, and there are examples of usage from poetry. It usually presents a range of possibilities and seldom asserts that any one is the best interpretation. Mawardi's views sometimes agree with those of the Muʻtazilites (e.g., the rejection of predestination); however, he does not seem to be a systematic advocate of Muʻtazilism. Finally, there are also several shorter works in print about law, politics, and adab (belles-lettres).

CHRISTOPHER MELCHERT

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MECCA

The city of Mecca lies in the western area of the Arabian peninsula, and it is situated in an infertile valley of the geographical region traditionally known as the Hijaz. Muslim sources relate that the Prophet Muhammad was born in Mecca in the year 570 CE. He belonged to one of the clans of the tribe of Quraysh; the Quraysh were the respected elders of this oasis town, which prospered as a center of commerce because of its strategic location at the midpoint of an established trade route. The city also had its markets and fairs. Quraysh organized caravans that traded in territories both south and north of the Arabian peninsula. Mecca was also home to the sacred shrine known as the Ka'ba and the ancient spring of Zamzam. The Ka'ba was located in an area known as the *masjid al-haram*. The precincts of Mecca, which are defined by a number of miqat (stations), are considered haram (inviolable). As custodians of the Meccan shrine, Quraysh provided water for visiting pilgrims, regulating rituals and practices associated with the hajj (pilgrimage). Islamic sources record that these ceremonies had assumed an idolatrous and somewhat animistic bent. The perversion of the monotheistic symbolism of the shrine and the pilgrimage provided the setting for the emergence of Islam.

The first verses of the Qur'an were revealed to Muhammad at Mecca in 610 CE. The Prophet preached there for twelve years, encountering determined opposition. He was compelled to leave the city in 622 CE, migrating with his companions to Medina. The Prophet and his followers did return triumphantly in 630 CE, taking the city without bloodshed. The Ka'ba was purged of its idols, and the monotheistic motif of the rituals associated with the pilgrimage was restored. However, the city of Medina became the political center of the fledgling Islamic state, although Mecca retained its importance as the spiritual capital of the Muslim world: it serves as the qibla (direction) that Muslims face to perform their ritual prayers, and it is the focus of the annual pilgrimage. It preserves these religious distinctions until this day, with only Muslims being permitted to enter its sacred boundaries.

MUSTAFA SHAH

See also Arabia; Arabs; Hajj; Islam; Idolatry; Jazira; Ka'ba; Markets; Medina; Muhammad the Prophet; Pagans and Pagan Customs; Pilgrimage; Qur'an; and Umra

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MEDICAL LITERATURE, HEBREW

Jewish communities, which during the Middle Ages were largely settled throughout the Mediterranean area, enjoyed under Islamic rule a cultural expansion that, paradoxically, was associated with the adoption of the Arabic language and cultural model. Social tolerance and the influence of a flourishing Arabic cultural development resulted in a complex and rich Jewish intellectual life, the achievements of which were easily transmitted among the Jewish communities that shared the same cultural milieu (i.e., those established within the extensive Islamic territories).

This long chapter of Jewish history is divided into two main periods in terms of time and location: the Islamic East and al-Andalus (as the Islamic part of the Iberian Peninsula was known at the time). During this extensive interlude, Arabic became for Jews not only an adopted mother tongue but also a vehicle for learning and cultural transmission; Hebrew was reserved during this period for writings of a religious and literary character.

Arabic medical knowledge, which flourished from the middle of the eighth century and was available through Arabic translations from the Greek as well as from their own original production, was assimilated, learned, and even taught by Jews. Furthermore, they participated in the task—performed under the auspices of the Islamic cultural expansion—of preserving, transmitting, and commenting on classical philosophical and scientific texts, thereby partaking in the creation of a distinct corpus of Greco-Arabic medicine.

The art of medicine was learned from books, but it was also acquired through the relationship established between a student and a particular master (generally a prominent physician) who transmitted to the student (usually a male, but occasionally a female) both theoretical and practical knowledge. Prospective physicians were trained under the supervision and guidance of the master and, as far as is known, Jews and Muslims without distinction enjoyed the benefits of this system.

According to the sources, medicine seems to have been a favorite occupation among Jews, because the number of Jewish medical practitioners providing care for both the Jewish and the Muslim populations was considerable. Apparently, this professional choice was stimulated by the fact that physicians enjoyed an enhanced social and economic status, which was obviously a desirable aim for a religious minority living under the domination of another people.

Nevertheless, the number of practitioners does not seem proportional to the number of medical authors or, more accurately, known medical texts authored by Jews, whose figures are substantially inferior. This contrast, however unusual it might seem at first sight, is not so if the above-mentioned fact that Jews' proficiency in Arabic made the rich corpus of Greco-Arabic medicine available to them is recalled. The very availability of texts, together with the assumption of the theoretical framework developed by Islamic medicine, seems to have acted as a deterrent for original production.

However scant, Jewish textual production was not unimportant. Some medical authors succeeded in attracting the general acknowledgment of their contemporaries, which secured a place for their works within the corpus that circulated at the time. Among them, two outstanding figures deserve special mention. The first is Isaac ben Solomon Israeli, or Isaac Judaeus (born in Egypt c. 855 CE, died in Kairawan c. 955 CE), who was a leading Jewish philosopher, physician, and medical author. The uncontested acknowledgment of his work resulted in its early translation into Hebrew and Latin, which allowed for its dissemination in the West. Israeli's works on fevers, urine, foods and simple remedies, and medical conduct were extensively read and quoted throughout the Middle Ages and beyond.

Undoubtedly the best-known Jewish figure in the field of medicine, Moses ben Maimon, or Maimonides (born in Cordoba in 1138, died in Egypt in 1204), was a highly prestigious philosopher, exegete, and physician. His medical works were deeply embedded in the Islamic medical tradition, and they shared and transmitted notions of physiology, etiology, and therapeutics that were common to that tradition, bearing a strong influence of what has been called the "Galenization" of Islamic medicine. Maimonides was a prolific author, and at least nine medical works were ascribed to him. He wrote some minor monographs devoted to asthma, hemorrhoids, sexual hygiene and aphrodisiacs, diet, and pharmacology. He also produced three major medical works: a commentary on the Hippocratic *Aphorisms,* a book on *Extracts from Galen,* and his own *Aphorisms,* known as *[Medical] Aphorisms of Moses*. This last work was an extensive synthesis of contemporary medical knowledge (Galenic for the most part) that was apparently conceived as a practical tool for learning or to be carried during practice.

At the end of the twelfth century, there was an upsurge in Hebrew, and it began to be used as a vehicle of science. This prompted the translation into and the original production in this language of medical texts. However, both in and outside Islamic lands, Jews continued to write and read medicine in Arabic up to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In Christian territories, a learned minority who had emigrated from Islamic regions but who still maintained intimate links with Arabic language and science committed themselves to the translation into Hebrew of Arabic medical books, thus contributing to the dissemination and transmission of the bulk of Greco-Arabic medical knowledge to the West.

CARMEN CABALLERO-NAVAS

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MEDICAL LITERATURE, PERSIAN

Given the impact of Arabic as the language of religion and the paramount vehicle of learning, even in the

Iranian linguistic area, it may not be amiss to recall the commonplace fact that Persian medical literature is at the same time less and much more than the medical literature of Iran. It is considered less because Arabic writing about medicine flourished well before and then alongside (at times overshadowing) its Persian counterpart in medieval Iran; and it is considered more because of the expansion of Persian as the language of learning into non-Iranian—primarily Turkic and Indic—linguistic regions.

This discussion will neglect vernacular in favor of academic writing and will be divided into the following sections: (1) Background; (2) Formative Period, c. AH 340–440/950–1050 CE; (3) Consolidation, Elaboration, and Islamic Naturalization of Persian Galenism, 440–620/1050–1220; (4) Avicennism, Literary Differentiation, and Inter-Asian Exchanges, 620–900/1220–1500; and (5) After 900/1500.

Background

Given the literary dominance of Arabic in Iran that ensued upon the Muslim/Arab conquest around the middle of the first/seventh century, the middle-Iranian, pre-Islamic tradition of writing survived only within the ever-decreasing Zoroastrian community. Thus, Arabic models, naturally by themselves of multiple derivation (e.g., Arabian, Hellenistic, [Middle] Iranian), had an obvious impact on the emergence of (Neo-)Persian as an Islamic literary language during the fourth/tenth century. With regard to Persian medical literature in particular, the question presents itself of whether, in addition to Arabic Galenism and the so-called prophetic medicine, it was also informed by direct scholastic transmission from Middle Iranian, without an Aramaic–Arabic intermediary; at the level of vernacular healing craft, such survivals were to be expected. Further, the geographic proximity of India facilitated exchanges that left a more noticeable imprint in Iran than further west, whether during the Sasanian period or later, after ca. 300/900.

Formative Period, ca. 340–440/950–1050

Practical utility readily explains the fact that medical works are to be found among the earliest witnesses to Persian literature. Although this period saw a veritable outburst of medical writing in Arabic in the very regions of Persian literary activity, the three incunabula of Persian medicine attest to the diffusion of superior and diverse learning among a readership that was unable or unwilling to acquire Arabic. A student of Abū Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 313/925) at one remove from the Bukhara region, Abū Bakr Akhawaynī, composed a textbook for his son and other adepts of medicine, the first such compendium in Persian *(Hidāyat al-Muta'Allimīn fī l-Tibb [Learners' Guidance to Medicine])*. Other genres of Arabic scholarly writing were similarly adopted, such as the didactic versification and the alphabetically arranged *materia medica*; the former is represented by Hakīm Maysarī's *Dānishnāma (Book of Knowledge)* of 370/980, and the latter is demonstrated by Abū Mansūr Harawī's *Kitāb al-Abniya 'an Îaqā'iq al-Adwiya* (*Book of Foundations Concerning the True Essence of Medicines;* ca. 380/990), which also drew on near-contemporary Indian scholarship. At the same time, Maysarī's and Harawī's works illustrate the integration of medicine into general education, at least among courtly society and in Samanid dominions, where Persian letters as such first developed.

Nevertheless, the privileged position that Arabic generally maintained in scholarship is, for example, reflected in Avicenna's (before 370/980–428/1037) medical writings; although his magisterial *Canon (Kitāb al-Qānūn fī l-Tibb)* is in Arabic, he only composed a brief treatise on phlebotomy in Persian *(Andar Dānish-i Rag [On the Knowledge of the Veins])*.

Consolidation, Elaboration, and Islamic Naturalization of Persian Galenism, 440–620/1050–1220

The lasting impact of Avicenna's *Canon* was not limited to Arabic domains; its Persian—by no means slavish—reception found monumental and, in turn, similarly influential expression in the medical encyclopedia *Dhakhīra-yi Khwārizmshāhī (The Khwārizmshāh's Treasure)* by Ismā'īl Jurjānī (ca. 434–535/ca. 1042–1140), an author of vast erudition and, by the breadth of his writings, acute attention to the varied needs of laymen, learners, practitioners, and complete scholars. Further, he vividly illustrated the Islamic naturalization of Hellenistic science (i.e., in the present context, Galenism). As examples of rather humble and practice-oriented writing, two other works deserve mention here: a catechetic survey of ophthalmology, *Nūr al-'Uyūn (Light of the Eyes)* by Abū Rawh Jurjānī 'Zarrīndast' (in 480/1087 inscribed to the Seljuq Sultan Malikshāh) and a practitioner's manual of theoretical and curative medicine, *Mukhtasar Andar 'ilm-i Tabīb (Abridgment on the Physician's*

Science) by the Jewish physician Abū Sa'd 'Zardgilīm' (c. 550/1155).

Both Zarrīndast's *Ophthalmology* for a Seljuq sultan and Ismā'īl Jurjānī's activity in Khwārizm (on the frontier to Turkic) during this period illustrate the afore mentioned expansion of Persian into non-Iranian linguistic realms.

Avicennism, Literary Differentiation, and Inter-Asian Exchanges, 620–900/1220–1500

As a result of Činggis Khān's and his successors' invasions of the Islamic Middle East (c. 618–660/1220–1262) as well as Tamerlane's (1370–1405) campaigns, the region's demographic balance further changed in favor of Turkic and Mongol nomadic pastoralists. Their eventual Islamic acculturation consolidated and territorially expanded the position of Persian (e.g., the medical author Shihāb al-Dīn Nāgawrī from India [790–794/1388–1392]). In medicine, increased communication across Asia under shared Mongol rule even resulted in Persian adaptations from the Chinese (*Tansūqnāma-yi Īlkhānī [The Ilkhan's Book of Precious Knowledge]* by Rashīd al-Dīn Fadlallāh [c. 645–718/1247–1318). Demand for translations from Arabic also rose, as did generally the writing of commentaries and abridgments. Apart from the "medicine of the Prophet" or of the Shi'i Imāms in academic medicine, Avicennism continued to hold sway as is witnessed by, for example, *Qānūnja (Little Canon)* by Mahmūd Čaghmīnī (d. 745/1344) and the Persian version of Ibn al-Nafīs's *Mūjiz al-Qānūn* (*Abridgment of the* Canon) by Qutb Muhammad (c. 906/1500); it is also seen in ostensibly independent works such as *Ghiyāthīya (To Ghiyāth al-Dīn)* by Najm al-Dīn Mahmūd Shīrāzī (before 720/1320) and *Kifāya-yi Mujāhidīya (Adequacy for Mujāhid al-Dīn)* by Mansūr ibn Muhammad (c. 787/1385). The thematic range of specialized treatments kept increasing, and eventually included reproductive and sexual medicine. *Materia medica* for centuries found its authoritative Persian formulation in *Ikhtiyārāt-i Badī'ī (Selections for Badī' al-Jamāl')* by Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī Ansārī (770/1368–1369); in anatomy, the just-mentioned Mansūr supplemented his *TashrīÎ-i Mansūrī (Mansūr's Anatomy)* with a series of five illustrations; Abū Zayn Kahhāl included—even highlighting it in the title—surgery in his otherwise conventional survey *Sharāyit-i Jarrāhī* (*Requirements of Surgery;* mid-ninth/fifteenth century). New manuals of basic curative medicine continually appeared as well. In addition, medicine was included in general encyclopedias of arts and sciences (e.g., *Dānishnāma-yi Jahān [Book of Knowledge of the World]* by 'Ali ibn 'Alī Amīrān Isfahānī, c. 880/1475).

After 900/1500

Although no caesura in medical theory marks the turn of a new period around this date, contemporaneous events and processes did eventually effect Persian medicine. The rise and consolidation, respectively, of new dynasties—the Turkish Ottomans, the Safavids of Iran, the Shaybanids of Uzbekistan, and the Mughals of India—boosted literary activity in Persian and won it new territory. For example, renewed interest in Hindu medicine resulted in Persian versions of Sanskrit texts (*Ma'din al-Shifā-yi Sikandar-Shāhī [The Healing-Mine of Sikandar-Shah]* by Miyān Bhūwa ibn Khawāss Khān, 918/1512); medical handbooks and monographs met with unceasing demand; and, more remarkably, diseases and substances of American, European, and Far Eastern origin called for discussion. Syphilis (ātishak ["firelet"] or ābila-yi farang [Frankish pox]) was instantly noted, at times correctly diagnosed as transmissible and treated by the supposed panacea smilax (čūb-i čīnī [Chinese wood]) if not by mercury (e.g., *Khulāsat al-Tajārib [Choice Experiences]* by Bahā' al-Dawla Nūrbakhshī, 907/1501–1502; *Risāla-yi Ātishak [Essay on Firelet];* and *Risāla-yi Čūb-i Čīnī [Essay on Chinese Wood]* by 'Imād al-Dīn MaÎmūd Shīrāzī, ca. 978/1570). Coffee (qahwa), tea (čāy), and tobacco (tanbākū) were not ignored, either.

Lutz Richter-Bernburg

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MEDICAL LITERATURE, SYRIAC

Syriac Christians first gained notoriety for their medical skills in Gundaishapur in southwest Persia, where they came into contact with classical Greek medical thought and began translating the works of Dioscorides, Galen, Hippocrates, and Paul of Aegina into Syriac. The Alexandrian-educated Sergius of Resh'aina (d. 536) was one of the earliest Syriac Christians to distinguish himself both as a translator and a medical practitioner. The Boktishu' family of physicians were among the earliest East Syriac Christians to contribute to the intellectual and scientific efflorescence of 'Abbasid Baghdad. Girgis Boktishu' (ca. 770), dean of medicine in Gundaishapur, was personal physician to the Caliph al-Mansur. Gabriel, the son of Girgis, translated extracts from leading Greek medical theorists from Syriac to Arabic, and he compiled them in a work that he titled *al-Mujaz (The Compendium)*. The renowned Hunayn ibn Ishaq (d. 873), court physician to the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, revised and expanded the Syriac translations of Sergius of Resh'aina and translated them into Arabic; medical treatises by his nephew, Hobaysh ibn al-Hasan, often circulated under the name of Hunayn.

Syriac continued to be used as a medium for scholarship, although its scope and impact were much reduced well after Arabic had established itself as the language of life and letters throughout dar al-Islam (the empire of Islam). A particularly well-executed and lavishly illustrated text (Glasgow University Library, Sp Coll MS Hunter 40) entitled *Taqwim al-Abdan fi Tadbir al-Insan (The Arrangement of Bodies for Treatment)* by the eleventh-century scholar Abu 'Ali Yahya ibn 'Isa ibn Jazla is written in Syriac, Arabic, and karshuni (Arabic in Syriac characters). The work of translation from Greek, through Syriac, and into Arabic was carried on most intensively from the eighth through the tenth century, and it had an immediate as well as a long-term impact on Arab culture. In the first instance, Syriac translations of Greek scientific and philosophical works made available a synthesis of the classical heritage of Greece to an increasingly literate and intellectually sophisticated Arabic-speaking populace. In a broader sense, Syriac translations of classical works into Arabic expanded the vocabulary, level of diction, and intellectual range of the Arabic language and helped it develop into an adequate medium for intellectual life.

Joseph P. Amar

See also Arabic; Baghdad; Christians and Christianity; Cultural Exchange; Hunayn ibn Ishaq; Syriac; Linguistics; Medical Literature; Physicians; al-Razi (Rhazes); Scholars, Science; Translation

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MEDICAL LITERATURE, TURKISH

Turkish medical literature, being spread in a wide territory and written in various dialects, is still a field that is not studied sufficiently. According to research that has been performed so far, examples of the first written Turkish literature, the *Orkhon* and *Yenisei* engravings, are from the fifth to the ninth century; however, the earliest Turkish medical literature that was recorded in forty-five rolls and found in Turfan, Central Asia, was started during the tenth century in Uigur Turkish. The medical prescriptions described in Uigur medical texts, translated from Indian and Chinese medical literature, consist mainly of *materia medica,* and some are local drugs.

After the conversion to Islam in large groups from the tenth century on, Turkish peoples favored writing in Arabic, which was accepted to be the literary language of the Islamic world. If Turkish literature in which medical terminology is used is disregarded (e.g., the *Divan-i Lughati't Turk* of the eleventh century; 581 medical terms are used), the start of Turkish medical literature that came to be continuous was with *Tuhfa-i Mubarizi* by Hakim Barakat, dedicated to Mubaruziddin Khalifat Alp Ghazi, the governor of Amasya. The first Anatolian Turkish medical work known so far, this volume was compiled during the first quarter of the thirteenth century, during the Seljuk period. The rapid accumulation of the Turkish medical literature written during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was realized through the support of the rulers of the Anatolian Seljuk states (who expected books to be written in Turkish) and paid importance to knowledge and art; hence, this protected and motivated scholars and physicians. These books were written in a simple style that the common



The forms of instruments necessary for extracting the foetus. (*Sharafaddin Sabunjuoghlu's Jarrahiyatu'l-Haniya*. Part 2, Chapter 77, f. 113a, Millet Library.). © Nil Sari.

people were familiar with; therefore, this is the best literature to be studied as interesting linguistic material. The subjects studied in Turkish medical work were mainly practical applications of the same character as classical Islamic medicine in theory and practice. For example, the classification of illnesses (e.g., fevers, tumors) and their etiology, signs, and symptoms were described in accordance with the humoral theory. Examinations (e.g., feeling for the pulse, performing uroscopy) and treatments such as vomiting, bloodletting, purgation, as well as simple and complex drug therapies were also based on the humoral theory.

The Turkish medical literature of this period was influenced by the preceding literature: the *Al-Qanun fi'-t Tıb* of Ibn Sina; the *Zahire-i Kharezmshahi* of Jurjani; and the *Kitab al-Jami'i fi-al-Adviyatu al-Mufrada* of Ibn Baytar were the most favored Islamic sources used, whereas Hippocrates, Galen, and Dioscorides were the most frequent references. However, some writers and translators quoted new information and described their own practices and experiences. Such information that was assumed to be original can be evaluated only by comparing it with the preceding works. The examples that are best known for their contributions are the following: Ishaq ibn Murad's book that consists of Turkish drug names (*Adviya-i Mufrada,* 1389), which was the first Turkish medical work of the Ottoman period; Mehmed ibn Mahmud of Shirvan and his exhaustive book on eye diseases (*Murshid,* 1438); Sharafaddin Sabunjuoghlu's illustrated book about surgery (*Jarrahiyatu'l-Haniya,* 1465); a translation of al-Tasrif's part on surgery by Abu'l-Qasim al-Zahrawi and his book of medical prescriptions describing his own experiences (*Mujarrabnama,* 1468); and Akhi Chalabi's (d. 1524) work on kidney and urinary bladder stones and their treatment *(Risala-i Hasatu'l-Kilya)*. The most favored Turkish medical books that comprised all subjects of classical Islamic medicine were the *Muntahab-ı Shifa* of *Hajy Pasha* (d. 1424); the *Yadigar* of *Ibn Sharif* (1425); and the *Manafi'u'n-Nas* (1566) of *Nidai*. Turkish medical compilations and translations of the known and anonymous writers from between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries (known so far) comprise about fifty works, most of which have not yet been studied.

Nil Sari

See also Ibn Sina or Avicenna; Jurjani; Abu'l-Qasim al-Zahrawi

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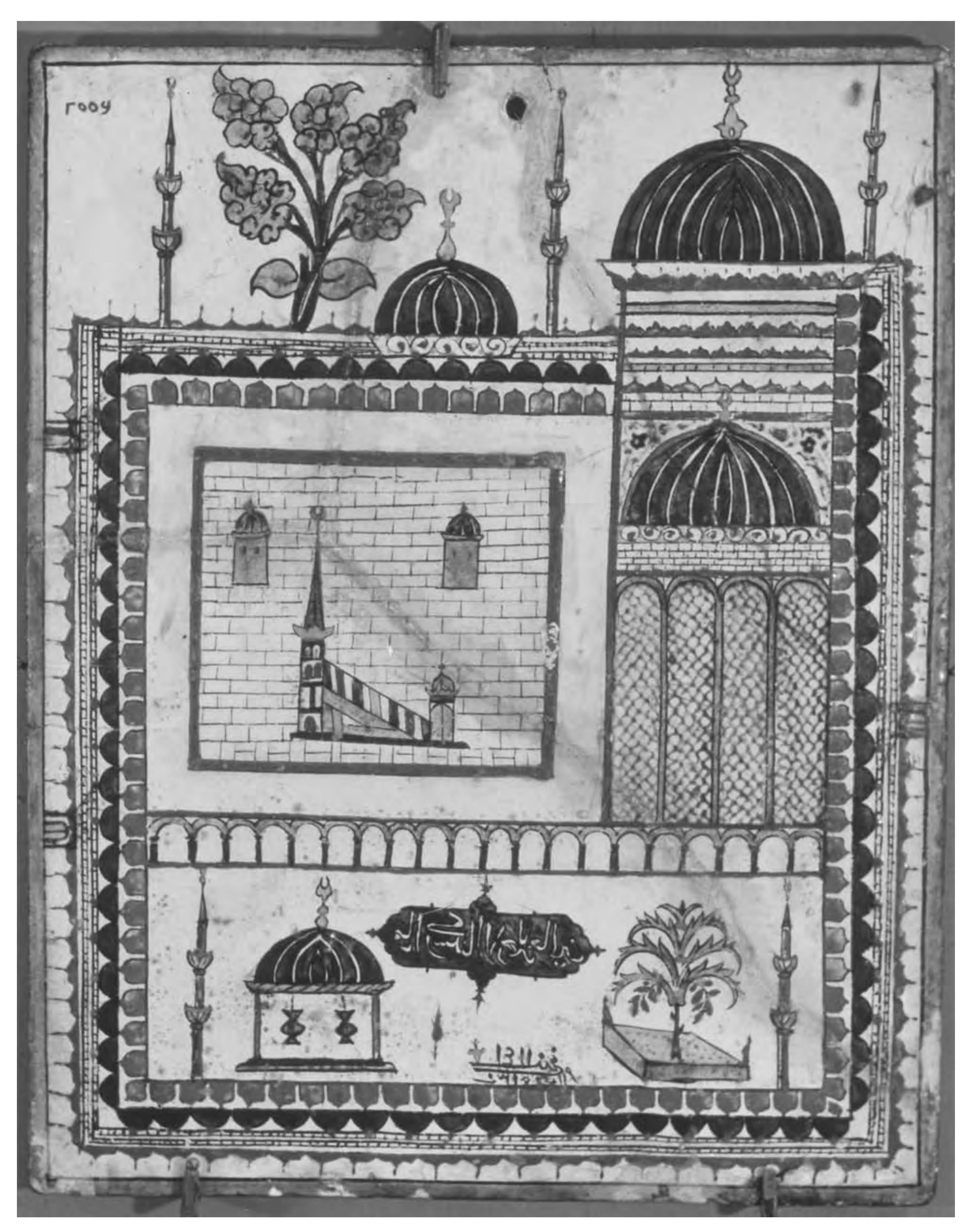
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MEDINA

The oasis settlement of Medina, Islam's second most holy city, lies in the western region of the Arabian peninsula. It was originally called Yathrib, and it is located 385 kilometers northeast of Mecca in the geographical region known as the Hijaz. Medina provided the platform from which the Prophet was able to place the Islamic faith firmly on the landscape of Arabia and beyond. It is situated on an elevated plain of predominantly fertile land that is renowned for its abundant date palms and vineyards. It was close to the trade routes that passed along the western coast of the Arabian peninsula. Arab and Jewish tribes had



Schematic view of Medina, the center of the cult of Muhammad, whose goal was union with the prophet. Tile. Cairo, Mamluk period, sixteenth century. Credit: Werner Forman/Art Resource, NY. Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, Egypt.

settled there over the centuries that preceded the emergence of Islam. The Aws and the Khazraj were the settlement's two main Arab tribes. The Jews of Medina, who constituted a sizable element of the city's population, were influential landowners and merchants. Members of the Arab clans, who were mostly pagans, performed the annual pilgrimage to the Meccan sanctuary. During one such occasion, several individuals from Medina were persuaded to convert to the new faith, paving the way for the promulgation of the Prophet's message in the oasis settlement.

When the Prophet was compelled to leave Mecca in 622 CE, he and his followers were welcomed in Medina; the Muslims there were known as the *Ansar* (Helpers). The Prophet purchased a plot of land, constructing a modest mosque *(masjid)* with adjoining apartments in which he lived. It served as the seat of government for him and his immediate successors. The migration *(hijra)* to Medina marked a turning point in the religion's history and development. The Prophet assumed greater political and personal authority in the city, drawing up a constitution that governed relationships among the city's communities. He was also able to challenge Quraysh by threatening their trade caravans.

Islam as a religious institution evolved decisively. Qur'anic revelation in Medina covered themes of a legislative nature; furthermore, ritual prayers, alms giving, fasting, and pilgrimage were made obligatory. When the Prophet passed away, he was buried in the mosque where he had lived. The mosque serves as an important shrine for visiting pilgrims.

MUSTAFA SHAH

See also Arabia; Arabs; Battles; Constitution of Medina; Early Islam; Emigration (Hijra); Hajj; Islam; Land Tenure and Ownership; Markets; Merchants; Mosques; Muhammad the Prophet; Nomadism and Pastoralism; Pacts and Treaties; Pilgrimage; Shari'a

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MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Islamic sources refer to the Mediterranean as *Bahr al-Rüm* (the Sea of the Greeks), *Bahr al-Sham* or *al-Bahr al-Shami* (the Sea of Syria), and/or *Bahr al-Maghrib* (the Sea of the West). The Byzantines' loss of Syria and Egypt to Muslims during the first half of the seventh century CE marks the beginning of Islamic expansion in the Mediterranean arena. Taking advantage of experienced Greek and Coptic sailors, shipwrights, and former Byzantine maritime installations in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, Mu'awiya, who was then the *wali* (governor) of Syria (640–661 CE), commandeered the first Islamic maritime expedition against Cyprus in AH 28/648 CE. During the subsequent year, he launched a second attack on Arwad (Arados), an island located off the Syrian coast, and he burned the island's city. Islamic fleets—the Syrian one in particular—intensified their activities against Byzantine targets in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean and Aegean and assaulted Crete, Cos, Cyprus, and Rhodes in 33/653–654, ultimately scoring their first naval victory against the Byzantine navy at Phoenix (Dhat al-Sawari) in 34/655. With the establishment of the Umayyad Caliphate and the transfer of the capital from Kufa to Damascus in 40/661, Muslims intensified their naval activities and targeted Byzantine strategic positions on the Mediterranean as well as the Aegean seas. During the spring of 49/669, they launched an unsuccessful attack against Constantinople. During their second attempt to capture the Byzantine capital, they laid an enduring siege to it that lasted for eight years (53–60/673–80), with no success. The third fruitless effort was in 99–100/717–718, which ended with the destruction, capture, and burning of Islamic ships. In addition to these major attacks, Muslims carried out annual expeditions to different targets on the Mediterranean. Although Byzantine supremacy at sea was shattered, the Islamic naval triumph had no immediate overarching results because of the domestic complications in the caliphate itself.

In separate, spontaneous, and uncoordinated expeditions, Muslim sea powers launched attacks against Sicily and Crete during that same year. Although the Aghlabid fleet commandeered by Asad Ibn al-Furat (an old Maliki jurist of Khurasani origin) raided Sicily, an Andalusian flotilla led by Abu Hafs 'Umar al-Balluti landed and held sway over the island of Crete. The assaults on and conquest of Sicily and Crete mark a turning point in Islamic naval history in the Mediterranean. Within a few decades, Islamic fleets captured the Mediterranean islands of Majorca, Minorca, Ibiza, Sardinia, Pantelleria, Malta, and Cyprus. Their military expeditions extended to Christian coastal frontiers and hinterland. A series of more advanced and permanent military and pirate bases were established along the northern shores of the Mediterranean Sea at Fraxinetum in Provence, Monte Garigliano near Naples, and around Bari in Apulia. Navigation in the Adriatic Sea became controlled by independent Islamic flotillas, whereas Byzantine navigation in the Aegean was threatened by the Syrian and Cretan Arabs, who sacked and

captured Thessalonica in 904 CE and invaded and landed on several other strategic islands. The Islamic control of the Mediterranean did not, thus, begin during the seventh or eighth century CE but rather during the first half of the ninth century CE, when the Muslim world was fragmented into political entities governed by dynasties of both Arab and non-Arab origin.

The Islamic *imperium* over the Mediterranean Sea lasted for more than two centuries despite the recapture of Crete by Byzantium in 351/961. The actual degeneration of Muslim naval power in the Mediterranean began by the late fourth and early AH fifth centuries/eleventh century CE and continued into the early AH sixth century/twelfth century CE; this resulted from inter-Islamic military struggles and the penetration of Bedouin tribes. In 442/1050, the Hilalis (Banu Hilal) who had ravaged the province of Barqa (Libya) and left it to the Sulaymis continued their advance toward Gabès, Bèja, Qayrawan, al-Mahdiyya, Bougie (Bijaya), and the Central Maghrib. This invasion had formidable impact on the socioeconomic and political life of the region. In addition to destroying the basis of Tunisian agriculture, industry, and sub-Saharan trade, the resulting deterioration of the port cities led to a decline in maritime commerce. Navigational activity along the coast between Gabès to Būna (Bône) seems to have been paralyzed, and therefore the port cities were exposed to hostile attacks by Sicilian and Italian flotillas. Ibn Khaldun (733–809/1332–1406) summarizes that decline as follows:

> "Then, the naval strength of the Muslims declined once more, because of the weakness of the ruling dynasties. Maritime habits were forgotten under the impact of the strong Bedouin attitude prevailing in the Maghrib and as a result of the discontinuance of Spanish habits. . . . The Muslims came to be strangers in the Mediterranean. The only exceptions are a few inhabitants of the coastal regions. They ought to have had many assistants and supporters, or they should have had support from the dynasties to enable them to recruit help and work toward the goal of [increasing seafaring activities]." (Ibn Khaldun, *Muqaddimah*, vol. 1, 268–9. English edition, 212.)

HASSAN KHALILEH

See also Trade, Mediterranean

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MENTAL ILLNESS

Madness and other mental disorders were present in Islamic societies from the earliest times; however, the explanation of and reaction to states of the mind that were defined as deviating from the norm were manifold and variegated in different contexts. For instance, the suitor consumed by ardent and irrational love for an unobtainable mistress, as exemplified in *Majnun Laila (Laila's Madman)*, or the fool who, in his insanity, speaks words of wisdom—both topics of some prominence in Arabic literature—illustrate ambivalent attitudes toward mental alterity. On the one hand, madness can lead to doom and destruction; on the other, it can lead to clarity and artistic creativity. Although madness appears in a range of positive and negative guises, the focus in this discussion will be on mental illness as a medical concept, with a discussion of the religious and legal ramifications at the end.

Generally speaking, Islamic physicians viewed mental illness as a physiological condition that required treatment. They inherited medical concepts of mental health and disease to a large extent from their Greek predecessors, who developed them within the framework of humoral pathology. Drawing on ideas first expressed in the Hippocratic corpus, Galen, who was the most influential Greek medical author, argued that the "temperaments of the soul follow the mixtures of the body." To put it differently, mental conditions are linked to the state of the body: if one of the four humors dominates, this has a direct effect on the mind. An excess of black bile (marar aswad; Greek *melaina cholê*), for example, was seen to cause "melancholy" (waswas sawdawi; Greek *melancholia)*, a severe mental condition characterised by delusions and extreme mood swings. A typical physiological explanation for processes that caused this form of melancholy was the following: black bile that degenerated in the spleen ascended via the stomach and heart in the form of vapors to the brain, where it corrupted the psychic pneuma, which was necessary for all intellectual activities. Other forms of mental disease were similarly explained in terms of humoral pathology and thought to originate in the brain. According to 'Ali ibn Rabban al-Tabari in *Firdaws al-Hikma fi l-Tibb (Paradise of Wisdom on Medicine,* ed. M.Z. Siddiqi, 138. Berlin, 1928; cf. Dols, *Majnun*, 115), they include epilepsy *(sar')*, prophetic illness *(marad kahini)*, despair *(wahsha)*, madness *(waswasa)*, delirium *(hadhayan)*, corruption of imagination and intelligence *(fasad al-khayal wa-l-'aql)*, forgetfulness *(nisyan)*, open animal-like brutality *(tawahhush fi l-barari)*, lethargy *(subat)*, roaring in the head *(dawi)*, vertigo *(duwar)*, inflammation *(waram [harr])*, and headache *(suda')*. The challenge for the practitioner consisted of diagnosing the exact mental condition and determining which humoral imbalance was responsible for it. For instance, the hospital physician al-Kaskari used criteria such the temperament of the patient as indicators to ascertain the nature of the mental disorder: sluggishness and forgetfulness point to a cold temperament, which requires a different treatment from a warm one, which is revealed through insomnia.

After the physician had diagnosed the exact nature of the illness, he or she could prescribe the appropriate treatment, which primarily aimed at restoring the bodily balance by expelling excess humors and replenishing deficient ones, thereby bringing the four cardinal qualities (cold, warm, dry, and moist) into proper alignment. This was achieved not only through medication but also through diet, exercise, and other, more subtle means, such as music therapy. In general, patients suffering from mental disorders would either be treated at home or in hospitals. The latter were associated with mental health care from the ninth century onward, and the word for hospital (bimaristan) later came to mean "insane asylum." Patients were sometimes treated for significant amounts of time in hospitals (there is an example of one person remaining there for years, first as a patient and later, on the way to recovery, as an orderly; see al-Tanukhi, *Nishwar al-Muhadara wa-'Akhbar al-Mudhakara*, ed. 'A. Shaliji, 8 vols., vol. VIII, 233. Beirut, 1971–1973.). Moreover, there are even some cases of famous patients who suffered from insanity staying in a hospital until death (e.g., al-Baladhuri; see *Fihrist,* ed. Flügel, 113).

Unlike the Bible, which contains numerous stories of miraculously cured mental illnesses, such as those about Jesus healing people possessed by demons (e.g., Luke 8: 26–33), the Qur'an has very few references to wondrous cures, and, when they do occur, they chiefly refer to Jesus and draw on a Christian tradition (e.g., 3:49; 5:110); moreover, the Prophet Muhammad is not portrayed as a healer or exorcist. However, in the later tradition, the Qur'an or certain verses taken from it are employed to remove jinns that are believed to be the cause of madness. Such practices are often closely connected to magic, which is also used in the form of amulets, talismans, and magical-medicinal bowls to restore mental health.

In Islamic law, the problem of insanity is discussed in a number of contexts, nearly all in connection with the question of incapacity *(hajr)*. Although the legal schools *(madhahib)* vary with regard to their definition of insanity, there are common traits: the insane person *(majnun)* is someone who is unable to make rational judgments and who lacks intellect *('aql)*; his or her legal status is therefore similar to that of a child. The insane are assigned guardians *(walis)* who can act on their behalf. Likewise, those who are not *compos mentis* cannot be responsible for any crimes, even homicide, because their actions lack intent; however, criminal damages were payable to the victims or their family.

PETER E. PORMANN

See also Hospitals

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MERCHANTS, JEWISH

The Muslim conquests brought the majority of world Jewry under Arab rule. During the first two centuries of the caliphate, large numbers of Jews went over from the agrarian life depicted in the Talmud to a cosmopolitan one. Unlike feudal Latin Christendom, Islamic society held commerce in high esteem and placed no occupational restrictions upon non-believers. Although the shari'a imposed upon the goods of dhimmi merchants a tariff of five percent (double that paid by Muslims who thus enjoyed a favored trading status), this was only half of what was levied upon traders from outside the domain of Islam. By the ninth century, Jews were benefitting from the general prosperity, entering the growing bourgeoisie, and actively participating in the Islamic Commercial Revolution. Under the 'Abbasids, Jewish merchants from the district of Radhan around Baghdad became prominent in the burgeoning international trade. According to the geographer Ibn Khurradadhbih, who was the head of caliphal posts and intelligence, the Radhanites (al-Radhaniyya) operated as far east as China and as far west as Spain, trading in precious commodities such as aromatics, spices, textiles, furs, and slaves. Who exactly they were and whether they formed a league or association has been hotly debated by scholars, and no definitive resolution is possible without further data.

A concomitant of the Commercial Revolution under the 'Abbasids was the development of merchant banking. Although Christians were most prominent in the profession, Jews were well represented. Their activities included money changing and assaying, granting loans, and issuing instruments of credit such as the *hawala* (bill of exchange), ruq'a (order of payment), *sakka* (payment note), and *suftaja* (bill of exchange comparable to a modern cashier's check). During the ninth and tenth centuries, several Jewish bankers (e.g., the Sons of Netira and the Sons of Aaron) made it to the rank of government bankers *(jahabidha)*. In addition to extending credit to the caliphal court, men like Netira and his sons played a prominent role in Jewish communal affairs. Even before the rise of Islam, there had been intimate bonds connecting the rabbinical and mercantile elites. Members of the mercantile class studied at the great gaonic academies *(yeshivot)* of Sura and Pumbeditha, which by this period were located in Baghdad. Merchant alumni who spread throughout the Islamic world fostered ties between the diaspora communities and the academies and helped further the dissemination of the talmudic form of Judaism. Men like Jacob ibn 'Awkal, his son Joseph in Fustat, and the Berekhya brothers in Qayrawan served as intermediaries and representatives of the academies and facilitated the flow of correspondence and funds, issuing suftajas that were drawn on their banking correspondents in Baghdad.

The heyday of the Jewish mercantile class came during the Fatimid caliphate (909–1161 CE). Shortly after their rise to power in Ifriqiyya (Tunisia), the country became the nexus for land and sea trade and thus the hub of the Mediterranean world. The heterodox Fatimids did not impose the discriminatory tariffs on their non-Muslim subjects, and Jewish merchants, both indigenous Maghrebis and immigrants from the East, prospered in the laissez-faire atmosphere. When the Fatimids transferred their seat of power to Egypt in 973, many merchants reestablished themselves in Fustat, Cairo, and Alexandria. One Jewish merchant, Abu Sa'd al-Tustari, who had been a purveyor to the Fatimid court, rose to the heights of political influence until his assassination

in 1047 as advisor to the queen mother and regent for the boy caliph al-Mustansir.

The Cairo Geniza documents, which constitute one of the greatest sources not just for Jewish history but for medieval economic and social history as well, attest to the active role played by Jewish merchants in the flourishing trade that extended from Spain to India. Diversification was one of the hallmarks of medieval merchants. The Jewish merchants, both great and small, who were represented in the Geniza handled a tremendous variety of commodities, ranging from textiles to spices and aromatics, medicinals, foodstuffs, gemstones, and precious metals. The great House of Ibn ʿAwkal (990s–ca. 1040) handled no less than eighty-three commodities and their varieties. Textile production was probably the most important industry in the medieval Muslim world, and Jewish merchants were heavily involved in all stages. Businessmen sometimes formed a temporary partnership for very large shipments, purchases, or other transactions. These could be outright partnerships of pooled capital *(shirka* or *khulta)* or commenda *(qirad)* in which one partner provided capital and the other labor and know-how. Most joint ventures, however, were conducted on the basis of informal cooperation *(muʿamala* or *suhba)* whereby merchants provided reciprocal services for each other.

Although most Jews throughout the Islamic world were craftsmen and laborers, there were always Jewish merchants involved in commerce at every level.

Norman A. Stillman

See also Ibn Khurradadhbih; Interfaith Relations; Money Chargers; Spices; Textiles; Trade

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MERCHANTS, MUSLIM

Merchants played a vital role in the economic life of the urban societies from pre-Islamic Arabia through the late classical era of Islam; the Prophet Muhammad himself acted as a merchant during the earlier part of his life, and so were some of his Companions, namely Abu Bakr, ʿUthman ibn ʿAffan, ʿAbd al-Rahman ibn ʿAwf, and ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAs. The Qur'an refers nine times to the term *tijara* (merchandise and/or trafficking) in seven suras (chapters), although no mention is made of the term *tajir* (merchant).

In addition to the Qur'an, Muslim jurists and theologians set forth a series of works—like those of al-Ghazali, al-Dimashqi, and Ibn Khaldün—pertaining to the ethical theory of trade. In his *Ihya' ʿUlum al-Din*, al-Ghazali (vol. 2, 79–111) lays down seven fundamental principles for a Muslim merchant in his pursuit of profit: a merchant should (1) begin his transactions with good faith and intention; (2) conceive of trade as a social duty; (3) not be the first to enter and the last to leave the market; (4) avoid forbidden and all doubtful and suspicious business; (5) carefully watch his words and deeds in business; (6) not be distracted from fulfilling his religious duties and rituals; and (7) not travel by sea. In addition, al-Ghazali ordains a seller to give emphasis to the quality and quantity of the commodities and must quote the correct price of the day. As a result, al-Ghazali considers the tijara as a form of jihad.

The AH sixth-century al-Dimashqi's composition *al-Ishara ila Mahasin al-Tijara (Beauties of Commerce)* is a pioneering and more practical manual for merchants that consists of two parts, one dealing with the merchant and the other with his goods. Concerning the first part, he classifies merchants into three categories: (1) the wholesaler (*khazzan*; literally, "hoarder"), who stores the goods and sells them when there is a scarcity of them and the prices are high; (2) the traveling merchant (*rakkad*; literally, "peregrinator"), who transports goods from one country to another; and (3) the exporting merchant or shipper *(mujahhiz)* who is himself stationary but who sends the shipments abroad to a reliable agent to whom the commodities are exported, provided that both parties share the profits. The part about goods concerns the essence of wealth, the way to test the gold, various commodities and their prices, ways of distinguishing bad merchandise from good, crafts and industries, advice to merchants, warnings against tricksters, the administration of wealth, and so on. Like al-Ghazali, al-Dimashqi pictures the ideal merchant as a person who fears God and observes equity in his dealings, buys and sells on easy terms, carries goods for the needs of people, and is satisfied with a small profit.

The occupation of trade as viewed by Ibn Khaldun requires people to acquire skills, to have the ability to praise their commodities, and to deal cunningly and stubbornly with their customers. However, unlike the foregoing two figures, he adopts the principle of

"buying cheap and selling dear (ishtira' al-rakhis wa-bay' al-ghali)." Furthermore, where al-Ghazali advises merchants not to risk their properties and lives for the sake of deriving profits, Ibn Khaldun clearly states in his *Muqaddima* (310–3) that it is more advantageous and more profitable for the merchant's enterprise if he brings goods from a country that is far away where there is danger on the road. With the exception of religious prohibitions, merchants are entitled to practice all methods and to transport goods from remote countries and sell them for high prices.

The expansion of Islamic trade in the East and West could not have developed without adopting the trading patterns that prevailed in the former Persian and Byzantine territories and providing a congenial legal environment for its promotion. Investment in commercial enterprises took many forms; among them were the commenda (mudaraba, qirad, and muqarada) and the partnership (sharika). The rules governing a commenda in which the muqarids offer capital to the master and crew of a ship can be epitomized as follows. The agents collect the amount of investment before actually commencing transactions in their capacity as trustees. They maintain it as a trust and thus must take care with it and return it when demanded by the muqarids. However, they will be absolved of liability in the event that the capital is lost unintentionally. The agents of the muqarids are legally responsible for their acts and for the contractual obligations that they carried out within the bounds of their authority. Likewise, they must have a fixed share in the profit, because profit sharing is the purpose of this partnership. However, they can be held liable if they disrespect contract terms. After the contract becomes void, they will receive a comparable wage for their labor, whereas the capital investor exclusively bears the profit or loss. If the entire profit is earmarked for the capital investors, the agents will be entitled to a certain portion of goods in exchange for their labor but will not be eligible for remuneration. Conversely, if the entire profit is attributed to the agents, then the transaction will be regarded as a loan, and they will have the right to the entire profit; however, they will also bear any loss and will still be liable for repayment of the loan to the investor. Partnership, however, varies from commenda in that the parties share the losses and profits proportionately to each one's share, although the partners fix the duration of the transaction, the types of commodities, and the geographic scope. In both situations *(qirad* and *sharika),* the investment could be made on credit using either transfer of debt *(hawwala)* or letter of credit *(saftaja)*.

In addition to investment in trade, governmental institutions levied various types of canonical and non-canonical taxes on merchants, whereas jurists promulgated rules pertaining to on-land transport and carriage by sea for dealing with sharing losses and profits, jettison, salvage of goods, and so on.

Hassan Khalileh

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MESSIANISM

The term *messianism* is derived from *messiah*, a transliteration of the Hebrew word for "the anointed one," which denotes a future consecrated king who will restore the kingdom of Israel and save people from evil. It has become a generic term used to describe the expectation of a deliverer, often associated with a particular sacred family, who will destroy the forces of evil, eradicate injustice, and establish the true faith at the end of times. As such, messianism is often associated with a theory of salvation, a soteriology, in which the messianic figure is also a spiritual redeemer as well as a political authority, and a theory about the end of times, an eschatology, whereby the advent of the messiah ushers in a final apocalyptic struggle against evil before the cosmos comes to an end by divine decree.

In the pre-Islamic Near East, messianism was prevalent. In Judaism, sporadic expectation led to a common process of the flourishing of "false messiahs," who were charismatic figures who failed to fulfill the hope of the community and were seen as inadequate heirs of David. Such movements culminated in apocalyptic and chiliastic conflict and violence and, in some cases, in an esoteric withdrawal and acquiescence with the status quo, most notably with Sabbatai Zevi during the seventeenth century CE and in forms of Hassidism. A clear tension between an apocalyptic and a rational, routinized messianism is visible in Jewish history, as it is in other traditions. Among Christians, the messiah had come in the form of Jesus and provided redemption; however, hope, justice, and the kingdom of heaven were postponed until his second coming at the end of time, to which messianic hope was pinned. Zoroastrians pinned their hope on the future advent of the Saoshyant, "one who will bring benefit," who was to be born of a virgin from the seed of Zoroaster; this human world savior would bring forth righteousness and initiate the cosmic struggle to rid the world of evil. As with other traditions, Zoroastrian expectation was most heightened during times of oppression, hardship, and suffering.

Messianism in Islam is focused on the future appearance of the mahdi, "the rightly guided one" who is believed to be a descendent of the Prophet who will vanquish evil and injustice and restore justice and Islam during the corrupt last days. During the earliest period, it was a concomitant of the eschatological expectation expressed in the Qur'an and in the Prophetic narrations of an impending end of time. The Prophet himself was called the mahdi, and some of his Companions refused to believe that he had truly passed from this world because they believed that they were living during the last days. Revisionists have argued that early Islam was in fact a messianic, Judaic movement with the goal of uniting the monotheists and recapturing the holy land. The movement fixed its expectations not on the Prophet but on the deliverer: al-Faruq, the title associated with ʻUmar ibn al-Khattab, the caliph responsible for the conquest of Jerusalem. Be that as it may, the history of messianism in Islam was closely associated with those groups who suffered political defeat and whose charismatic notions of religious authority residing in the holy family of the Prophet were marginalized: the Shiʻis.

The defeat of the radical Shiʻis who denied legitimacy to the caliphate and fought for the rights of the family of the Prophet led to apocalyptic forms of messianism, first encountered among the Kaysaniyya, who believed in the rightful authority of Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiyya, the son of ʻAli ibn Abi Talib. The failure of the revolt in his name in 686 led by Mukhtar ibn Abi ʻUbayd al-Thaqafi introduced two key notions of Shiʻi messianism: the occultation (ghayba) and return (rajʻa) of the Imam. Ibn al-Hanafiyya was believed to have disappeared into the mountains north of Mecca, where he was divinely protected, and it was thought that he would return at the end of time to reclaim his right and establish justice. Various ʻAlids and even ʻAbbasids adopted the title *mahdi* to draw the loyalty and aspirations of the disaffected, but the revolts against caliphal authority failed. Conflicts and splits among the nascent Imami Shiʻis were often directly related to the expectation that a particular claimant was the mahdi. Eventually, from among the radical Shiʻis who insisted on the infallible authority and charisma of the family of the Prophet, two groups emerged: the Ismaʻilis, whose Imams went into hiding in the face of persecution only to emerge as victorious caliphs in North Africa from 909, and the Imamiyya, who were later known as the Ithnaʻashariyya (Twelvers) who settled on a divinely established line of twelve imams, the last of whom was Abu'l-Qasim Muhammad ibn al-Hasan, who was born in secrecy in 868 and, after the death of his father, went into occultation. The divine promise of deliverance was postponed both because of the lack of faith of the believers and the paucity of their strength in the face of secular authority. Islamic messianism henceforth was associated with the Twelver Shiʻis (although one branch of the Ismaʻilis, the Tayyibis, still believed in a line of protected, occulted imams who went into concealment *[satr]* during the twelfth century).

The Twelver Shiʻis divided the period of occultation into a lesser one, during which the imam remained in contact with the community through his agents and that ended in 941, and a greater one, which

covers the expanse of time until his appearance (zuhur) at the end of time. Later traditional authorities such as al-Tusi developed a theory of hierarchical access to the imam in the lesser occultation, placing at its head a gate (bab) to the Imam in the form of four individuals, one after the other: (1) ʻUthman al-ʻAmri; (2) his son Muhammad; (3) al-Husayn ibn Rawh (a member of the powerful Nawbakhti family); and (4) ʻAli ibn Muhammad al-Samarra'i. It was at the death of the latter that the period of the greater occultation began with a letter of the Imam preserved in Shiʻi collections announcing that, from that time on, contact with the Imam was severed until his advent.

In this state, the Twelvers dealt with the loss of contact in a series of ways: jurists began to articulate notions of their authority as the true representatives of the Imam, mystics insisted on the spiritual experience of the Imam and established their leaders as the true gate to the Imam, and popular legends accrued about the location of the Imam. The hope and need to keep the link with the Imam, who in Shiʻi theology became known as a rational necessity for the knowledge of God, could lead to chiliastic outbreaks. A number of millennarian revolts occurred during the medieval period in the name of a mahdi, often in association with the Twelfth Imam in the face of social oppression and as an expression of dissent. Particular times were seen as ripe for the advent: one thousand years from the advent of Islam expectation accounts partly for the Nuqtavi and Mahdavi uprisings in Safavid Iran and Mughal India, and one thousand years from the occultation of the Imam may explain the heightened expectation of the mid-nineteenth century that led to the Shaykhi, Babi, and Bahai movements in Iran. However, there is one example of a successful messianic, millenarian movement that established a viable and lasting state: the Safavids. However, the shift there from the divine Ismaʻil who established dynastic power in Iran in 1501 (venerated by his followers as the mahdi and as ʻAli incarnate) to Shah Sultan Husayn at the end of the seventeenth century (a routinized king surrounded by jurists and theologians of the Twelver tradition) is striking.

Sajjad H. Rizvi

See also Afterlife; ʻAli ibn Abi Talib; Apocalypticism; Imam; Shiʻism; ʻUmar ibn al-Khattab

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METALWORK

Metalworkers across the Islamic world produced a wide range of vessels and objects: from base metal pans to be used in a kitchen to gem-encrusted gold bottles destined for a palace, from precision-forged steel swords to delicate filigree gold earrings. However, statuary—the category of metalwork that was most esteemed in other cultures—is missing, because figural sculpture is prohibited by Islam.

The recyclability of metalwork makes it more susceptible to total destruction than almost any other category of art, and, without a tradition of burying precious or household items with the dead, the survival rate of Islamic metalwork has suffered. Throughout the Islamic period, gold and silver wares were the most expensive and highly esteemed of all metalwork, but most of these have been melted down for their monetary value or to be remade in a more contemporary style. A rare glimpse of the extravagance and technical skill of the finest court goldsmith's work is conveyed by objects displayed in the treasury of the Topkapi Palace in Istanbul, many of them decorated in repoussé and encrusted with emeralds, rubies, jade, or rock crystal plaques.

Most surviving metalwork of the Islamic period consists of brass vessels. The earliest examples were produced by casting, which enabled them to be manufactured in batches. The majority of them are plain and functional, although some are engraved with simple geometric, floral, or animal ornament or Arabic inscriptions with good wishes for the owner.

The most important contribution of the Islamic metalworker was the inlay technique. Between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, base metal vessels were often transformed into luxury objects by inlaying the engraved brass surface with gold, silver, and copper. The inlay technique was not invented by the Islamic metalworkers, but its decorative potential had never been exploited as fully before. The result was that inlaid brass vessels became immensely prestigious and fashionable, and more time, skill, and money were expended for their manufacture and decoration.

The inlay technique was developed in the workshops of Afghanistan and eastern Iran during the twelfth century. Ewers, buckets, pen boxes, inkwells, and other vessels were made, often in sheet brass in imitation of the shapes of precious metal, and they were finely inlaid with silver and copper sheet and wire. They were decorated with a combination of benedictory inscriptions, arabesque scrolls, and figural scenes; personifications of the zodiac and the planets were especially popular. Historians claim that these wares were highly valued locally and abroad and were even given as diplomatic gifts to foreign rulers. The technique soon spread westward, and a series of inlay centers sprang up in western Iran, Anatolia, and northern Iraq, boosted by the Mongol invasion in the 1220s, which encouraged more metalworkers to travel west in search of patrons.

The most important of these new inlaid brass centers was Mosul in Northern Iraq, where inlays were used to decorate traditionally shaped vessels with scenes of court life such as enthronements, hunting scenes, and musicians, which appealed to the wealthy inhabitants of Mosul. The destruction of Mosul by the Mongols in 1259 forced the metalworkers to move to neighboring countries, most notably Syria, which was already producing fine vessels in a similar style for the courts of the Ayyubid sultans.

After the establishment of the Mamluk regime in Egypt and Syria, these metalworkers and their successors were encouraged to produce vessels inlaid with bold inscription friezes containing the names, titles, and blazons of the elite. However, the increasingly active trade with Europe gave the metalworkers an alternative market that appreciated figural and animal designs and exotic "Saracenic" ornament such as pseudo-Arabic inscriptions and complex arabesques.

Meanwhile, the Mongols injected a range of chinoiserie ornament into the decorative repertoire of the metalwork produced for their courts in Iran as well as an appreciation of poetic inscriptions. A series of inlaid brass wine jugs produced at the court of Timur (Tamerlane) and his successors in Herat, Afghanistan, during the fifteenth century feature verses from contemporary poets such as Hafez, often in praise of the wine that they would have contained.

By the end of the fifteenth century, the fashion for these highly decorated vessels was waning and was replaced by a passion for Chinese porcelain. Brass or copper vessels continued to be produced, sometimes engraved and tinned to resemble silver or gilded to look like gold; however, these base metal wares never regained the kudos of the inlaid brasses of the medieval period.

Rachel Ward

See also Sculpture

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METEOROLOGY

Meteorological phenomena have been mentioned and discussed by a variety of authors in the medieval Arabic/Muslim world. Those who tried to explain these phenomena within a theoretical framework linked them up with Greek philosophy and science, particularly with Aristotle's *Meteorology* and with what his pupil Theophrastus and later Greek commentators have written about this subject. The discipline dealing with meteorological phenomena and their explanation was known as the "science of the upper phenomena" ('ilm al-athar al-'ulwiyya); that is, the science of the phenomena that occur in the atmosphere above the earth. These phenomena include not only such things as rain, snow, wind, thunder, lightning, haloes, and rainbows but also comets and the Milky Way, which, according to Aristotle, were not celestial phenomena but rather were occurring in the upper atmosphere. Aristotelian meteorology also included the study of rivers, the sea, earthquakes, and the formation of minerals and metals within the earth.

These were grouped together with the aforementioned phenomena because all of them were explained as being caused by one basic phenomenon: the double exhalation. The sun dissolves by its heat two kinds of exhalations from the earth: a vaporous, moist, cold exhalation from the water on the earth and a smoky, dry, hot exhalation from the earth itself. It is from these two exhalations that fill the atmosphere that all meteorological phenomena arise. For instance, when the moist exhalation rises to higher, colder regions of the atmosphere, it densifies into clouds and condenses into rain. The hot exhalation rises to the upper part of the atmosphere, which is adjacent to the celestial sphere of the moon. There it forms clusters that are ignited by the motion of the celestial sphere, and this is seen as meteors, comets, or the Milky Way. Wind is not moving air, according to Aristotle, but rather dry exhalation that moves horizontally; it is moved along in a circular motion around the earth by the motion of the upper atmosphere, which in turn is moved along by the circular motion of the celestial sphere.

Aristotelian meteorology became known in the Arabic/Muslim world during the ninth century by means of (a rather distorted) Arabic version of Aristotle's *Meteorology* and by the translations of the Greek commentaries by Alexander and Olympiodorus as well as of Theophrastus' *Meteorology*. Subsequently, a number of Arabic/Muslim scholars wrote about meteorological subjects based on the Greek theories, such as al-Kindi, Ibn Suwar ibn al-Khammar, Ibn Sina, Ibn Bajja, and Ibn Rushd. The views expressed by these scholars are mostly adopted from or inspired by the Aristotelian theory, but they also criticized it (e.g., when this theory could not explain clearly observed phenomena); besides that, they also presented ideas that may be considered as original contributions. For instance, they all rejected the view that the Milky Way is a phenomenon in the atmosphere, because this cannot explain the fact that it is stable and always looks the same. Instead, they claimed that it is the light of many stars that are close together, an opinion that was already shared by many Greek thinkers before and after Aristotle. Also, they rejected Aristotle's explanation of the motion of the wind, because it could not explain the obvious fact that winds may blow from different directions; instead, they attempted several other explanations.

The group of scholars who wrote their treatises that were inspired by Aristotle's *Meteorology* generally did not contribute much toward a correct explanation of the phenomena they studied, although they did reject some of his views that could not explain certain facts. Progress toward the correct explanation of the rainbow was made in another tradition by those who did experimental research on optical phenomena, starting from Ptolemaeus' *Optics,* by scholars such as Ibn al-Haytham and Kamal al-Din al-Farisi.

P. Lettinck

See also Aristotle and Aristotelianism

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MINERALS

Taking his cue from the Qur'anic verse "God sent iron down to earth, wherein is mighty power and many uses for mankind" (LVII, "Iron," 25), the great scientist al-Biruni (973–1048 CE) in his *Mineralogy* praises divine providence for humankind, for gold and silver, and for raw materials to serve as currency and thus to facilitate trade and commerce. Sura 9:34, "Repentance," speaks about "those who treasure up gold and silver and do not expend them in the way of God" and threatens them with severe punishment. According to tradition, Muhammad condemned the use of gold and silver for drinking vessels or similar purposes. Therefore, the manufacture of luxury articles was largely confined to sumptuous pottery (e.g., with luster or other polychrome overglaze decoration) and to copper, bronze, and brass objects with inlays of gold and silver only. Although silver was found in many regions of the Muslim world, gold came mainly from sub-Saharan Africa. As a result of the Italian export of luxury goods, some African gold was diverted to Europe, as the historian Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406) testifies. Precious stones (e.g., rubies, emeralds) and pearls were highly valued; pieces of fantastic size were reported to have been in possession of the ruling families. Rock crystal was worked in specialized shops in Basra and Cairo; of about 165 preserved objects, most were found in European ecclesiastical treasuries. Sura 15:19, "The Rock," speaks of "things that are weighed" and that God makes grow in the interior

of mountains. Commentators who would not attribute to the Qur'an the popular idea of metals growing like plants interpreted this as referring to fruits to be found on the surface of the mountains. From the fourth book of Aristotle's *Meteorology,* which was translated during the ninth century into Arabic, intellectuals derived the notion that metals were generated out of exhalations from the depths of the earth; later all metals were taken to be compounds of sulfur and mercury. The pseudo-Aristotelian *Book of Stones* explores the occult properties of various substances, among which it includes the—actually observed—magnetic stone. The author also reports how Alexander the Great (introduced as his disciple) succeeded in extracting diamonds from the lair of poisonous snakes. In Arabic literature, there are many such stories about stones with miraculous properties. Al-Biruni, who viewed them as nonsense, approached the matter in a different way. He constructed a device by which he measured the specific gravity of metals and stones with remarkably good results. In alchemical and magical literature, much of which was translated into Latin, the seven Ptolemaic planets are assigned corresponding metals: Saturn, lead; Jupiter, tin; Mars, iron; the Sun, gold; Venus, copper; Mercury, mercury (i.e., "quicksilver," the only such name still in use); and the Moon, silver.

GOTTHARD STROHMAIER

See also Alchemy; Aristotle and Aristotelianism; Astrology; al-Biruni; Jewelry; Magic; Metalwork; Mining; Precious Metals; Weights and Measurements

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MINING

The Late Antique and early Islamic mining boom, which followed an earlier decrease in mining activity, began during the sixth century CE, continued during the seventh century, peaked by the ninth century, and tailed off during the late ninth and tenth centuries. Thus, a marked increase in the exploitation of Central Asian silver mines occurred at the end of the sixth and during the seventh centuries and peaked during the ninth and tenth centuries. During the sixth and early seventh centuries, the mining of gold and copper was revived in central and western Arabia, of silver in Yemen, and of copper in Oman; this lasted until the ninth and tenth centuries. Silver mining was revived in North Africa during the late eighth century; there was a dramatic expansion of iron mining in North Africa during the eighth and ninth centuries; and gold mining had been revived in Upper Egypt by the ninth century. Mining and metallurgical activity in gold, silver, copper, and iron resumed at centralized sites in Visigothic Iberia from the fifth or sixth century onward. Iron mining peaked in the Guadix region during the ninth century and then retracted during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Mining during the Islamic period included gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, mercury, arsenic, sulfur, zinc, tin, precious and semi-precious gemstones (emeralds, topaz, lapis lazuli), ochres, natron, naptha, asbestos, sal ammoniac, alum, borax, and salt. Steatite, marble, basalt, and granite were quarried. Minerals continued to be mined in the Islamic world after the eleventh century but with reduced output.

Important changes in technology are associated with the new mining. Except for iron, oxidized ores near the surface had been exhausted by ancient miners. Older sites continued to be worked during the Islamic period, but it was now necessary to dig deeper for sulfide ores and quartz veins. Although mining technology varied according to mineral and region, could range from primitive to highly developed in any particular region, and different forms of organization coexisted, early Islamic mining is distinguished by a more extensive use of sloping and horizontal adits, shafts with galleries, mercury amalgamation to extract gold from crushed quartz, cupellation to extract silver from lead ores (galena) and to separate gold from copper and lead ores, cementation to separate gold from silver, and the use of bellows inserted into ceramic tubes built into the furnace wall to maximize the heat. Except for the use of nitric acid to separate gold from silver (parting), none of these methods were new.

The centers of mining activity were in the Caucasus, Armenia, northern Iran, Fars, central Asia, central and western Arabia, Yemen, Oman, the Sofala region in East Africa, the upper Nile region, the oases in Egypt's western desert, central North Africa, Ghana in West Africa, and Iberia. In some places, multiple mineral resources were mined. Gold, silver, copper, iron, and steatite were mined in western Arabia. Armenia was a source of silver, iron, copper, lead, borax, arsenic, mercury, and salt. Tenth-century Fars was self-sufficient in minerals and did not need to import them, although there was little silver. The

gold, silver, and mercury mines of Central Asia were among the richest in the Islamic world, whereas mineral-rich Iberia probably had the most diverse resources.

As compared with Late Antiquity, there was more involvement by independent prospectors and by merchants in mining during the Islamic period. Investment and exploitation by private miners, merchants, and government agents were usually mixed at particular mines, and the government normally took a share of the production. Both individual local miners and merchants were active in the silver mines at Panjhir in Central Asia and at the gold mines of Wadi al-ʻAllaqi in Upper Egypt. There was private ownership of mines at Panjhir, where a new vein of silver belonged to whomever found it, and in Oman, where the owners of copper mines leased them to tenants for 10% of the profit. There were also mining partnerships in Oman, and the risks and profits were shared. In Yemen, the agents of the ruler and private miners jointly exploited the silver mines at Radrad. By the ninth century, an iron mine in Sicily was owned by the Muslim ruler, and the gold mines at Wadi al-ʻAllaqi in Upper Egypt were run by Fatimid government agents from the tenth century onward. The labor force in early Islamic mining was relatively free and mobile. There are no references to slave labor until the ninth century at Wadi al-ʻAllaqi and in central Arabia.

Michael G. Morony

See also Precious Metals; Minerals

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MIR DAMAD (d. 1631)

Sayyid Muhammad Baqir Ibn Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Husayni al-Astarabadi, known as Mir Damad, was one of the most subtle Shiʻi thinkers of the Safavid period. An illuminationist philosopher known for his novel solution to the problem of time and creation, he also contributed to the study of Shiʻi tradition and had an important role in popularizing the collection of supplications known as *al-Sahifa al-Sajjadiyya,* which was attributed to the fourth Shiʻi Imam ʻAli ibn al-Husayn Zayn al-ʻAbidin (d. 714). Born in Astarabad in 1562 but raised in the holy city of Mashhad, little is known about Mir Damad's early life except that he studied philosophy with Fakhr al-Din Sammaki, an illuminationist philosopher of Shiraz, and jurisprudence and the science of tradition with Shaykh al-Husayn ibn ʻAbd al-Samad (d. 1576), Sayyid al-Husayn al-Karaki (d. 1593), and his own uncle ʻAbd al-ʻAli al-Karaki (d. 1585). Popularly known as *Muʻallim-i Thalith* (Third Teacher) after Aristotle and al-Farabi, Mir Damad was a close confidant of Shah ʻAbbas I. He progressed to Qazvin, the Safavid capital under Shah Tahmasp (d. 1576), where he met Shaykh Bahaʼ al-Din al-ʻAmili (d. 1621), the jurist and architect who became a great friend, and Mulla Sadra (d. 1641), perhaps his most famous student. He moved with the court to Isfahan and was a renowned figure among the intellectuals of his time. He became *Shaykh al-Islam* of Isfahan, conducting the coronation of Shah Safi in 1629. He died in Najaf in 1631 while accompanying the Shah on a pilgrimage to the Shiʻi holy sites in Iraq.

Mir Damad wrote more than sixty works in notoriously cryptic Arabic about the scriptural and intellectual sciences, and he also wrote commentaries about the works of Ibn Sina and Suhrawardi. Popular anecdotes in the biographical literature contain jokes suggesting that even God has difficulty understanding him. He authored *al-Rawashih al-Samawiyya (Heavenly Percolations)* about the main Twelver Shiʻi collection of tradition, *al-Kafi,* laying out his hermeneutics, juristic method, and commentary on the text. *Nibras al-Diyaʼ (Lamp of Illumination)*, about the Shiʻi doctrine of badaʼ (the notion that God seems to change His mind to accommodate historical contingency), was an attempt at defending the doctrine against Nasir al-Din al-Tusi's rejection. He argued that badaʼ lexically meant the appearance of a view that did not exist previously and that such a notion cannot arise with respect to divine knowledge, volition, or determination. However, it may come about in the current perception of the divine will. He explained the notion by drawing the analogy with the divine law, which changes and is abrogated during each successive dispensation. Similarly, there is an ontological dispensation that changes but that makes it appear as if God has changed his mind.

Mir Damad's major philosophical treatise was *al-Qabasat (Burning Embers)*. In his introduction, he stated that he was asked by one of his students to

pen a treatise establishing a philosophical proof for God's singularity as an eternal being and the process by which he brings the cosmos into being through ibda' (creating something from nothing) and takwin (engendering in the world of generation and corruption). The purpose of the text was to explain the nature of the incipience of the cosmos (huduth al-'alam). The work was divided into ten embers or chapters. The first set the "Avicennan scene" by describing the nature of the cosmos' logical posteriority to God (huduth dhati) and Avicenna's three modalities of time: (1) zaman (time), which describes the relationship between mutable entities; (2) dahr (perpetuity), which locates the relationship between mutable and immutable entities; and (3) sarmad (eternity), the sole ontological plane of the divine and the relationship of immutability. The remaining chapters demonstrated that all relationships of prior and posterior, between existents and essences, entail the priority of the divine. The central doctrine of the work was perpetual incipience (huduth dahri). The traditional debate between theologians and philosophers had pitted temporal incipience (huduth zamani; the idea that God had created the world in time) against the notion of essential incipience (huduth dhati; the idea that reduced the world's posteriority of God to a logical consequence of contingency following necessity). Mir Damad argued that both positions are inadequate. Temporal incipience begs the question of the world being created in a time after a time (the lapse between God's time and the world's time). Essential incipience is reductionist and seems to rob God of the agency to create volitionally. He felt that the best solution was to locate creation outside of both time and eternity in the intermediate ontological plane of perpetuity (dahr) that described the relationship between an immutable and timeless God and a mutable and timed world.

Because of the difficulty of his thought and the popularity of Mulla Sadra, Mir Damad's contributions were soon forgotten.

SAJJAD H. RIZVI

See also Ibn Sina or Avicenna; Isfahan; Mulla Sadra; Safavids; Shah 'Abbas; Suhrawardi

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MIRRORS FOR PRINCES

An English translation of the German term *fürstenspiegel, Mirrors for Princes* refers to a particular genre of prose composition in which those in authority are invited to reflect on the nature of efficient and ethical rule, most especially in the light of their own behavior. As such, it belongs to a substantial corpus of homiletic and aphoristic literature that is found in many world cultures and that incorporates, among other categories of composition, tales of prophets and religious teachers, collections of proverbs, animal fables, and more practical manuals of advice about conduct and policy.

Within the Arab/Islamic context, one of the earliest examples of the genre takes the form of an epistle written by a pioneer in the development of an Arabic prose style, 'Abd al-Hamid, known as *al-Katib* ("The Secretary"; d. 750). His risalah to 'Abdallah, son of the Umayyad Caliph Marwan (d. 750), begins by reminding the young prince of his dependence on God before directing his attention toward more practical matters of behavior, protocol, administrative and military organization, and so on.

This particular period (the first half of the eighth century CE) was one during which the interests of secretarial staff in the increasingly elaborate caliphal chancellery were focused on the translation of works from other contiguous cultures as a means of developing and refining new modes of writing. 'Abd al-Hamid's epistles have often been seen as reflections of an interest in the works from the Hellenistic tradition, and the *Epistle to the Prince* in particular is regarded as a natural successor to a translation that may have been undertaken earlier by one of 'Abd al-Hamid's own teachers, Abu al-'Ala' Salim, rendering into Arabic the famous exchange of correspondence on the topic of wise rulership between Aristotle and Alexander. The literary tradition of India and Persia was the source of another translated work of this type, in this case in the form of a collection of animal tales. The Persian scholar Ruzbih, one of the more renowned translators of the time who adopted the Arabic name Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. 757), translated the *Panjatantra* into Arabic; he also translated *Kalilah wa-Dimnah,* a group of fables in which two jackals provide a series of exemplary stories to illustrate to the king the consequences of wise and foolish decisions.

From an initial phase in the relatively short epistle form (including other works by Ibn al-Muqaffa', such as *Risalah fi al-Sahabah [Epistle on Companions]*), the Mirrors for Princes genre developed at the hands of later writers into a series of much larger and more detailed works. Many of the most illustrious names in

Islamic intellectual history wrote examples and in a variety of languages: the *Kitab al-Taj (Book of the Crown)*, a discussion of Persian court procedures, may have been falsely attributed to the great polymath of Arabic writing, al-Jahiz (d. 868), but the renowned Shafi'i jurist al-Mawardi (d. 1058) wrote both a study of the principles of Islamic rulership under the title *Al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyyah (Rules for Authority)* and an advice manual entitled *Nasihat al-Muluk (Advice for Kings)*. Islam's most renowned theologian, al-Ghazzali (d. 1111), also wrote a Mirrors for Princes work under the latter title.

Within an entirely different frame of reference—that of popular forms of expression—it can be observed that the original Asian version of *A Thousand and One Nights,* a collection of some 258 tales of Indo-Persian provenance that reached Baghdad at some point during the ninth and tenth centuries and that was later translated into French by Antoine Galland beginning in 1704 (as opposed to the "European" "complete" version compiled thereafter), can be regarded as a further contribution to the Mirrors for Princes genre. Although the tales included in this world-famous collection can be (and have been) analyzed from numerous points of view, it remains the case that the framing story of the two kings, Shah-Zaman and Shahrayar, and the situation of Shahrazad, the collection's narrator, are centrally concerned with the behavior of kings and the process of making decisions. Indeed, the framing story itself and the tales whereby Shahrazad manages to postpone her imminent death not only reflect on the ethics of violence—particularly that directed at women—but also contain within them exemplary tales of considerable variety.

ROGER ALLEN

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MONASTICISM, ARAB

Monasticism is the Christian institution of a "solitary" life in the service of God, practiced either in community or alone. By the sixth century, male and female monastic communities, both within and outside of cities, existed in Abyssinia, Egypt, greater Syria, and Mesopotamia and had penetrated the Arabian peninsula (Shahid; Byzantium). It is likely this eastern Christian monasticism that, according to the majority reading, the Qur'an considers an innovation (57:27), although it praises monks (5:82; but 9:31, 34) and in numerous passages commends practices that are common to monastic communities (night vigils, fasting; see 3:113f.; 32:16; 33:35; 51:15f.). This Qur'anic ambivalence toward monasticism mirrors Late Antiquity Christian episcopal reservations about the institution (see, for example, Rabbula ["Rules"]).

Although sometimes parodied as places of drunken revelry, monasteries were considered to be safe, sacred, and protected places by both Christians and Muslims (see Ibn Taymiyya's reference to Muslims who sought blessings from Christian priests and monks [Meri, 132]). Although the monasteries along the Persian Gulf and in South Arabia did not survive, those in Egypt, Palestine, the Levant, and Mesopotamia persisted, eventually adopting the language of their new overlords. It was in the monasteries of Palestine that Christians first adopted Arabic as their ecclesiastical, theological, and vernacular language (Griffith). Many apocalyptic accounts of Islamic rule originated in monasteries that came to be Arabic speaking, and, although they lament the prevalence of Arabic (particularly in the liturgies), many are themselves written in Arabic (Suermann).

Like the Qur'an, Islamic tradition praises individual monks but questions the monastic institution: a Christian monk is said to have recognized Muhammad as a prophet (Ibn Ishaq, 79–81), but the proclamation of the absence of monasticism in Islam is attributed to Muhammad (as is the saying that jihad is the monasticism of Islam; for the locations of these traditions, see Wensinck, 312; the monastic struggle with personal demons has similarities with greater jihad, see Aphrahat and Landau-Tasseron). Critiques of monastic practices (e.g., lifelong celibacy) appear in anti-Christian polemics and in debates about aspects of Sufism (Islamic mysticism).

CLARE E. WILDE

See also Ascetics and Asceticism; Christians and Christianity; Churches; Education, Christian; Sufism and Sufis; Women: Ascetics and Mystics

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MONEY CHANGERS

The money changer *(sayrafi)* played a crucial role in medieval Islamic marketplaces. One of his primary duties was the determination of value of the many different coins used in economic transactions. Although coins of local origin and relatively recent age undoubtedly dominated marketplaces, there can be little doubt that coins of older ages and foreign origins were also in circulation, because the intrinsic value of their gold and silver content would never disappear. Thus, it would seem probable that a sayrafi would have an extensive knowledge of the many coinages in circulation as well as the means of weighing and testing hitherto unfamiliar coins. Such a conclusion, although of deductive sense, must remain probable, because there is no known moneychanger's handbook, if such a genre ever existed; nor is it known exactly the mechanisms by which sayrafis profited from their knowledge. Anecdotal evidence of the actions of sayrafis is to be found in contemporary chronicles, and there is extensive mention in the Geniza materials. This material also states that sayrafis played a role in the creation of sealed bags (or purses) containing a certified and known value of coinage. With this, sayrafis were also assisting economic transactions, because the weighing and testing of large numbers of individual coins were undoubtedly time-consuming activities. Warnings about the possible un-Islamic nature of sayrafi practices are common in the normative Hisba manuals of the age; thus the central irony exists that these moneychangers—ubiquitous as they were and whom Goitein labeled the bankers of their time—are known only through the records of those who used their services or suspected them.

WARREN C. SCHULTZ

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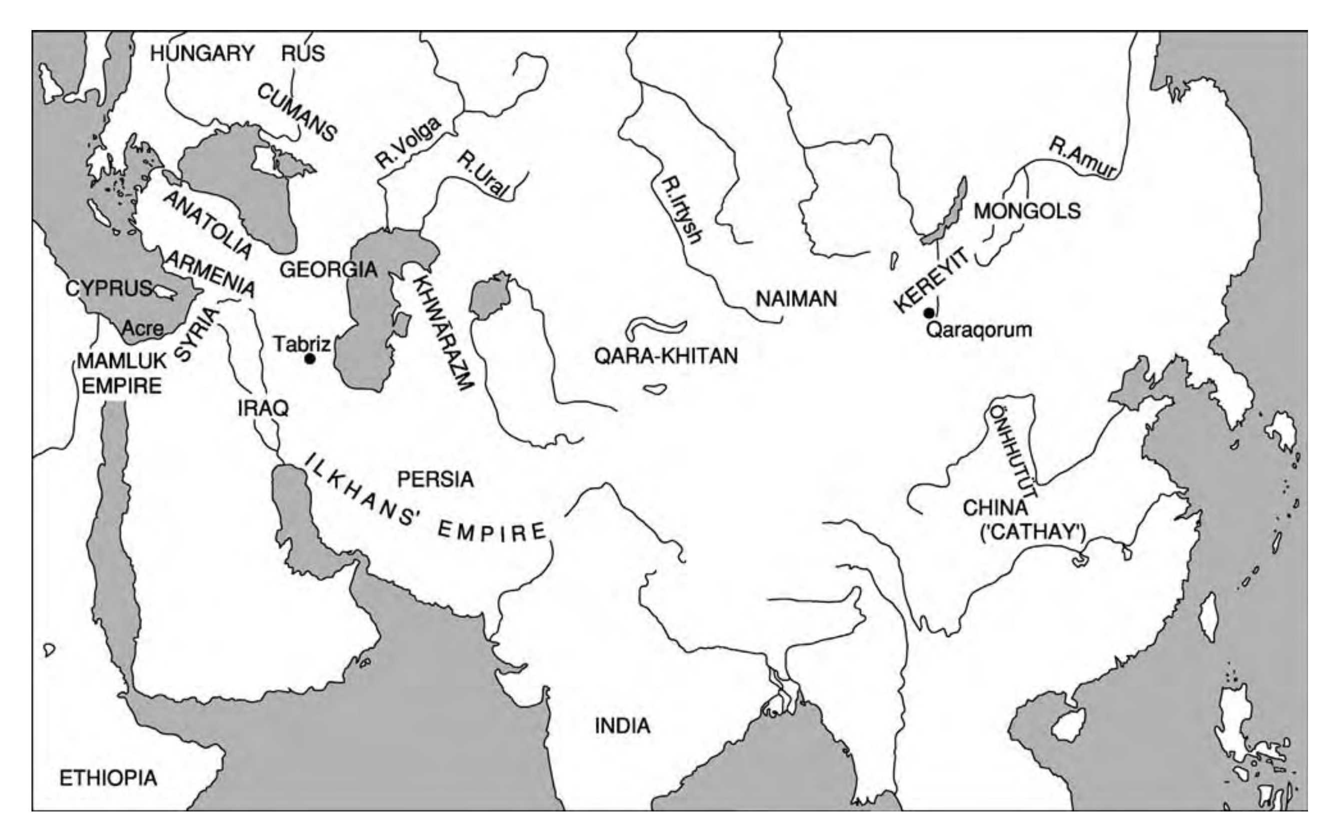
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MONGOL WARFARE

One of the main reasons behind the phenomenal success of the expansion of the Mongols in the thirteenth century was the large, well-organized, and effective war machine erected by Genghis (Chinggis) Khan. This army, drawing on earlier Inner Asian Steppe models, combined large numbers, mobility, firepower (i.e., archery), loyalty, endurance, and excellent command to achieve these results. For more than two generations, it was virtually unstoppable. Even after the breakdown of the united Mongol Empire in approximately 1260, the Mongols continued to expand into southern China. In other areas in which the frontier of Mongol control more or less stabilized, the Mongol armies were still a source of fear to their subjects and neighbors for generations to come. In the Islamic world, no ruler was capable of seriously challenging Mongol forces (despite some local successes of the Khwarazm-shah Jalal al-Din) after the first incursion of the Mongols under Genghis Khan in 1219 until the Mongol defeat at the hands of the Mamluks at 'Ayn Jalut in 1260. Even after this victory, the Mamluks took the threat of another invasion by the Ilkhanid Mongols very seriously, leading to a



Asia in the Mongol Era.

sixty-year war in Syria and along the Euphrates border.

Like their Steppe predecessors, the Mongol army was based on disciplined masses of light-mounted archers. This type of soldier was a direct result of the lifestyle of the majority of inhabitants on the Steppe: pastorial nomadism, which necessitated mobility based on horsemanship. First, the harsh conditions of the Steppe made for physical robustness and inured its inhabitants to hardships of various kinds. (The fourteenth-century historian and philosopher Ibn Khaldun noted that inhabitants of steppes, deserts, and mountain regions enjoyed these advantages because of the climate and geography of their homelands.) Second, all pastoralists were hence potential cavalry fighters. To this was added the longstanding use of the composite bow, built from wood, horn, sinews, and other materials. This relatively small bow could be wielded effectively from the back of the horse, even allowing the user to shoot backward while the horse galloped ahead (the famous "Parthian shot," which the Romans and others encountered). The development and spread of the stirrup around 500 CE gave the nomads even more control over their horses and shooting. However, success of the Eurasian nomads was not just a matter of the individual soldier. For centuries before the Mongols, the Eurasian Steppe was home to a military tradition of masses of disciplined mounted archers who attacked in wave after wave, each withdrawing to permit the next to advance while shooting. Only when the other side was weakened or fleeing would the nomads engage them in hand-to-hand combat. Another tactic of choice among the nomads was the feigned retreat, either to draw the enemy into an ambush or to disrupt their formation, thereby making them more susceptible to a sudden attack. The armies of the Eurasian nomads were often organized using a decimal system, with units of as large as one thousand members and, on occasion, even ten thousand.

Genghis Khan's genius was to take this superb raw material and already famous (or infamous, depending on one's perspective) military tradition and to turn it into an efficient and virtually unbeatable military machine. This was first achieved by inculcating loyalty with both commanders and common soldiers. Loyalty was awarded, whereas treachery was severely punished. Genghis Khan cultivated a group of fiercely loyal and capable commanders, perhaps the most famous being Jebe and Sübetei. Gradually an imperial (or perhaps imperialist) ideology was developed, claiming that the sky-god (Tengri) had given a

mandate to Genghis Khan and his family (and, by extension, the Mongols in general), thereby welding the Mongol nobles and commoners to the royal family. The training of large-scale formations was encouraged by the use of a hunting circle (jerge). A personal guard for the Khan was established, which soon turned into a royal guard corp (keshig) whose soldiers were known as *ba'atud* (heroes; sing. *ba'atur;* rendered *bahadur* in Muslim languages). Regiments of one thousand and divisions of ten thousand (sing. tümen) were established, although it is probably justified to doubt how often these were up to full strength given the wear and tear of campaigning. Of great importance was the sheer number of troops. As the Mongol state expanded, so did its manpower base. Theoretically, all adult males (i.e., between the ages of fifteen to sixty years) were eligible for service and could disappear for years on campaign, leaving the women, the elderly, and the children to manage the pastoral homestead. Eventually the Mongol armies were comprised of almost all of the nomadic manpower of the Eurasian Steppe. The figures of hundreds of thousands for the size of Mongol armies do not necessarily have to be rejected out of hand. In addition to mobility, firepower, tactics, discipline, and leadership, the size of Mongol armies also played an important role in the series of Mongol victories and the resulting expansion.

The most important weapon of the individual Mongol (as well as of the Turkish) trooper was the composite bow, with a bundle of several types of arrows. Additional weapons would have included a knife, a sword, an axe, a club, perhaps a lance, and also a lasso. Personal armor was probably a haphazard affair, particularly during the early stages of the Mongol empire, and was probably mostly composed of leather and cloth, although nobles, commanders, and guardsmen may have been better equipped. As conquest progressed into the sedentary countries (first China, then the Islamic world, and also Rus'), equipment—both weapons and armor—surely improved. This would have been a result of booty and tribute as well as harnessing the manufacturing capabilities of these countries for equipping the army. How far this percolated down the ranks is hard to ascertain. One gets the impression that the portrayal of Mongol troops in the paintings by artists of sedentary provenance, even working under Mongol patronage, may at times reflect artistic and military conventions of the sedentary society and not necessarily current Mongol military reality. The Mongols rode small steppe ponies that were known for their endurance but that soon tired if they galloped quickly or carried large loads. This necessitated each trooper to set out on campaign with a string of several horses, usually around five. These would be rotated both during the march and in battle itself, although how this actually took place during the fighting is not really clear. In any event, such a large train of mounts necessitated careful logistical planning for water and pasturage. It has been suggested that reasons for the withdrawal of the Mongols from Hungary and Syria were due to the lack of pasturage in these countries.

As soon as raids into sedentary areas turned into campaigns of conquest, it became clear that even the most motivated and organized armies of cavalrymen could not deal with sieges of forts and fortified cities. This called for the employment of engineers to engage in mining operations, to build siege engines and artillery, and to concoct and use incendiary and explosive devices. For instance, Hülegü, who led Mongol forces into the Middle East during the second wave of the invasions in 1250, had with him a thousand squads of engineers, evidently of north Chinese (or perhaps Khitan) provenance. There is some discussion among scholars regarding whether the Mongols employed gunpowder both as an explosive device and to shoot projectiles. Be that as it may, there is no indication whatsoever that the Ilkhanid Mongols, during their sixty-year war with the Mamluks, ever employed any type of gunpowder weapon either against fortifications or on the open field.

Although it may be expected that, after several generations in sedentary areas, the Mongol armies underwent some transformation (not least in the quality and type of weapons and armor), there are clear indications that, at least in the Middle East, the Mongol armies were similar in broad lines in tactics and character of troops to the earlier Mongol armies. Thus, at the battle of Wadi al-Khaznadar fought near Homs between the Mamluks and Mongols under Ghazan in 1299, the mainstay of the Mongol army still appears to be light-mounted archers. Mongol field armies also included contingents from local troops. In China, this could be quite significant, but, in the Middle East, these auxiliary units—be they from subjugated Muslim rulers or Armenian and Georgian "allies"—appear to have been of secondary importance.

Mention should be made of the Mongol use of espionage and reconnaissance as well as subterfuge and psychological warfare. Thus, the Mongols succeeded in establishing contact with the wazirs in both the 'Abbasid and Syrian Ayyubid courts, convincing them to work for their interests and thus planting discord and defeatist attitudes among their opponents long before their troops showed up. Mamluk sources recount the capture of Ilkhanid operatives, although they would not have known of successful Mongol activities. The Mamluks, on the other hand, had a most successful, long-term, secret operation against

the Mongols, often giving them advance notice of Mongol aggressive plans and even occasionally wreaking havoc at the Mongol ordu (the Ilkhan's moving camp).

Until the encounter with the Mamluks at 'Ayn Jalut, the Mongols were virtually unbeatable on all fronts in which they were active. What probably stopped the Mongols more than any other factor was their own disagreements and infighting. Even the Mamluks, who continued to best the Ilkhanid Mongols in both the border war and most of the major battles until 1323, when peace was concluded between them, greatly profited from the Ilkhans' wars with their Mongol neighbors. Early Mongol success was brought about by unity within the Mongol tribes (often achieved through war); later Mongol failure was brought about and compounded by the breakdown of this unity.

REUVEN AMITAI

See also 'Ayn Jalut; Ilkhanids; Mamluks; Mongols; Tamerlane

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MONGOLS

The Mongols were a tribe in the steppe area north of China that gave its name to a larger group of related tribes that were united by Genghis (Chinggis) Khan (ca. 1162–1227 CE) at the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth century. This tribal state rapidly expanded, and, by the middle of the thirteenth century, it controlled most of China (subsequently conquering all of it), the entire Eurasian Steppe (including the southern part of modern-day Ukraine), Iran, and much of the surrounding countries. The Mongols had a profound influence on much of the Islamic world, and West and Central Asia eventually converted to Islam.

By 1206, Genghis Khan, who had been born with the name Temüchin, had succeeded in uniting the Mongol and some Turkish-speaking tribes in the area today known as Mongolia. Most notable of these were the Tatars, hitherto the most prominent tribe in the area, who evidently spoke a language that was similar to Mongolian. The Tatars were the traditional enemies of the Mongols; after their defeat, they were broken up and integrated into the emerging Mongol nation. Ironically, the name *Tatar* became a synonym for *Mongol* in both eastern and western languages, and these are often used interchangeably. (Later, Tatar was used in a more restricted sense for the Turkish-speaking peoples of southern Russia.) In 1206, a *quriltai* (tribal council) was convened in which the title Genghis Khan (perhaps meaning "universal khan") was officially bestowed on Temüchin, who according to the *Secret History of the Mongols,* the main source of information about this period, had already subjugated those who lived in tents of felt—that is, the nomads of the entire region. It is on this basis that institutions were created that would provide the infrastructure for future conquest and rule: the adoption of an alphabet (from the Uighur Turks), a rudimentary legal system (although whether this is the famous Yasa at this stage is perhaps doubtful), the systematic division of the army (see Mongol Warfare for a further discussion of the army), and perhaps the beginnings of an imperial ideology that may have set

its sights on the conquest of sedentary areas. The idea of world conquest, which was subsequently clearly articulated in Mongol imperialist ideology, was probably explicitly expressed only later. Scholars are divided as to whether this was already in the period of Genghis Khan or only under his immediate successors.

Regardless, in 1205, raids had commenced against the Hsi-Hsia (of Tibetan origin) in northwest China. By 1209, this state was subjected, and soon afterward raids began against the Jin, who controlled northern China. By 1215, the Mongols had conquered the territory north of the Yellow River. Their campaign against the Jin was to continue until 1234, some seven years after Genghis Khan's death. Over time, the Mongol conquest was to continue, and, by 1278, under the Great Khan Qubilai, the subjugation of the rest of China ruled by the southern Sung was completed. Mongol rule in China, known as the Yuan dynasty in Chinese historiography, lasted until 1366.

While they expanded into China, Mongol forces had also been expanding to the west. By around 1218, the area later known as Kazakhstan was subjugated, bringing the Mongols into direct contact with the realm of the Khwarazm-Shah, the most powerful ruler in the eastern Islamic world. Relations between Genghis Khan and the Khwarazm-Shah soon deteriorated, and, in 1219, Genghis ordered the full-scale invasion of his territory. Together with his sons, Genghis led his armies from Mongolia into Transoxiana and then Khurasan (Turkmenistan, northern Afghanistan, and northeastern Iran of today). The power of the Khwarazm-Shah was broken, and most of the cities of these hitherto prosperous areas, long known as centers of Islamic culture, were left in ruins. Mongol cruelty in this area appears to have resulted from a combination of factors: a lack of acquaintance with and appreciation of Islamic culture; retribution against the Khwarazm-Shah for his killing of Mongol envoys; punishment against the local population for resisting (and thereby contravening the heaven-given mandate to Genghis Khan to conquer the world); and, perhaps, a desire to establish in this area a *cordon sanitaire* to prevent future problems while the Mongols continued their expansion on other fronts.

In 1223, Genghis Khan withdrew with the majority of his army to Mongolia. A small force was left to garrison the newly conquered territority, and soon a rudimentary administration was established. Augmented by reinforcements from the Steppe, this garrison gradually expanded the area of Mongol control. By 1250, most of Iran, the southern Caucasus region (Georgia, Armenia, and northern Azerbaijan), and much of Anatolia was under at least ostensible Mongol rule. In 1255, Hülegü, the brother of the Great Khan Möngke and grandson of Genghis Khan, arrived at the edge of the Islamic world to organize areas already conquered and to expand the territory under Mongol control. Within a year, he had consolidated Mongol rule in areas hitherto ruled by the Mongols and had subjugated most of the Isma'ili (the so-called Assassins) forts in eastern and northern Iran. At the beginning of 1258, Hülegü took Baghdad, putting to death the Caliph al-Musta'sim, thereby ending five hundred years of 'Abbasid rule there. The Mongol advance in the Middle East was stopped in September 1260 by the Mamluks at the battle of 'Ayn Jalut in northern Palestine, and the Mongols withdrew beyond the Euphrates. Hülegü and his successors were known as the Ilkhanids, and they ruled an area comprising modern-day Iran, northern Afghanistan, Turkmanistan, Iraq, most of the Caucasus, and Anatolia until 1335. By about 1300, the Ilkhans, the Mongol elite, and evidently many of the Mongol tribesmen had converted to Islam. In the long run, the majority of Mongols in the Middle East appear to have assimilated into the larger population of Turkish speakers who surrounded and served them.

By around 1260, in the aftermath of the death of the Great Khan Möngke (r. 1251–1259), the great Mongol empire began to fragment into four successor states. The realm of the Ilkhanids has just been described. The Great Khan, who still enjoyed titular authority over the other princes (which did not prevent some of them from going to war with him on occasion), ruled China and the Mongolian homeland and, as said above, was known also as the Yuan emperor by the Chinese. In the steppe region of modern-day Ukraine and European Russia, there emerged the state known in the West as the Golden Horde (from the word *ordu;* "royal camp" in Turkish and Mongolian). Mongol armies had consolidated their control over this area by 1237, and they had subjugated the cities of Rus' (most importantly Kiev). This was a springboard for an amazing campaign into Eastern Europe in 1241, culminating in the double victories at Liegnitz and Pest in April of that year. These smashing victories did not lead, however, to the permanent occupation of Central or Eastern Europe. News had arrived of the death of the Great Khan Ögödei (1229–1241), which necessitated a return of the princes to Mongolia; logistical problems (i.e., the lack of pasturage for the Mongol mounts) perhaps also played a role in this action. Mongol rule solidified in the steppe areas of southern Russia and the Ukraine of today under the leadership of the descendents of Jochi, the eldest son of Genghis Khan. The Golden Horde unequivocally ruled European Russia until the end of the fourteenth century. Even in decline, when the Golden Horde had fragmented, its

successor states—whose people were known as Tatars—still played important roles in the history of the region, and it was a matter of centuries until they were finally brought under the control of the expanding Russian empire. Already during the early fourteenth century is seen the double process of Islamization and Turkification in the Golden Horde, which has been noted above for the Mongols in the Middle East.

Central Asia (the area more or less subsequently covered by modern Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirgizstan, and the Xinjiang province in China) was in the hands of the descendents of Chaghatai, the second son of Genghis Khan. Further east in the steppe was the stomping grounds of Qaidu (d. 1301), a grandson of the second Great Khan Ögödei, who controlled the Chaghataids and also fought the Great Khan Qubilai (1264–1294) to establish his independence and legitimacy. During the early fourteenth century, the Ögödeids were eliminated as an independent force, but the Chaghataids were unable to provide this area with political stability. This was the background for the emergence of Tamerlane (also Timur-lang and Timur the Lame), who, around 1370, unified Transoxiana and used it as a springboard for further campaigns in the Steppe as well as in Iran and beyond. Tamerlane occupied Damascus in 1400 and defeated the Ottomans at the battle of Ankara in 1402. Unlike Genghis Khan, Tamerlane, upon his death in 1405, did not leave his descendents an institutionalized state. Despite the subsequent political confusion, the Timurids achieved well-earned fame for their patronage of the arts. Tamerlane was known as a Mongol, but he was actually a Turkish-speaking Muslim of Mongol descent. In Transoxiana and later in the steppe region to the north and northeast, again is seen the double process of Islamization and Turkification found elsewhere in Mongol-controlled areas in Western Asia.

The Mongols achieved a well-deserved reputation for the destructiveness of their conquests, and at times their rule could be characterized by a rapaciousness toward the local population. At the same time, they were patrons of arts and sciences, established relatively stable administrations, and offered a degree of religious toleration that was previously unknown in either the Islamic world or the Christian West. The unification of most of Asia brought about the widening of horizons. Some of this came in the form of detailed knowledge of East Asia that was brought to Europe; this had some influence on the desire of Europeans to reach these fabled areas, leading indirectly to the "Age of Discovery" and the resulting colonialism and other related developments.

Reuven Amitai

See also Assassins; 'Ayn Jalut; Central Asia; Genghis Khan; Ilkhanids; Juvayni; Mamluks; Öljeitü; Rashid al-Din; Tamerlane; Timurids; Tusi, Nasir al-Din

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MOSAICS

The use of both wall mosaics and floor mosaics is known from the Islamic world between the seventh and fourteenth centuries CE, but whether one can trace a continuous tradition after the ʻAbbasid period is doubtful. Instead, it appears that contacts with Byzantium led to occasional uses of mosaics, whereas the Umayyad monuments of Syria also acted as a reservoir (literal and conceptual) for periodic and fleeting revivals of the art that were often linked to campaigns of restoration.

The first mention of mosaics occurs in 684/685 CE, when the interior walls of the Ka'ba were covered with marble and glass mosaics brought from the walls of the Ethiopian cathedral at Sanʻa in Yemen. The same media were employed subsequently in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem (692 CE), built by the caliph ʻAbd al-Malik. The interior mosaics depict a range of fantastic and naturalistic vegetation, including vines and fruit-bearing trees, stems of acanthus tied with gold jewelry, hybrid plants bearing winged motifs emerging from jeweled vases, and an inscription executed in gold on a dark blue ground. Mosaic trees and winged motifs were also prominent on the exterior of the building, before they were replaced during the sixteenth century.

The mosques built or rebuilt by al-Walid I (r. 705–715 CE) in Damascus, Medina, and Fustat were also decorated with nonfigural mosaics. Surviving fragments of the mosaics in the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus attest to their high quality and iconographic virtuosity. These include a thirty-meter long panel in the courtyard depicting monumental trees, pavilions, and multistoried structures set on a riverbank executed against a shimmering gold background similar to that found in Byzantine mosaics; descriptions of the lost Umayyad mosaics in Medina suggest that they were similar. In both cases, it is evident that assistance was obtained from the Byzantine emperor, but the involvement of local Syrian mosaicists is also probable. The Umayyad mosaics make use of small glass tesserae (usually ten cubic meters or less) and mother of pearl set into a bed of plaster marked to indicate the required distribution of colored tesserae, which were angled to maximize the visual effects of the brilliant vitreous medium.

The Umayyads of Cordoba followed Syrian precedent, and extensive use was made of glass mosaics in al-Hakam II's extension to the Friday Mosque of that city in 965 CE. Technical examination of the Cordoba mosaics tends to confirm textual accounts of some Byzantine involvement in their execution. The remains of contemporary wall mosaics were also found at the nearby Umayyad palace of Madinat al-Zahra.

Evidence for wall mosaics in Umayyad secular structures in Syria (ca. 700–750 CE) is limited but includes the Umayyad palace at Khirbat al-Minya and the bathhouse at Hammam al-Sarakh. More common are the polychrome stone (and occasionally glass) floor mosaics found at ʻAmman, Khirbat al-Minya, Qasr al-Hallabat, Qastal, Qusayr ʻAmra, al-Muwaqqar, and al-Ramla. The floors made use of interlocking geometric patterns, fruit-bearing trees and plants, and more complex figural scenes closely related to those found in the churches of the region.



Prayer niche from the Beyhekim Mosque, Konya, Anatolia. Third quarter, thirteenth century CE. Above the niche runs a verse from the Koranic Sura 29. Around the three sides in stylized ornamental Kufic the Throne Verse (Sura 2,555). Faience mosaic, 395 × 280 cm. Inv. I 7193. Photo: Georg Niedermeiser. Credit: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY. Museum fuer Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, Germany.

The most spectacular examples are found in the bathhouse at Khirbat al-Mafjar in Palestine, where the entire floor surface, some nine hundred square meters, is covered with thirty-nine different panels, making it the largest expanse of floor mosaic surviving from antiquity. An adjoining private audience chamber contained a particularly fine mosaic showing a tree flanked on one side by two grazing gazelles and on the other by a lion attacking a gazelle.

The use of glass mosaics continued under the ʻAbbasids of Iraq. In 783 CE, the caliph al-Mahdi had the sanctuary at Mecca decorated by mosaicists; al-Mutawwakil (r. 847–861 CE) embellished the Mosque of the Prophet at Medina with mosaics and adorned the Friday Mosque of Samarra in Iraq with the medium along its qibla wall. The ninth-century ʻAbbasid palaces at Raqqa and Samarra witnessed a number of striking and apparently unique experiments in the use of vitreous wall cladding, including three-dimensional glass mosaics and translucent glass floor tiles. Scrolling mosaic grapevines bearing pendant mother-of-pearl grapes set against a gold ground ornamented the façades of the Balkuwara Palace at Samarra, suggesting a dependence on Umayyad models when it came to more orthodox forms of glass ornament.

Aside from Norman Sicily, between the ninth and the thirteenth centuries CE, the surviving evidence for the use of wall mosaics in Islamic monuments comes from Jerusalem. The Fatimid Caliph al-Zahir (r. 1021–1036 CE) embellished the mihrab dome of the Aqsa mosque with vegetal mosaics inspired by Umayyad prototypes as part of an extensive restoration of the mosque. After the Ayyubid reconquest of the city in 1187 CE, the main mihrab was provided with inscriptions executed in white, green, black, and gold mosaics and set against a pearl-studded scrolling acanthus. The interior of the mihrab was filled with a network of interlocking circles filled with vines and pendant bunches of grapes comprised of mother of pearl.

The pearl vine (often issuing from a vase) was later employed in the hoods of mihrabs in Cairo, Damascus, Hims, and Jerusalem during a minor renaissance of the art under the Bahri Mamluks of Egypt and Syria (1250–1382 CE). The theme is found as early as 1250 in the tomb of Shajarat al-Durr (Tree of Pearls) in Cairo, although it has been argued that the mosaics are a later addition dating to the period from the reign of Sultan al-Zahir Baybars (r. 1260–1276 CE), when the use of glass mosaic became popular. Mosaics were also used to decorate Mamluk fountains (a usage witnessed slightly earlier in the Artuqid palace at Diyarbakr) and wall surfaces. Extensive interior panels of gold-ground mosaics featuring architectural and landscape scenes appeared in the tomb of Baybars in Damascus (1281 CE), inspired by the mosaics in the nearby Umayyad Mosque. Syrian mosaicists also worked on Mamluk palaces in Damascus and Cairo, where fragmentary wall mosaics found in a Mamluk palace on the citadel of Cairo recall those of Baybars's tomb while also drawing perhaps on contemporary painting.

Mamluk interest in this archaic art can be directly linked to the impact of the Umayyad monuments of Syria, which were repeatedly restored and renovated during this period. Glass mosaics were among a range of features that were integrated into Bahri Mamluk monuments with the intention of appropriating some of the kudos of the early Islamic structures for their medieval successors. Mamluk mosaics are technically cruder than their Umayyad prototypes; however, this fact is recognized even by contemporaries, who note the practice of combining tesserae gleaned from Umayyad monuments with those of more recent manufacture. This florescence of the art comes to an end around 1340 CE, which effectively marks the last occurrence of mosaics in Islamic architecture.

FINBARR BARRY FLOOD

See also Dome of the Rock, Umayyad Mosque (Damascus)

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MOSES

The biblical figure of Moses and his interactions with the Israelites dominate the narrative of the Qur'an and occupy much of medieval Muslim exegesis as a model with which the Prophet Muhammad is compared.

The Qur'an contains roughly the same narrative about the life of Moses as does the Bible, including his birth (20:38–40, 28:7–14), Midian (28:22–8), call (19:51–3, 20:9–56, 27:7–14, 28:29–35), dealings with Pharaoh (7:103–37, 10:75–92, 11:96–9, 17:101–3, 20:42–79, 23:45–9, 25:35–6, 26:10–69, 28:31–42, 40:23–46, 43:45–56, 51:38–40, 79:15–26), the theophany (7:142–5), the episode of the golden calf (7:138–56, 20:86–98), and the story of Korah (28:76–82, 29:39). Moses' encounter with Khidr (who is not named) in verse 18:60–82 is associated by Muslim exegetes with the encounter between Moses and his father-in-law Jethro in Exodus 18. Muslim exegetes also conflate the account of Moses in Midian (28:21–8) with the biblical story of Jacob (Genesis 28–2), recounting that Moses lifted a rock off the well in Midian, worked for the marriage of Zipporah, and left only after causing Jethro's flocks to produce speckled sheep.

Moses is called the "Speaker of God" (kalim Allah) in Muslim exegesis, although in Qur'an verse 28:34 he appears to have a speech impediment. His education in the Pharaoh's palace and claim to be most knowledgeable is contrasted by Muslim exegetes with the image of the Prophet Muhammad as an unlettered servant of God.

The contest between Moses and Pharaoh is portrayed in the Qur'an as a contest between the Pharaoh who claimed to be God (79:24) and the true God working through Moses. Only five plagues are mentioned by the Qur'an, which adds that Pharaoh commanded Haman to build a tower like the Tower of Babel and that there was an Egyptian who believed Moses (40:23–46).

Muslim exegesis of the accounts of Moses' wandering with the Israelites in the wilderness focuses on the disobedience of Moses and the Israelites (2:47–61). Echoing Christian exegetical themes, Muslim exegetes explain that the Torah—specifically the laws pertaining to the eating of animals—was revealed as a punishment for the Israelites. Ibn Ishaq reports that God took back part of the Torah because the Israelites worshipped the Golden Calf.

According to traditions preserved in Tabari and other exegetes, Moses was responsible for defeating the giant Og who had survived the Flood of Noah and lived in the land God had commanded the Israelites to take. In contrast with the biblical image of Moses (e.g., Exodus 32:30–5), the Qur'an and Muslim exegesis do not consistently portray Moses as interceding on behalf of the Israelites. Moses' refusal to intercede in Qur'an verse 5:25 is interpreted to mean that Moses asked God to send his people to Hell and is compared directly with the promised intercession of the Prophet Muhammad for all people on the Day of Judgment.

The revelation of certain passages from the Qur'an is interpreted as being directed at the Jews of Medina, reminding them of the Israelites' rebellion against Moses and God. Qur'an verse 2:48 states that the Israelites are to be punished on the Day of Judgment without the allowance of receiving intercession. Despite his prophetic status, Moses is also sometimes portrayed by Muslim tradition as still waiting in his grave for resurrection rather than enjoying Paradise.

Brannon Wheeler

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MOSQUE OF IBN TULUN, CAIRO

The mosque built by Ahmad ibn Tulun (835–884), the semi-autonomous governor of Egypt from 868 until his death, is the sole remaining element of al-Qata'i' (The Allotments), a new district that he established northeast of Fustat (the original Muslim settlement) that also included a palace, a maydan, and an administrative center. Built of brick rendered with plaster, the mosque includes a square courtyard (approximately 300 feet/92 meters to a side) surrounded by hypostyle halls with rows of arcaded



General view. Abbasid caliphate, ninth century. Credit: Vanni/Art Resource, NY. Mosque of Ibn Tulun, Cairo, Egypt.

piers supporting flat wooden roofs. The prayer hall on the southeast is much deeper than the other halls and contains several mihrabs, a minbar (pulpit), and a dikka (tribune) that were added in later periods. The mosque, measuring approximately 400 × 460 feet/122 × 140 meters, is enclosed by high (33 feet/10 meters) walls crowned with elaborate cresting; this in turn is enclosed on three sides by a lower outer wall that creates an outer court *(ziyada)* that serves to separate the mosque from the city. In this space, opposite the mihrab, stands the mosque's most notable feature: a stone minaret with a cubical base, a cylindrical shaft, and an elaborate finial reached by an external spiral staircase. The mosque is relatively plain except for bands of nonrepresentational designs carved in the plaster and long wooden planks placed below the ceiling and carved with texts from the Qur'an. The building is the best surviving example of the architectural style developed at the 'Abbasid court at Samarra in Iraq and brought to Egypt by Ibn Tulun and his retinue.

JONATHAN M. BLOOM

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MOSQUES

Origins, Features, and Functions

The mosque is the most ubiquitous building type in Islamic architecture and serves not only as a focal point of prayer and worship but also often functions as a neighborhood center and communal gathering place. The enormous structural and decorative diversity in medieval mosques is suggested in part by the two Arabic terms most often used to define a mosque. *Masjid* simply implies a place of prostration, a necessary requirement for the prayer ritual *(salat)*, and thus any location can technically serve as a masjid (locus for private or individual prayer). The word *jami'*, however, carries with it a suggestion of communal prayer, particularly participation in the Friday noon prayer at which the *khutba* (a combination of prayer and sermon) is delivered by the *imam* (religious leader to the congregation). Although masjid and jami' were not always clearly distinguished during early Islam, by the ninth century the two types of mosques had distinct functions and features.

According to Islamic tradition, the basic form of the mosque derives from the Prophet Muhammad's house in Medina in Saudi Arabia, built in 622, although this house seems from the start to have been something more than just a domestic residence for the Prophet and his wives. The evidence for this structure is literary rather than archaeological and describes a large walled courtyard with entrances on three sides and two covered porticos, the larger of which functioned as a sanctuary for the faithful where they might find shelter from the sun during prayer. The wall of this portico, referred to as the *qibla* wall, was oriented first toward Jerusalem and then later toward Mecca and reinforced the importance of a directional indicator in the mosque, because prayer must be carried out while facing Mecca. The smaller portico at the back of the house provided shelter for Muhammad's poorer followers and in essence divided the congregation, a practice that would be maintained (although for different reasons) in later mosques. Although mosque structure and form would not be standardized until

after Muhammad's death in 632, there are clear precedents in the Prophet's Medina dwelling for the most important components of later mosques, namely a courtyard in which the faithful could gather (and perform ritual ablutions), a roofed enclosure or sanctuary where prayer was carried out, and a qibla wall oriented toward Mecca.

Various other components of mosque architecture developed during the early Islamic period and assumed a more defined identity and appearance in medieval mosques. Many of these components are thought to derive from the rich heritage of Roman, Byzantine, and Sasanian architecture in the eastern Mediterranean world, particularly that of palaces. One of the most visible features in the covered sanctuary of a mosque is the *mihrab,* a niche-like structure (and in some cases an entire separate room) usually found in the center of the qibla wall. The mihrab has no specific liturgical function beyond acting as a point of orientation in the mosque (again indicating the direction of Mecca), although because the qibla itself performs this same task in a sense the mihrab is functionally redundant. The mihrab may have derived from the apse of Byzantine churches or Roman palaces, and it came to be a focal point of lavish adornment in the mosque. Mihrabs were often decorated with elaborate carved stucco, mosaics, ceramic tiles, and colored stone inlays and were sometimes made even more visually prominent by the addition of a dome over the area in front of the mihrab.

Another important component of a mosque was the *minbar,* or pulpit, which essentially is a piece of liturgical furniture found in a jami' rather than a masjid, because it is from the minbar that the khutba would be delivered at the Friday noon prayer. The minbar usually took the form of a small raised platform or seat that was accessible by a few narrow stairs and frequently surmounted by a conical or polyhedral canopy. Its function was simply to elevate the imam (or in some cases caliph or ruler) above the assembled congregation so that his voice could more easily carry. The origins of the minbar are uncertain but perhaps derive from either the throne or pulpit reserved for the bishop's use in the Byzantine church or the raised throne used in pre-Islamic Sasanian Iran. Minbars were most often constructed of wood or stone, and intricately carved wooden examples survive from the ninth-century Great Mosque in Qairawan in Tunisia and from the twelfth-century Kutubiyya Mosque in Marrakesh, Morocco.

A somewhat less ubiquitous structure found in some mosques is the *maqsura* or royal enclosure. This is usually located near the mihrab and takes the form of a square space with latticed walls, separating the ruler from the congregation but simultaneously maintaining at least partial visibility to the faithful and vice versa. Perhaps not surprisingly, the maqsura is often more elaborately decorated than any other area in the sanctuary of a mosque save the mihrab itself. The origin of the maqsura is unclear but can be traced both to Byzantine church ceremonies (in which the emperor participated in the mass while housed in a separate enclosure) and perhaps to the more pragmatic fear of assassination and the need to at least partially screen a Muslim ruler from the congregation.

On the exterior of the mosque, easily the most visible feature is the *minaret* (from the Arabic *manar*), the tower from which the call to prayer (adhan) is made. There is more variation in the form and appearance of the minaret than in any other mosque feature, and surviving minarets are square, round, polygonal, conical, and even spiral in shape. There is again uncertainty about the origin of the form and whether the minaret was initially even connected with the activity most often associated with it. It is possible that early minarets were devised as highly visible symbols of a young faith and that they were meant to mark that faith's ascendance and monumentality. Indeed, even today the skyline of any predominantly Muslim town or city is punctuated by the vertical forms of minarets. Outstanding surviving examples from the medieval period include the spiral minaret outside the walls of the ninth-century Great Mosque at Samarra in Iraq; the square minarets of the Kutubiyya Mosque in Marrakesh and the Hassan Mosque in Rabat, both in Morocco and both built during the twelfth century; the cylindrical minaret of the twelfth-century Masjid-i Kalyan in Bukhara, Uzbekistan; and the square Giralda minaret of the Great Mosque in Seville, Spain, built during the twelfth century but later used as the bell tower of that city's cathedral.

Regional and Dynastic Diversity

The enormous geographical range of the medieval Islamic world, which stretched from Morocco and Spain in the west to northern India in the east, precludes anything but a summary treatment of the multifarious forms that mosques took, although three general types of plans can be discerned. Those that descended in form from the Prophet's house in Medina are termed *hypostyle* or *Arab-style* mosques and differ markedly from subsequent Iranian and Turkish examples, which will be examined in turn. In addition to variations in plan and structure, the raw materials

of these three types also differed, although this tended to be a byproduct of geography rather than ethnic or national identity. In areas rich in natural deposits of stone (e.g., Egypt, Syria, Anatolia), mosques tended to be built in stone, whereas, in stone-poor regions (e.g., Iraq, Iran) baked brick was by necessity the preferred material. Mosque decoration also varied enormously and was a product of both location and dynastic preference for certain forms of adornment.

Most early mosques in the central Islamic lands (Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and Iraq) were hypostyle in plan with large enclosed courtyards and covered sanctuaries composed of parallel aisles that could easily be enlarged if the population of an urban center increased. Early eighth- and ninth-century mosques at Kufa and Basra in Iraq, Qairawan in Tunisia, and Fustat in Egypt all followed this plan, although all were also largely rebuilt at later dates. Three of the most typical early hypostyle mosques were erected under the patronage of the Umayyad Caliph al-Walid (r. 705–715) during the early eighth century in Damascus, Jerusalem, and Medina. The historical importance of each site reflects the conscious effort of the Umayyad dynasty to formulate and situate a new style of monumental architecture. The Mosque of the Prophet in Medina, which was built on the remains of Muhammad's house (see above), included the Prophet's tomb and was enlarged by al-Walid in 707 and adorned with mosaics (now lost). The Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem was built on the Haram al-Sharif (Sacred Enclosure), also called the Temple Mount, and was completely reconstructed by al-Walid in 709, although only fragments of the Umayyad mosque remain intact in the present structure. The Great Mosque in Damascus, built by al-Walid from 709 to 715, also occupies a site of great pre-Islamic importance: here had stood the Jewish temple of Hadad, a Roman temple dedicated to Jupiter and the Christian church of St. John the Baptist. Al-Walid's mosque has a typical hypostyle plan with a raised and domed aisle perpendicular to the mihrab on the qibla wall. The mosaics on the outer face of the courtyard and its surrounding arcades—along with those in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem—provide evidence of a rich decorative tradition in Umayyad buildings, probably carried out by Byzantine craftsmen.

Large hypostyle mosques were also built by the ʻAbbasid rulers of Iraq (r. 749–1258), most notably the Great Mosque at Samarra north of Baghdad with its aforementioned spiral minaret; this was completed by the Caliph al-Mutawakkil in 847. This remains one of the largest mosques in the Islamic world, although today only the baked brick walls and minaret survive intact. Similarly, large hypostyle mosques were constructed in North Africa under the Almoravid (1056–1147) and Almohad (1130–1269) dynasties in Fez (the Qarawiyyin Mosque, begun at an earlier date and subsequently enlarged several times) and Marrakesh (the twelfth-century Kutubiyya Mosque). In these latter examples, the proportions of earlier hypostyle mosques were reversed, and the sanctuary was much larger than the courtyard.

A similar reversal is evident in the Great Mosque at Cordoba, Spain, which was begun in 784 by the westernmost branch of the Umayyad dynasty and enlarged twice during the tenth century to accommodate the needs of a growing population. The mosque in Cordoba is notable for the use of doubled columns (one on top of the other) in the arcades of the sanctuary, extremely complex arch and vault forms in the area in front of the qibla wall, and a mihrab in the form of a separate polygonal chamber. The mosque also serves as a lesson in the reuse of materials; not only were the interior columns taken from pre-Islamic buildings in the region, but the mosque was later converted to a cathedral during the fifteenth century during the Christian Reconquista of Spain.

The hypostyle plan was also used in early mosques in Iran (e.g., in the eighth-century ʻAbbasid mosque at Damghan and the tenth-century mosque at Nayin built by the local Buyid dynasty rulers), but there soon appeared a more specifically Iranian form, sometimes referred to as the *kiosk* mosque or, more accurately, the *eyvan* (Arabic, *iwan)* mosque. An *eyvan* is a vaulted open hall with an arched rectangular façade, the origins of which are derived either from Sasanian palaces or the Sasanian fire temple known as the *chahar taq*. The eyvan was also a prominent feature in Iranian madrasas (theological colleges), where it served as a meeting place and classroom for students.

The complex history of medieval Iran, which experienced invasions by Turkic peoples in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (resulting in the establishment of the Saljuq dynasty in Iran and, later, in Anatolia), by the Mongols in the thirteenth century, and by the Timurids in the fourteenth century, is aptly seen in the aggregate nature of the Great Mosque at Isfahan. This mosque dates from the ʻAbbasid period during the eighth century, with additions and renovations during the tenth century by the Buyids, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries by the Saljuqs, and at still later dates by the Mongols (Ilkhanids; r. 1256–1353), Muzaffarids (r. 1314–1393), Timurids (r. 1370–1506), and Safavids (r. 1501–1732). Each successive dynasty left its mark on the mosque, be it a new mihrab, portal, vaulting system, or glazed tilework decoration.

Large domed chambers were also prominent in Iranian mosques, often placed in front of the mihrab

(e.g., in the fourteenth-century Mongol mosque at Varamin) or providing a massive open space in the sanctuary (as in many Safavid mosques of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). This is perhaps best seen in the seventeenth century eyvan-style Masjid-i Shah (Royal or Ruler's Mosque), which was built by Shah 'Abbas (r. 1588–1629) in the Safavid capital of Isfahan. The mosque is situated just off the great square (maydan), which formed the heart of Shah 'Abbas' reconstruction of the city. A portal leads the visitor from the maydan to the off-axis form of the mosque (which was oriented, as usual, toward Mecca, whereas the maydan was not). The Masjid-i Shah also features not only twin minarets on either side of the maydan portal but an additional pair flanking the portal that leads into the mosque proper. The portals and both the exterior and interior of the dome are lavishly decorated with tilework.

Turkish mosques differ from Arab and Iranian models in several ways. The conquest of Anatolia in 1071 by the Saljuqs exposed Turkish architects to Byzantine church architecture and inspired further experiments with domed spaces and, particularly during the Ottoman dynasty (r. date), the use of alternating brick and stone on a building's exterior. Saljuq mosques were often built on the Iranian four-eyvan model, although the harsher Anatolian climate sometimes necessitated closing over the central courtyard with a dome. A clear turning point for Turkish architecture arrived with the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople (later Istanbul) in 1453 and, with it, possession of that city's famous domed church, Hagia Sophia, which Sultan Mehmed I (the Conqueror; r. 1444–1445 and 1451–1481) converted immediately into a mosque. In subsequent imperial mosques throughout the new capital and indeed throughout the Ottoman empire, Hagia Sophia provided a template, with its succession of domed spaces culminating in an enormous central dome. The height of Hagia Sophia's dome (180 feet) would not be eclipsed until the sixteenth-century works of the master architect Sinan, who served several sultans, most notably Kanuni Süleyman (Süleyman the Lawgiver or Süleyman the Magnificent as he was known in Europe). Sinan's experiments with balanced forms and a more sober decorative aesthetic than was seen in the eastern Islamic world culminated in his masterwork, the Selimiye Mosque, which was built for Sultan Selim II (r. 1566–1574) in Edirne in Thrace.

RICHARD TURNBULL

See also 'Abbasids; Almohads; Almoravids; Aqsa Mosque; Architecture, Religious; Aya Sophia; Badshahi Mosque (Lahore); Basra; Buyids; Byzantine Empire; Ceramics; Cairo; Cordoba; Damascus; Dome of the Rock; Egypt; Fez; Furniture and Furnishings; Fustat; Ilkhanids; Isfahan; Istanbul; Jerusalem; Kufa; Medina; Mehmet II, the Conqueror; Mongols; Mosaics; Mosque of Ibn Tulun (Cairo); North Africa; Ottoman Empire; Ottoman Turks; Qayrawan; Safavids; Sasanians: Islamic Traditions; Samarra; Selimiye Mosque (Edirne); Seljuks; Seville; Shah 'Abbas; Sinan; Süleymaniye Mosque (Istanbul); Timurids; Umayyad Mosque (Damascus); Umayyads

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MU'AYYAD FI AL-DIN, AL-

Al-Mu'ayyad fi al-Din al-Shirazi (999/1000–1087 CE) was a distinguished and multitalented personality of the Ismaili religious and political mission (the *da'wa*), which reached from Transoxiana to North Africa and from Northern Iran to Yemen. In the heyday of Fatimid power during the eleventh century, he spent most of his life in the service of the Caliph–Imam al-Mustansir bi 'llah (r. 1036–1094). Al-Mu'ayyad excelled as missionary agent *(da'i)* and scholar, bringing the Ismaili spiritual heritage to its pinnacle. As prose author and poet, he showed a masterful command of Arabic literary style and rhetoric.

Al-Mu'ayyad was born into an Ismaili family in Shiraz, the capital of the Buyid province of Fars in southwestern Iran. His full name is Abu Nasr Hibat Allah Ibn Musa Ibn Abi 'Imran b. Da'ud al-Shirazi. His honorific name, al-Mu'ayyad fi 'l-Din ("The one aided"—by God—"in religion"), was probably bestowed upon him when he was appointed head of the Fatimid mission in the province.

Al-Mu'ayyad is the author of a unique work of memoirs, the *Sirat al-Mu'ayyad fi al-Din,* that covers more than twenty years of his career (1038–1060). The *Sira* is a personal and thrilling work of history that mirrors, in the life and destiny of a da'i, the mutual relationship between Fatimids, 'Abbasids, and Buyids under the growing pressure of the Turcoman invasion from Central Asia into the heartlands of the Islamic world. Furthermore, the *Sira* is a rich source for the organization and the norms of the clandestine network of the Ismaili da'wa.

As al-Mu'ayyad tells in his *Sira*, he was attempting to convince the Buyid prince of Fars, Abu Kalijar, that a shift to the Fatimid cause would generate political and religious advantages for him. This highly demanding and dangerous task was skillfully undertaken by the Ismaili missionary in a hostile environment during the days of the Sunni revival. Al-Mu'ayyad initially evaluated his mission as a success, but he soon fell out of favor with Abu Kalijar and was forced to flee to the court of al-Mustansir. The second part of the *Sira* deals with al-Mu'ayyad's experiences after his arrival in Cairo (ca. 1045), where high-handed officials tried to foil the continuation of his religiopolitical career. He thereby used an authentic and courageous critical perspective on the political situation at court and the apparent inability of the young caliph–imam to deal with it. Despite many setbacks, the ambitious refugee gradually worked his way up the hierarchy at court. He was given the post of director of the Fatimid chancery. Next, he was dispatched as head of a diplomatic delegation to northern Syria from 1056 through 1058; this was a very difficult political adventure that al-Mu'ayyad deals with in the third part of his *Sira.* There, at the fringes of the Fatimid empire, he was to build up an alliance under Fatimid command between the rebellious 'Abbasid general Abu'l-Harith al-Basasiri and local Bedouin chiefs against the Turcoman Seljuks, who already had made an end to Buyid rule and taken over power in the 'Abbasid capital in 1055. In the *Sira*'s epilogue, al-Mu'ayyad celebrates the triumph of al-Basasiri who—without further support of the Fatimids—occupied Baghdad, exiled the caliph, and established the Friday prayer for al-Mustansir for more than a year (1058–1060).

After his return to Cairo in 1058, al-Mu'ayyad was granted what he had been striving for ever since his dramatic flight from Fars: he was appointed the highest rank of chief missionary (da'i al-du'at) in the central administration of the Fatimid da'wa. From that point on, he devoted his life to administering the affairs of the da'wa, teaching missionaries from both inside and outside of the Fatimid empire, such as the philosopher–poet Nasir-i Khusraw of Badakhshan and Lamak ibn Malik al-Hammadi, a high representative of the loyal Sulayhid state in Yemen. After receiving instruction from al-Mu'ayyad for five years, Lamak organized the introduction of the Ismaili da'wa in the Indian subcontinent, where it has continued to the present day among the Bohra communities in Gujarat and other urban centers in India and Pakistan.

As chief da'i, al-Mu'ayyad was also the author of eight hundred lectures (*majalis al-hikma;* "sessions of wisdom") that he held in front of the community of believers every Thursday in Cairo. These sermons, which make up the largest collection of this genre in the literary heritage of the Ismailis, contain the essence of al-Mu'ayyad's religious and philosophical thinking; he likely stood in the tradition of the Ismaili Neoplatonist philosopher and theologian Abu Ya'qub al-Sijistani (d. ca. 971). Among the (partly) edited majalis are the correspondence with the blind Syrian philosopher–poet Abu 'l-'Ala' al-Ma'arri on the subject of vegetarianism as well as al-Mu'ayyad's refutation of the *Kitab al-Zumurrud* of Ibn al-Rawandi.

In addition to the *majalis,* al-Mu'ayyad is the author of religious–philosophical treatises, prayers, and more than sixty Arabic qasidas that contain a wide range of Fatimid theological and ideological motifs. As recent research shows, he was the founder of a new literary tradition of "da'wa poetry," which was intended to function as a medium of the proclamation of the Fatimid cause and to educate its followers. Al-Mu'ayyad's poems still play a prominent role in ritual liturgy of the Bohras in India today. Among them, he is still praised and respected as a spiritual guide and leader.

Verena Klemm

See also Arabic poetry; 'Abbasids; Arwa; Autobiographical Writings; Buyids; Cairo, Egypt; Plato and (Neo)Platonism; Sunna

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MUHAMMAD AL-BAQIR (D. CA. AH 117/735 CE)

Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Ali was one of the most learned Muslims of his age. He played a pivotal role in the history of early Islam as an authority on the exegesis of the Qur'an, the Traditions of the Prophet, and on all matters relating to the rites, rituals, and practices of the faith. Born in 57/677 in Medina, al-Baqir had an especially prestigious genealogy as the maternal and paternal grandchild of al-Hasan and al-Husayn, the Prophet's grandsons. He was popularly known as *al-Baqir,* which is short for *baqir al-'ilm,* meaning "one who splits knowledge open"; this signifies his erudition in bringing knowledge to light, a function that he did indeed perform. There are considerable variations regarding his death, and estimates range from 114/732 to 126/744. However, the dates given by al-Waqidi (117/735) and Ibn al-Khayyat (118/736) appear to be more realistic, considering reports about his death in al-Tabari during the rising of his half-brother, Zayd b. Ali.

Sunni and Shi'i sources describe al-Baqir as an eminent scholar. He is well known among the early *fuqaha* (jurists). His traditions appear in major works of tradition, and he is an authority for al-Tabari's historical and exegetical works. In Sufi circles, too, al-Baqir's sayings are quoted. In Shi'i tradition (both Ithna'ashari and Ismaili), al-Baqir is seen as the inaugurator of the legal and religious teachings that were further developed under his son and successor, Ja'far al-Sadiq. Zaydi tradition, too, relied heavily on al-Baqir through his disciple, Abu'l Jarrud.

Al-Baqir lived at a time in history when religious doctrine was at the center of both the intellectual and political life of the community. The late first and early second centuries of Islam were crucial times for the foundation of the studies connected with the Qur'an; this involved interpretation of the Qur'an that relied, in turn, on the recollected actions and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad. Medina, where al-Baqir resided, continued to be the center of religious learning after the time of the Prophet, and it was in this cusp of history that al-Baqir played a remarkably significant role.

Only a few decades before the birth of al-Baqir, his grandfather al-Husayn b. Ali, together with his entourage, were afflicted by the tragedy of Karbala. However, by the end of his lifetime, al-Baqir had given his Shi'is not only a distinct identity with a coherent theory of imamate, but he had also founded a separate legal school, the madhhab ahl al-bayt, that had well-defined views on several aspects of fiqh (jurisprudence). This was the time when the early discussions and differences in the community surrounded the question of who has the right to rule. There were serious theological discussions about aspects of leadership and the imamate, such as imam, Islam, 'ilm, 'amal, and qada wa qadar; many had political undertones. The religious–philosophical movements and communities of the Khawarij, the Murji'a, the Qadariyya, the Kaysaniyya, and the Zaydiyya sought their own answers to problematic questions. The Shi'is, under al-Baqir, did not shy away from these issues but rather proposed their own solutions. They not only entered the arena with confidence but also had their solutions accepted by others.

Contending with several competing groups, al-Baqir put forward a coherent theory of the imamate based on the Qur'an and hadith (tradition). His emphasis on hereditary imamate proved to be timely, because many regarded the imamate as an exclusively political matter that was based either on the *ijma* (consensus) of the people or on the rising of the imam. A stronger argument in favor of al-Baqir's school was its conviction that the Prophet had expressly designated and appointed 'Ali as his successor by *nass al-jali* (explicit designation); this meant that the Imam's authority did not depend on either human electors or the allegiance *(bay'a)* of the people. The hereditary character of the nass was thus the crucial point in al-Baqir's doctrine; it served as a restriction for many who considered claiming the nass a license to leadership.

In addition, in al-Baqir's view, the imam was endowed with the hereditary 'ilm as a result of the nass bestowed on him. Therefore, true knowledge was ultimately confined only to the imam in the Prophet's family and not to every member of the Prophet's family and certainly not to the whole community. The whole tradition of the community was thus not valid as a proper source for law; only traditions of the Imams or those of the Prophet confirmed by the Imams were allowed. This approach of al-Baqir's school toward the majority of the Prophet's companions changed the legal pattern of the Shi'is, and, in so doing, laid the foundation of a distinct school of

jurisprudence: the madhhab ahl al-bayt. The basis of Shi'i law and theology emerged and developed itself within the circle of al-Baqir's adherents. A distinctive ruling, for example, that goes back to him is that of wiping one's footwear *(al-mash 'ala'l khuffayn)* before praying as being unacceptable as a substitute for washing the feet. In addition to transmitting this formal kind of knowledge, al-Baqir also played the role of a spiritual guide initiating his followers in experiential knowledge. This is represented in the concept of light in his theory of the imamate, embodying the numinous aspect of the imam's knowledge that sets the inner wisdom in motion.

Therefore, strictly in terms of the scholarly literature that expresses Shi'i doctrines, al-Baqir assumed a dignified position for his century. From the prominence of his traditions and the profound contributions they represent, a truly remarkable personality is perceived—one that deserves recognition as an outstanding figure in the history of the Shi'is and a major force of Islamic thought in general.

Arzina R. Lalani

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MUHAMMAD IBN AL-QASIM

Muhammad ibn al-Qasim, one of the most famous Arab generals of the eighth century, was born around 695 CE in Taif, Arabia, to Habibat al-Uzma and al-Qasim. Because his family belonged to the tribe of Banu Thaqif, he was also called Muhammad ibn al-Qasim al-Thaqafiyya. Not much is known about his early childhood, most of which he probably spent in Taif. As a young boy, Muhammad was very fond of a fragrant wild plant called al-Bahar; hence, he came to be affectionately known as Abu al-Bahar. When his father, al-Qasim (who was a cousin of al-Hajjaj, the powerful Arab viceroy of Iraq), was appointed governor of al-Basrah, the family moved there. It was in this important center of the rapidly growing Arab empire that Muhammad was exposed to a cosmopolitan, intellectual, and cultural environment. Because al-Hajjaj was particularly fond of his cousin's young son, Muhammad spent some time with him in Wasit, the capital of the Iraqi province. Presumably the viceroy educated Muhammad in military and administrative affairs, a training that would be prove invaluable for his short but brilliant career.

Around 709 or 710, when Muhammad was fifteen or sixteen years old, al-Hajjaj entrusted his protégé with his first military mission: the subjugation of a group of Kurds in the province of Fars who had become a serious threat to law and order in the region. After his victory over the Kurds, he was made governor of Fars, and he was responsible for developing its administrative structure. Muhammad proceeded to plan and build at Shiraz, a strategically situated new city that would serve as the provincial capital and as an important military base for commanders. He was also responsible for subjugating the area around to the south of Shiraz, called Sabur, and the distant area of Jurjan, near the southeastern shores of the Caspian.

In 711, on the basis of his achievements in Fars, al-Hajjaj appointed the seventeen-year-old Muhammad as the commander of the army that was to be sent to Sind (now in southern Pakistan) to punish and subdue local pirates who had been harassing Arab trading ships and who had taken Arab women and children hostage. Because two previous naval missions had failed, al-Hajjaj entrusted Muhammad

with the command of an invasion by land that would result in the annexation of Sind. During a period of approximately three years, Muhammad conquered the coast of Makran, took control over the important seaport of al-Daibul, and began extending his authority inland over the lower Indus valley. By 712, he had defeated Dahar (the ruler of Sind) and taken over the city of Aror, and he began proceeding northward to capture Multan. During subsequent months, he signed treaties with surrounding states in Rajasthan, Kathiawar, and Gujarat. Muhammad was not only a brilliant military commander and strategist but he was also an excellent administrator; he reorganized the civil administration of the region.

Notwithstanding the superior military power at his disposal, Muhammad was an enlightened ruler, seeking to win over the confidence of the local population. By employing local administrators and forgiving the inhabitants of conquered cities, he garnered a great deal of local support, especially from those who were seeking relief from their autocratic rulers. He was also tolerant of local religious beliefs, declaring at Aror that the local Indian temples were equivalent to churches, synagogues, and the fire temples of the Magians. Not surprisingly, in Multan, he did not destroy the famous temple dedicated to the Sun God. In effect, Muhammad recognized the Hindus and Buddhists as equivalent to the *ahl al-kitab* (the people of the Book), who, like Christians and Jews, had the right to practice their faith in return for the payment of *jizya* (tax). He exempted Brahmins from the tax, a custom that was followed by subsequent Muslim rulers in India.

In 715, the new Ummayad Caliph Suleiman came to power determined to seek revenge for the support that al-Hajjaj had given to his brother al-Walid in a dispute about succession to the caliphate. Because al-Hajjaj was already dead, the Caliph's wrath descended on al-Hajjaj's family, the most prominent among them being Muhammad ibn al-Qasim. The new Caliph dismissed Muhammad from his post in Sind, ordering his immediate arrest and repatriation to Iraq. Muhammad was imprisoned at al-Wasit, where he and other members of his clan were tortured and killed. Today, Muhammad ibn al-Qasim is memorialized as a great hero in contemporary Pakistan, especially in religious nationalist circles who see Islam as having been first introduced into the region as a result of his conquest of Sind and the establishment of the first Muslim state that would endure for nearly three centuries. A new international seaport, Port Al-Qasim, near Karachi, has been named in his honor.

Ali Asani

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MUHAMMAD, THE PROPHET (571–632 CE)

The last in the line of Abrahamic prophets—or the Seal of Prophets, as the Qur'an calls him—Muhammad was a descendant of Ishmael, son of Abraham. He fought against polytheism and revived monotheism, a legacy that quickly spread around the world after his demise. In the Qur'an, he is named a mercy to the worlds, a bringer of glad tidings, a warner, a lamp spreading light, a universal messenger, and a witness. He is described as compassionate, having a tender heart, and embodying an exalted standard of character, neither seeking reward from the people nor speaking according to his own desires.

The Qur'an explains that Muhammad's mission is not to bring a doctrine that is new among the Messengers of God but whose sole duty instead is to proclaim the divine message, to confirm that which was brought by the Messengers before him, and, through this, to confront religious hypocrisy. The Qur'an stresses that Muslims must obey him as the Messenger of God and greet him each time his name is mentioned by saying, "God's blessings and peace be upon him." Bearing witness that Muhammad is a servant and Messenger of God is a major pillar of faith in Islam, second only to faith in the oneness of God.

Muhammad was born in Mecca in the Year of the Elephant, 571 CE, when Abraha, the Abyssinian governor of Yemen, unsuccessfully attempted to destroy the Ka'ba with an army mounted on huge elephants, intending to divert pilgrims to the magnificent cathedral he built in Sana. Muhammad was born to his mother Amina six months after the death of his father Abdullah, who passed away at a young age. Following the Arab custom, he was sent as a small baby to the desert for four years to grow in good health, away from the epidemics that iteratively afflicted Mecca, and to learn the best and purest usage of the Arabic language from the desert Bedouins. During this time, a woman named Halima from the tribe of Bani Sa'd looked after him and served as his wet nurse. At the age of four, he was returned to his mother in Mecca. At the age of six, Muhammad's mother passed away, and he grew up first in the custody of his grandfather, Abdu l-Muttalib, for two years, and later in the home of his uncle, Abu Talib, with whom he stayed until his marriage.

Muhammad was by ancestry a member of a highly esteemed family, the Sons of Hashim, and a tribe, the Quraysh, in a sacred city, Mecca, in which was found a holy sanctuary, the Ka'ba, which was symbolically the House of God. The Arabs had revered the Ka'ba as a pilgrimage site since Abraham, the Father of Prophets, and his first son Ishmael first built it in compliance with God's command. The economy of Mecca was based on caravan trade, because Mecca was a station on the trade route between Syria and Yemen. The Meccans also raised animals, but for their own need alone, which they pastured on the mountains nearby. The barren landscape of Mecca did not allow farming. Accordingly, the children of Mecca were raised to become merchants, as too was Muhammad.

As a young child, Muhammad's education included training in refined speech, care of animals, travel, martial arts, and trade. The cosmopolitan environment of Mecca, which was constantly visited by pilgrims and tradesmen, exposed him to varying economic, cultural, and religious practices. He learned the best usage of the Arabic language during the time he spent in the desert among the Bedouins, who were renowned for their excellence in poetry. He also spent time as a shepherd, and he later said that all Prophets had the experience in their lives of serving as shepherds.

At the age of nine (or perhaps twelve), Muhammad accompanied his uncle Abu Talib with a caravan to Syria as part of his training as a merchant and trader (such treacherous trips across the desert and the constant threat of armed conflict among neighboring tribes necessitated training in the martial arts; this was held to be another crucial part of the upbringing of the children of Mecca). During the course of this journey, the caravan passed the cell of a Christian monk named Bahira, who observed that Muhammad was continually shaded by a cloud that accompanied him and that the tree beneath which Muhammad took shelter lowered its branches to him. Recognizing in his appearance a description from a manuscript in his possession, Bahira asked to examine the boy's back, where he saw a birthmark confirming that the prophet so long awaited was indeed Muhammad.

This range of experiences in such a cosmopolitan environment fostered an informed perspective from which Muhammad was able to appraise the customary religious practices prevalent among his tribe and fellow citizens of Mecca. The people of Mecca were proud to be descendants of Abraham and servants of the House of God, although by the time Muhammad was born very little of Abraham's legacy remained intact. In particular, monotheism no longer stood unchallenged by polytheism and paganism. The Arabs honored the Ka'ba as the House of God, but they filled it with idols that they expected to serve as intercessors between them and God. Even the place of the holy well, Zamzam, near the Ka'ba, had been long forgotten. The pristine monotheism of Abraham had been almost completely forgotten, although Muhammad was able to join the ranks of those few adherents who remained. These followers of Abraham refrained from worshiping idols, moral corruption, and injustice, but they had no power to reinstitutionalize monotheism. Among them, as among the Meccan community generally, Muhammad acquired a reputation for being singularly trustworthy and therefore became known by the Arabic epithet *al-Amin*.

At the age of twenty-five, Muhammad was approached for marriage by a wealthy widow, Khadija, who entrusted him with her trade caravans; at that time she was forty years old. This led to a marriage that lasted for twenty-five years, until Khadija's death in 619 CE at the age of sixty-five years. The bridegroom moved from the house of his uncle, Abu Talib, to the house of Khadija; she bore two sons and four daughters. Because their first child was Qasim, a son who died in infancy, Muhammad came to be known as Abu l-Qasim, the father of Qasim. The next child was a daughter, Zaynab, who was followed by three other daughters, Ruqayya, Umm Kulthum, and Fatima, and finally by another short-lived son, Abdullah.

When Muhammad reached the age of thirty-five, the tribes of Mecca decided to jointly undertake the physical restoration of the Ka'ba. They cooperated fully in its construction until it came to placing the sacred Black Stone, al-Hajar al-Aswad, back in its original place in one of the Ka'ba's walls: each tribe wanted the honor of this final task exclusively for itself. Tension rose, reaching the point at which outright warfare seemed inevitable. However, because his fairness was well known to all, the leaders of the tribes at length agreed to ask Muhammad to resolve the conflict. Muhammad placed the Black Stone on his cloak and asked a representative of each tribe to join together in raising the stone and carrying it to its place. This ingenious solution pleased all of the tribes and forestalled a civil war; furthermore, it was a significant test of Muhammad's capacity for leadership and peacemaking, which he successfully passed. Because of his commitment to resolving conflict peacefully and promoting justice, Muhammad also participated in an order of chivalry that was meant to aid the oppressed and promote social order and equality for all in Mecca, irrespective of their being dwellers of the city or aliens.

Disturbed by corruption in the city, Muhammad made it his practice to enter spiritual retreat in

isolated caves in the mountains surrounding Mecca. At the age of forty, he received the first revelation in a cave he frequented on the mountain of Hira, also known as the Mountain of Light. God sent him the Archangel Gabriel, who gave the following command: "Read: In the name of your Lord Who created, created the human being from a clot. Read: And your Lord is Most Generous, Who taught by the pen, taught the human being what he knew not" (Qur'an, Surat al-'Alaq, 96:1–5).

Receiving direct revelation from God left Muhammad in great anguish, astonishment, and awe. He left his place of retreat, hastening home in the most profound consternation. Khadija tried to comfort her husband and sought consultation with Waraqa, a blind, elderly Christian sage with profound knowledge of the Bible. Waraqa had (like the monk Bahira) long anticipated the coming of a new prophet, even suspecting that he might already be in the Arabs' midst. After listening to Muhammad's experience, Waraqa said: "Holy! Holy! By him in whose hand is the soul of Waraqa, the Angel of Revelation who came to Moses has come to Muhammad. Truly, Muhammad is the Prophet of this people. Bid him rest assured." Waraqa later told Muhammad: "You will be called a liar, and ill-treated, and they will cast you out and make war upon you; and if I live to see that day, God knows I will help His cause." The reassurances of Khadija and Waraqa were followed by reassurances from Heaven in the form of subsequent revelations, which arrived intermittently for twenty-three years until his death. The fact that the first person to embrace Islam was a woman and a merchant has left an enduring impression on the thought of Muslims, who continue to revere Khadija as the Mother of Believers.

The rise of a Prophet among the Arabs of Mecca came as a complete shock to the pagans and polytheists, who first ignored him, later tried to silence him by force, and at last tried to completely eradicate his message. However, Christians and Jews were more familiar with divine Revelation; some had been awaiting the arrival of the last Prophet in the form of the Messiah. Believers in the new revelation came from various ranks of society. Abu Bakr, a businessman and longtime friend, was the next person to embrace it, after Khadija. He was followed by Bilal, an Abyssinian slave, and Ali, the cousin of Muhammad, who was then a young child. Some of the notables of Mecca saw a threat to their power in the steady growth of the Muslim community. In response, they placed the nascent community under an economic boycott, and they also initiated a campaign of propaganda and torture; this led some Muslims to seek refuge in Abyssinia. At length the pagan Meccans established an alliance among themselves to definitively sever all ties with the Muslims, placing them under siege in a section of the city with no contact with the outside world and no access to food. Despite unbearable pressure and a growing number of deaths under torture, none of the believers reverted back to polytheism.

As despair escalated among the believers, the Archangel Gabriel one night awakened the Prophet Muhammad from his sleep and led him on a Night Journey from Mecca to Jerusalem. Together they rode on a beast with white wings named Buraq, whose every stride reached as far as the eye could see. From the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, they ascended together to the Seven Heavens, where the Prophet of Islam conversed in the spiritual realm with the Prophets who brought the earlier revelations. Finally, he was accepted to the Divine Presence, where he spoke with God. On this occasion, God gave him a number of commandments that are comparable with the Ten Commandments of Moses, including the following:

> "And your Lord has decreed that you worship none save Him, and that you treat your parents with goodness. If one of them, or both of them, reach old age with you, do not say 'oof' to them, and do not reject them, but speak honorable words to them. And lower to them the wing of humility, out of compassion, and say, 'My Lord, have mercy upon them as they brought me up when I was small.' Your Lord is best aware of what is in your souls. If you are righteous [He will forgive you], for surely, He is Ever-Forgiving to those who frequently return in repentance. And give the one near to you his right, and the poor, and the wayfarer, and do not squander your wealth in frivolous squandering. Truly, those who squander are brothers of the devils, and the devil was always ungrateful to his Lord. But if you must turn away from them, seeking the mercy you hope for from your Lord, then speak to them a gentle word. And neither let your hand be tied to your neck [in avarice] nor expand it so wide [in extravagance] that you sit there blamed or destitute. Surely your Lord expands the provision to whomever He wishes or cuts it. Surely He is Fully Aware, All-Seeing. And do not kill your children from fear of poverty. We provide for them and We provide for you. Truly killing them is a great sin. And do not come near to illicit sexual intercourse; surely it is a monstrous obscenity and an evil way. And do not kill any human being whose life Allah has willed to be sacred—save by the right of law. And whoever is killed unjustly, We have given authority to his heir, but let him not exceed the limits [set by law] in taking life. Surely he shall be helped [by God]. And do not come near to the wealth of the orphan save with that which is better, until he comes to strength, and keep the contract. Surely you will be asked about the contract. And give full measure when you measure, and weigh with a straight balance. That is

> better and more excellent in the end. And do not pursue that of which you have no knowledge. Surely the hearing and the sight and the heart—all of these will be questioned. And do not walk arrogantly upon the earth. Surely you cannot tear the earth apart, and you will never be taller than the mountains. All of that is distasteful in the sight of your Lord."
>
> (Qur'an, Surat al-'Isra 17:23–38)

These verses from the Qur'an summarize the basic teachings given to the Prophet Muhammad during the Meccan period of revelation, which are also reflected in his numerous non-Qur'anic sayings, which are known as *hadith* (tradition). The significant overlap with the Ten Commandments is striking. During the Night Journey and Ascension, God also commanded Muslims to pray five times a day *(salat)*, a ritual that embodies the ascension of the believer to the Divine Presence.

As the number of Muslims grew, the efforts of the notables of Mecca to suppress their movement increased. The escalating tension between these groups and the deteriorating conditions under which the Muslims lived forced the Prophet to search for a place of refuge for his community away from his birthplace. The small yet also rapidly expanding community of Muslim believers in the city of Yathrib, today known as Medina, invited the Prophet and his followers to join them. Finally, in 622 CE, the community of believers undertook the emigration from Mecca to Medina. This is known as the *hijra,* and it was accepted during the time of Caliph Umar as the beginning of the Islamic *(hijri)* lunar calendar.

However, this was only the outer hijra, as the Prophet reminded his followers; the inner hijra takes place in the heart of the person who moves from evil to goodness. Without the inner hijra, the outer one would be meaningless, he instructed, thereby making hijra obligatory for his followers. At length, the entire Muslim community relocated to Medina physically, just as every believer since that time is to make hijra in the heart.

The economy of Medina depended on farming. Initially it was not easy for the Immigrants, who were merchants by profession, to adjust themselves to their new setting. However, their brothers and sisters in Medina, known as the Helpers, made great sacrifices to support them.

The Immigrants and the Helpers constituted the two branches of the Muslim community in Medina. The Prophet Muhammad was not only their leader but also, as the duly appointed ruler of Medina, the leader of the Jews, the pagan polytheists, and the Christians who lived there. These communities joined him in signing the newly drafted constitution of the city-state. The fact that Islam numbered merchants and farmers among its early adherents contributed to its future spread to communities elsewhere that exhibited a range of types of social and economic organization. Likewise, the peaceful experience of the Muslim community in joining with other religious communities as citizens of a single state united under one leadership made a lasting impact on Islamic political philosophy and state structure. The Constitution of Medina, which was concluded jointly among the Prophet and the leaders of other religious communities in Medina, is still available today for study, and it is commonly regarded as the first written constitution for a pluralist society.

The hijra from Mecca to Medina entailed for Muslims not only a change of location but also a change in political and social organization. Whereas they had lived as a violently oppressed minority in Mecca, they became the ruling element in Medina, charged with the protection of other minority groups. This also meant that the Prophet Muhammad joined in his person both religious and political leadership. Like Jesus, he was a supreme spiritual leader; like Moses, David, and Solomon, he was equally a ruler and a law-giving Prophet. In Mecca, he prohibited fighting even in self-defense by his followers, although in Medina the revelation authorized him to permit it. However, all the while—and despite the growing resources under his control as the head of an ever-expanding state—he led the same devout and ascetic life that he always had.

In Medina, the Prophet Muhammad placed the different areas of social life under laws and moral norms, from family to commerce, inheritance to warfare. His Mosque served not only as a place of worship but also as a school, court, and parliament. He devoted special attention to consultation when making decisions: unless there was a clear divine command transmitted to the Prophet through revelation, choices of crucial importance to the community (e.g., whether to wage war) were reached in the Mosque only after a public consultation and debate. He adjudicated cases brought before him in the Mosque not only between Muslims but also occasionally between non-Muslims as well. He even accepted foreign ambassadors in the Mosque, which was, to their astonishment, an extremely humble place. Because the floor had no carpet, worshippers prostrated on the sand; it was roofed over in palm fronds, and no sculpture or picture adorned the walls. The Prophet Muhammad sat on the ground; he never possessed a chair, a throne, or a crown.

His home was also extremely humble, consisting of small rooms attached to the Mosque and entirely without the luxury so commonly thought to befit leaders of such stature. In his home, the Prophet

always slept on the floor on a simple mat, as he refused to sleep in a comfortable bed. He frequently fasted and usually ate only one meal a day without completely filling his stomach. He did not wear silk or gold, and he allowed them only for the women in his community. His custom was to carry a silver ring. He helped his wives with the housework, assisting in such matters as milking the goats, sweeping the floor, and sewing his own clothes. He spent at least one-third of the night in solitary prayer. In addition to the congregational prayers mandated for five specific times each day, he constantly offered voluntary players. For the Prophet, the highest level of worship of God was "to worship Him as if you see Him; for even if you do not see Him, He sees you." He preached that Muslims must live in constant awareness of the Divine Presence and act accordingly in daily life.

This high degree of piety did not prevent him from active involvement in family and community affairs and leadership by example in even the most mundane aspects of life. The first Muslims in Mecca were mostly merchants. The Prophet's early career as an international tradesman provided him the experience he needed when legislating about commercial relations. Later, this was coupled with laws governing agrarian economy as befit the new environment of Medina with its traditionally agrarian economy.

At the beginning of his mission, the Prophet Muhammad practiced and preached a steadfast commitment to pacifism. This continued for fourteen years, until in the second year of the hijra polytheists from Mecca attacked Medina in a violent campaign to uproot Islam from its new sanctuary. Only then were the Muslims permitted by divine command to defend themselves and join the aggressors in battle. For the first time, a small Muslim army engaged in armed struggle with the disproportionately larger and more experienced army of polytheists at a location near Medina, known as Badr. This encounter became the first military victory in Islamic history as Muslims triumphed over the polytheists. The defeated army in turn reorganized and attacked Medina for the second time the following year, this time defeating the Muslims at Uhud.

Despite this victory, the polytheists were not happy with the result, because their goal was not just military victory but total eradication of the new religion from the face of the earth. Accordingly, they attacked Medina again with a still greater army. Upon receiving the news of the approaching army, the Prophet Muhammad gathered his Companions in the Mosque for consultation. Eventually, they adopted the proposal of Salman Farisi, a Persian convert who advised the community to dig trenches around Medina and defend the city instead of directly confronting the polytheist army that was approaching with overwhelming numbers. This strategy succeeded, as the polytheist army, attacking in the expectation of a quick victory, stalled in the trenches and grew increasingly impatient. Finally, they ended the siege and returned to Mecca.

The following year, during the time of the pilgrimage, the Prophet Muhammad and his followers went to Mecca for pilgrimage. Customarily, all Arab tribes agreed that, during the period of pilgrimage, fighting was prohibited, and the Ka'ba would be open to anyone who wished to visit it. However, the rulers of Mecca broke this rule for the first time and did not allow Muslims to enter Mecca and perform pilgrimage to the Ka'ba. As an alternative, they proposed a peace treaty with the Muslims; according to the terms of the treaty, the Muslims agreed to return to Medina with the understanding that, during the following year, they would be able to perform pilgrimage in Mecca. The Prophet Muhammad accepted this seemingly humiliating concession, later known as the Treaty of Hudaybiyya. Paradoxically, the treaty worked to the advantage of the Muslims by enabling them to spread Islam more easily among Arab tribes in the newly peaceful environment. It also fostered the consolidation of the Muslim community in Medina. During the following year, Muslims made their first pilgrimage to the Ka'ba under the leadership of Abu Bakr. However, the truce did not last for long, because the polytheists nullified it by violating its conditions.

In response to the termination of the truce, the Prophet decided to enter Mecca, by force if necessary. After lengthy negotiations, the Muslims were able to conquer Mecca peacefully and purge the Ka'ba of its many idols. The House of God and enduring symbols of true monotheism were restored once again according to the Prophet Abraham's initial vision. The Prophet Muhammad and his Companions did not retaliate against those long-time enemies who had tortured them, boycotted their livelihood, harmed their families, expelled them from their homeland, and even pursued and attacked them after they had immigrated to another city. In other words, the final conquest of Mecca was bloodless.

During the following year, the Prophet made his last pilgrimage to the Ka'ba, which was known as the Farewell Pilgrimage. On this occasion, he delivered the so-called Farewell Sermon from the back of his camel to about a hundred thousand Muslims. The message of this sermon has made it one of the most highly esteemed texts of the Islamic tradition to this very day. In this sermon, the Prophet summarized basic tenets of Islamic law, particularly the rights and duties of men and women. For generations, the

Arabs had considered the property and person of the pilgrims inviolable and the time and place of pilgrimage sacred. The Prophet generalized this sanctity as a fundamental rule applicable to all persons, times, and places: "O People, just as you regard this month, this day, this city as Sacred, so regard the life and property of every Muslim as a sacred trust."

He also reminded the community of the prohibition of usury and interest, women's rights, the five daily prayers, fasting during Ramadan, pilgrimage to the Ka'ba, and payment of zakat (an annual charity). He emphasized to them their accountability on the Day of Judgment: "Remember, one day you will appear before God and answer your deeds. So beware, do not stray from the path of righteousness after I am gone."

And he ended his sermon as follows:

> "O People, no prophet or apostle will come after me and no new religion will be born. Reason well, therefore, O People, and understand the words that I convey to you. I leave behind me two things, the Qur'an and my example, the *Sunna*, and if you follow these you will never go astray. All those who listen to me shall pass on my words to others and those to others again; and may the last ones understand my words better than those who listen to me directly. Be my witness, O God, that I have conveyed your message to your people."

In the following year, 632 CE, the Prophet passed away. His death caused a short-lived state of confusion and deep consternation among his Companions, who did not want to face the necessity of assuming stewardship of the community in his place. Finally, the Companions decided to appoint Abu Bakr as his successor, the Caliph.

The Qur'an, the Book of God, which contains verbatim revelations from God revealed piecemeal to Muhammad over twenty-three years, was Muhammad's legacy to humanity. His own sayings and the stories about him, known as hadith, have been collected in a separate literature and passed down through generations.

The Prophet Muhammad was husband, father, tradesman, teacher, founder and president of a state, judge, and commander—but he was first and foremost the servant and Messenger of God, who called for monotheism and the restoration of the universal and primordial principles of morality and justice.

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MULLA SADRA (d. 1641 CE)

Sadr al-Din Muhammad ibn Ibrahim Shirazi, also known as Mulla Sadra, is the most significant Islamic philosopher after Avicenna. Born into a courtly family in Shiraz in 1571, his interest in intellectual pursuits was indulged by his father. He moved first to Qazvin and then to Isfahan, the successive capitals of the Safavids, to pursue his studies with the two preeminent teachers of his age, Mir Damad (d. 1621) and Shaykh Baha al-Din al-'Amili (d. 1621), who was Shaykh al-Islam in Isfahan during the reign of Shah 'Abbas I. After completing his training, Mulla Sadra returned to Shiraz to work and teach, but, failing to find an adequate patron, he retreated to Kahak near Qum to meditate and initiate the composition of his works. He acquired the patronage of Imamquli Khan (d. 1612), a notable Georgian ghulam who was in charge of the Safavid military administration and the governor of Sadra's home province of Fars, and

he moved to Shiraz, where he taught at the Madrasa-yi Khan, which was founded by Imamquli. There, he trained a generation of philosophers; the most significant were Muhsin Fayd Kashani (d. 1680) and 'Abd al-Razzaq Lahiji (d. 1661), both of whom became his sons-in-law. After an illustrious and prolific career, he died in Basra on the return from his seventh pilgrimage to Mecca in 1641.

Mulla Sadra's magnum opus is a large compendium of philosophy and theology that maps intellectual inquiry upon a mystical metaphor of the soul's journey in this world. Hence, it is popularly known as the *Four Journeys (al-Asfar al-Arba'a)*. The first journey from this world to God provides the seeker with the intellectual principles for understanding philosophy, such as the basic definition of philosophy and the significance of the question of being. In this journey, the seeker moves away from multiplicity and phenomenal deception toward unity and an awareness of the underlying nature of reality. The second journey in God with God is a discourse on the nature of God and the divine attributes, and it significantly includes Mulla Sadra's famous proof for the existence of God. It is the stage of the mystic's absorption in the divine essence and his effacement of the self. The third journey from God to this world explains the God–world relationship, nature, time, creation, and ontological categories in this world. For the mystic, this is the return to sobriety and a realization of the duties of moral agency in this world. The final journey in this world with God is a description of human psychology that focuses on soteriology and eschatology and reveals most clearly the significance of Twelver Shi'ism to his thought. This is the final stage of the mystic's journey, a recognition that everything as a unified whole reflects the ontological unity of the divine.

Mulla Sadra is often described as a metaphysical revolutionary because of his doctrine of existence. Any attempt to conceptualize existence falsifies it through reification. A reified, fixed concept cannot capture the nature of existence, which is dynamic and in flux. One can discern three distinct doctrines of existence that draw upon Mulla Sadra's intellectual influences, which include Avicennan philosophy, the intuitive philosophy of Suhrawardi, and the Sufi metaphysics of Ibn 'Arabi. The first doctrine is the ontological primacy of existence *(asalat al-wujud)*. Essences are not entities waiting for a divine agent to actualize and individuate them through the bestowal of existence, an essentialist doctrine that posits a rather paradoxical existence of an essence before it comes to exist. Rather, the divine agent produces existences in this world that take on the garb of some particular essence. Existence must be ontologically prior not only because of the absurdity of an existence before existence but also because God is devoid of essence, and his causal link to the world can only be existential if one wishes to avoid the problem of a composite god.

The second doctrine is the modulation of existence *(tashkik al-wujud)*. Existence is a singular reality, of which the phenomenal experience as multiple is illusory. Different existences in this world are different intense degrees of a single whole. The particular degrees of existence are not stable substances in the Aristotelian sense and rather are structures of events in flux. This leads to the third doctrine that all individuals in existence undergo motion and flux *(haraka jawhariyya)*. An existing entity is not a stable substance constant in time to which change occurs as an accident, such as a young Zayd becoming old and graying; rather, it is a structure of unfolding, dynamic events of existence.

Mulla Sadra became *the* philosopher of the Islamic East. His commentary on *al-Hidaya (The Guidance)* of Athir al-Din al-Abhari was the cornerstone of the rationalist curriculum of the Indian madrasa (Islamic school) from the eighteenth century. In Iran, his philosophical school has dominated since the nineteenth century.

Sajjad H. Rizvi

See also Ibn 'Arabi; Ibn Sina; Iluminationism; Isfahan; Mir Damad; Plato and Neoplatonism; Safavids; Shah 'Abbas; Shi'ism; Suhrawardi

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MURALS

See Painting, Monumental and Frescoes

MUSIC

The importance of music across medieval Islamic civilization is widely documented. Although often

contested by Islamic law, vocal and instrumental traditions were significant in both scholarship and public life, and these early sounds still flavor the music of the present-day Middle East. Qur'anic recitation and the adhan (call to prayer) are never considered music in Islamic tradition.

General Principles and Issues

Sources

Music in the medieval Islamic empire was largely based in oral practice and oral transmission, with little or no emphasis on written music notation before the Ottoman period. Other types of information, however, exist in such sources as religious texts; philosophical, scientific, and legal treatises; collections of song texts; narratives and biographies; and pictorial evidence, such as engravings and miniatures. These documents and images allow a glimpse into the world of music and musicians, often showing or describing music theory, music-making contexts, musicians, instruments, and performance practice. Although the music likely had at least some basis in pre-Islamic or folk forms, music theory was usually the domain of the educated, literate elite. As such, the use of these texts and treatises tends to limit current knowledge to court traditions and musical practices in urban centers rather than nomadic or rural communities.

In the absence of written scores, it is difficult to determine or describe what this music actually sounded like. It is known that vocal music, singing, and poetry/verse were and are extremely central to Middle Eastern music. Early writings such as the tenth-century *Kitab al-Aghani* describe instrumental ensembles "playing as one," a likely reference to a monophonic (unison) playing style, although there is discussion of the use of *za'ida* (glosses) such as trills, turns, and other more individual ornamentations of melody. Such improvisatory practices are still common in Middle Eastern music today.

Sources also point to the use of an underlying drone (a low sustained or repeated pitch) as well as an emphasis on compound musical forms such as suites (cycles or sequences of vocal and instrumental composed pieces and improvisations). For example, the four-movement chamber music genre of *nuba* is first discussed in the mid-ninth century; writings over the next two centuries suggest the addition of a fifth movement, particularly in the regions of al-Andalus and North Africa. The Turkish *fasıl* suite, described in the fifteenth century, consists of improvisation, a prelude, a group of composed songs, and an instrumental closing.

Modal Systems

An important feature of Middle Eastern music, from the pre-Islamic period to the present day, is the use of rhythmic and melodic modes as the bases for musical theory and practice. Modes are complex, conceptual frameworks around which all Middle Eastern music is organized. The principles of rhythmic modes *(iqa'at)* have strong links to poetic meter and involve phrases of varying lengths and patterns of beats and rests, whereas melodic modes involve sets of notes, scales, and intervals as well as particular notes of emphasis and emblematic patterns of melodic movement. Both rhythmic and melodic modal systems also have particular emotional correspondences (pleasure, courage, sadness) and expressive, affective properties.

Modal theory is considered in numerous treatises throughout the medieval period, with early writings referring to melodic modes as *asabi'* and only later with the present-day term *maqamat*. These treatises discuss the various classification schemes for modal organization as well as the changes over time and region in the number of modes and their names. For instance, early Arabic writing speaks of eight melodic modes, whereas later Persian theory is organized on the basis of twelve modes; some thirteenth-century writings even add six secondary modes *(awazat)*.

Religious Controversy

Despite flourishing musical traditions and courtly patronage of music across Islamic civilization, the practice of music in Islam was and is not without significant controversy on religious and legal levels. There does not appear to have been a ban on music during the earliest days of Islam, and, indeed, the conquerors found it difficult to suppress the pre-Islamic musical customs of the areas they dominated. However, stricter injunctions against music in general began to appear under the orthodox caliphs who ruled after the death of the Prophet; from that time on, music fell variously in and out of favor throughout the medieval period and beyond.

The root of the controversy lies in differing perceptions of music's effect on the listener: the idea that music brings a devotee closer to God (a position prominent in Sufism) versus the fear that music—especially secular entertainment genres—provides a distraction from spiritual endeavors and tempts

the listener into sin. Vocal traditions, especially unaccompanied singing, are generally less contentious than instrumental music, and treatises from the medieval period support a range of positions that frequently have their bases in passages or anecdotes from the Qur'an or hadith. These positions range from strict opposition to any secular or instrumental music—such as Ibn Abi'l Dunya's (d. 894 CE) *Dhamm al-Malahi (Disapprobation of Musical Instruments)*—to more liberal interpretations that only seek to ban instruments that cause "pleasure." The deep controversy over the permissibility of music in Islam is also reflected in the terminology used to refer to music and instruments, including the term *malahi,* which can refer either to musical instruments in general or to instruments that are forbidden.

Historical and Geographical Perspectives

Overview

During the early years of Islam in such centers as Mecca and Medina, many musicians could be found among the large populations arriving from newly conquered areas. Both slaves and non-Arab Muslims of the free *malwa* (client) class, often Persians, participated in a system of patronage that included *madjlis* (salons) hosted at private homes. Women, who were not yet sequestered, participated widely in music-making both as patrons (see Women Patrons) and performers, especially in the *qayna* (singing girl) tradition, which involved both singing and accompaniment on stringed instruments such as the *'ud* or *tunbur* (short-necked and long-necked lutes, respectively). Although the 'ud would continue to rise in prominence in Arabic music theory, these earlier instruments were probably carried over from pre-Islamic Sasanian court lute traditions, and they went by several other names: *mizhar* (a skin-backed lute), *muwattar* (probably played with the thumb), and *barbat* (a wood-backed lute). Other instruments mentioned during this period included the *mizmar* (a conical double-reed wind instrument), *daff* (frame drum, with or without metal discs), and *dufuf* (tambourine). There are also references to the use of music at feasts and in festive contexts such as weddings or celebrations.

Although music, especially instrumental music, fell out of favor under the orthodox caliphs, the fourth caliph 'Ali (r. 656–661 CE) provided considerably more protection for the arts and set the stage for the rise of court patronage during the Umayyad period and the development of a courtly art/music-tradition. The mid-seventh century also saw the rise of the male professional musician, who typically came from a more educated background and enjoyed a higher social status than the slave qaynat. There are even accounts of rulers with acknowledged performing skills, such as Caliph al-Walid II, who was accomplished as a singer, composer, and performer on the 'ud and the drum.

With the dawn of the 'Abbasid caliphate came the start of what is often considered the "Golden Age" of intellectual and artistic life. A considerable foreign influence began to pervade the Arab domination of the previous century, and there is early musical evidence of this shift in the eighth- and early ninth-century adoptions of new 'ud tunings and string names according to Persian methods. The primary sites of music-making were still the courts and the houses of wealthy or noble patrons, and the stage for a flowering of the musical arts was set by such rulers as Caliph Al-Mahdi (r. 775–785), who was known to be particularly partial to the musical arts and who was himself a singer.

The 'Abbasid period also marked the start of an extremely fertile era for Arabic music theory, including writings on notes, scales, acoustics, intervals, rhythm, modes, and composition. Although the foundation had been laid by such earlier writers as Yunus al-Katib and al-Khalil ibn Ahmad, some of the most enduring contributions to music theory started with the ninth-century exposure of Islamic scholars to ancient Greek treatises on subjects including mathematics, philosophy, astronomy, and music. Beginning with the establishment of the *Bayt al-Hikmal (House of Wisdom)* by the Caliph al-Ma'mun (r. 813–833) for the purpose of translating these sources into Arabic, these theoretical treatises would constitute the basis for music scholarship and art/music traditions over the next seven centuries and beyond in both the Middle East and Europe.

Music Theory and Theorists

The 'ud, which was considered the "instrument of philosophers," figures prominently in medieval music theory, especially in discussions of modal systems that are often oriented toward particular frets and fingerings. Most treatises deal with the 'ud al shabbut (perfect lute) that was introduced during the early 'Abbasid period: a wood-backed short-necked lute with four strings and played with a plectrum (probably also of wood). Rich in symbolism, ninth-century writings tell of the biblical figure Lamech creating the first 'ud by arranging pieces of wood

that corresponded to the size and shape of his dead son's bones; treatises also point to cosmological correspondences between the four strings and the four elements, seasons, or humors of the body. The ‘ud was also considered to be one of the most perfect imitators of the human voice, a characteristic that gave it and other stringed instruments primacy in most instrument classification systems of the period. Other instruments described in medieval treatises include the tunbur; bowed strings such as the rabab (spike fiddle) and kamanja (fiddle); the double-reed mizmar, surna, and zammara; flutes and pipes such as the nay, yara‘a, and armuniqi (pan-pipes); and zithers called qanun and shahrud. There are also descriptions of long, cylindrical, or hourglass-shaped tubul (drums).

Although there are important treatises dating from the mid to late-ninth century, such as the writings of Al-Kindi (d. 873 CE), two very significant writers appear in the tenth century: Abu al-Faraj al-Isbahani (897–967) and Abu Nasr al-Farabi (870–950). Al-Isbahani's *Kitab al-Aghani (Book of Songs)* is a vast compendium of information about history, social life, and music from the dawn of Islam to the tenth century, including a number of song texts and information on modal theory. Al-Farabi, who was born in Turkey, is often considered one of the greatest Arab philosophers. His major work, *Kitab al-Musiqi al-Kabir (Grand Book on Music)*, marks a fundamental intellectual shift from theory based on Greek philosophy to theory based on actual, local practice. Al-Farabi's work formed the basis for a body of theory shared across the Islamic empire, and his legacy can be found in treatises throughout the rest of the medieval period.

Writers who bear the mark of al-Farabi's influence include Ibn Sina (d. 1037), one of the most prominent theorists of the next generation, and Safi al-Din (d. 1294), who wrote the *Kitab al-Adwar (Book of Musical Modes)*. Safi al-Din's work, which was drawn from the contemporary music of his day, was translated primarily into Persian and Turkish and is considered to have its greatest effect on styles in those regions. *Kitab al-Adwar* represents the first record of the twelve-mode Persian system, which began to rise in the eleventh century and upon which post-‘Abbasid Persian and Ottoman Turkish music theory is largely based. Safi al-Din was also one of the first writers to use the term *maqam* in reference to modes; this term persists to the present day. Another writer with a great influence on Persian-speaking areas was ‘Abd al-Qadir ibn Ghaybi al-Maraghi (d. 1435), an ‘ud player and music theorist who wrote in Persian and made frequent reference to the work of Safi al-Din.

Sufism and Music

The spread of Sufism was an important force in the preservation and development of music in the medieval Middle East, with a particularly strong effect on the evolution of Ottoman Turkish art music. In contrast with the swirl of debate surrounding the practice of music in Islam, Sufi mysticism embraced the use of both vocal and instrumental music and the principles of sama‘ as a primary means for spiritual engagement. A fundamental concept in Islam, *sama‘* can literally indicate "listening" or "audition," but it also has a range of more subtle meanings that relate to intent, spiritual posture, and inward practice on the part of the listener. Particularly in Sufi religious doctrine, this concept incorporates, for example, the ideas of listening as an art form; a state of interior attentiveness; contemplation; and the Qur'anic notion of hearing as a mode of knowledge and as one that is more trustworthy than vision.

Sufi sama‘ (in Turkish, *sema*) ceremonies incorporate melody, rhythm, poetry, movement, dress, and other sensory and symbolic components. Among the most well-known practitioners are the Mevlevi brotherhood, which was founded in thirteenth-century Seljuk Turkey and rooted in the teachings of Celaleddin-i Rumi (d. 1273). Sources suggest that the first Mevlevi ensembles were comprised of the nay (a vertical seven-holed reed flute) and the kudum (a small, metal, double kettledrum), with the later addition of the tunbur, rabab, and *halile* (cymbals). The nay, which is found throughout the Middle East, is central to Sufi practice and features prominently in Sufi symbolism and poetry. Common metaphors include man as a flute played by Allah or the plaintive sounds of the nay as the flute crying for its reed bed, just as man cries to be rejoined with God.

Other Regions and Styles

Music was also being cultivated and documented in other parts of the empire. In al-Andalus and the Iberian Peninsula, nearly eight centuries of Muslim rule gave rise to a number of musical developments, and a great deal is written about the influence of ‘Ali ibn Nafi (also known as Ziryab), who arrived at the Cordovan court from Baghdad in 822. Ziryab is widely acknowledged for his role in blending Christian and Eastern musical forms, and, although accounts differ, he is often credited with creating or improving compound suite forms such as the nuba and making changes to the ‘ud that include the addition of a fifth string and the introduction of the eagle-feather plectrum. In addition to Andalusian court settings, music

also took place in evening entertainment sessions called *zambra,* which are described in eleventh century writings. These sessions took place in either palaces or private homes and involved instrumental music, song, and dance. Accounts of zambra tell of the use of instruments including the ‘ud, tunbur, mi’zaf (zither), and double-reed wind instruments such as the mizmar and buq.

In the Tunisian Fatimid caliphate, which later had its capital in Cairo, sources describe court art/music-traditions as well as a particular emphasis on military bands known as *tabl-khanah* (this term could refer to either the ensemble or its repertoire). These ensembles included trumpets, drums such as the *naqqarat* and *kusat*, and cymbals or castanets *(sunudj)* and whistles *(safafir)*. There are also descriptions of military Mehter and Janissary bands in Turkey as early as the 1550s, although these ensembles did not gain real prominence until the Ottoman period. Scholars continue to debate the extent to which Crusaders’ exposure to Islamic military bands may have influenced the adoptions of such medieval European instruments as the anafil trumpet and certain types of kettledrum. Similar debates surround the origins of the European lute and rebec, with suggestions that they may have been derived from the ‘ud and rabab, respectively.

Sunni M. Fass

See also Singing; Poetry; Al-Farabi; Ziryab; Sufism; Rumi

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MUSLIM COMMUNITY AND POLITY, OR UMMAH

Ummah literally means community at varying scales, ranging from the followers of a particular Prophet to humanity as a whole. Even the different species of animals form an ummah similar to human communities, according to the Qur’an, because they also exhibit communal organization (6:38). Similar to the *millah* (the religious community), the ummah is a community that derives its identity from a commonly shared religion, transcending regional, ethnic, and racial allegiances. Each Prophet had an ummah made up of people whom he was charged by God to invite to the divine message, whether they accepted him as a Messenger of God or not.

In the Qur’an, it was said that God would not hold a community accountable without first sending them a Messenger. This Messenger will testify about their deeds on the Day of Judgment, with the Prophet Muhammad testifying for the other Prophets as a whole (4:41). Therefore, each community received its Prophet (10:47). God sent some Prophets only to a particular region, tribe, or nation, whereas some Prophets were sent to humanity in general. The Qur’an also states that, if God had so willed, He could have made all of humanity a single ummah without distinctions, divisions, or conflicts. By granting human beings the free will to reject divine guidance as well as giving them accountability for their own choices, God permits a diversity of faith among human beings and the rise of religious communities committed to different types of faith (2:213; 10:19). God is the only one who knows exactly when a given community will rise and when it will perish.

Because the Prophet Muhammad was sent to humanity as a whole, all of humankind constitutes his ummah, regardless of whether individual persons have accepted his invitation to Islam or are still being invited. Thus, the Constitution of Medina refers to Jewish and pagan citizens of Medina as members of the Prophet’s ummah. However, the term *ummah* is more commonly used to refer to the global Muslim community—the polity united around brotherhood in Islamic faith. This conception signals a revolutionary change from the allegiance to the tribal organization that was then prevalent in Arabia to an allegiance grounded in shared religion. It introduces a faith-based identity and social organization that aims to supersede conventional identities and organizations on the basis of region, language, race, or nation. The global Muslim ummah has been united around the legacy of the Prophet Muhammad and has thus shared a common moral and religious culture. The unity of the ummah around a single point is symbolized by turning toward the Ka’ba in the five daily prayers from everywhere in the world. The annual pilgrimage to the Ka’ba, the hajj, is another manifestation of the unity of the ummah at the global level.

Islamic theology and law require that the unity of the ummah be reflected not only at the level of ritual but also at the level of social and political organization. The global Muslim community should be under the leadership of a single caliph in both religious and political affairs. However, the vast geographic span of the Islamic world has not permitted such a global unity as a single polity since the first century of Islamic history.

The Qur'an draws parallels between an ummah and an individual human being, particularly regarding the time of their birth and death, which are set by divine decree and beyond the reach of human beings to change (7:34). As in the case of each individual, each ummah is accountable for its own deeds (2:141).

In the Qur'an, the ummah of the Prophet Muhammad is praised as the best community as a result of enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong (3:110, 104). It was only for the want of this quality that previous communities had been corrupted and destroyed. The Qur'an also describes the Muslim ummah as a moderate or justly balanced community that follows the middle path, away from extremes, such that it can stand as witness over humanity, while the Prophet Muhammad will in turn be a witness over the ummah (2:143).

Consequently, the consensus of the ummah, which is called *ijma',* is a source of legitimacy in law and policy making. Unlike the church organization in Christianity or parliament in representative democracies, there is no individual or organization that can officially voice the will of the ummah. Instead, overlap in the opinions of independent and loosely affiliated scholars reflects the consensus of the ummah. In cases of disagreement, the majority view does not have the power to automatically rule out or override the minority view. This is based on the principle of free ijtihad, which stipulates that one informed opinion cannot annul another informed opinion. Political authorities, policy makers, and individuals are free to choose among these scholarly opinions regardless of whether the majority of the ummah subscribes to them or not. However, if there is consensus on an issue among the scholars, the state and the ummah as a whole are bound by it.

Admission to the ummah is open, with the single requirement of continual allegiance to Islamic faith, law, and community. New members of the ummah are automatically accepted as full citizens of the Islamic state, regardless of where they live, and they are qualified for the civil rights provided by it. From this perspective, citizenship is defined as belonging to an inclusive political community without territorial borders. While protecting the rights of the members of the ummah, the Hanafi jurists limited law enforcement by Muslim authority only within the territories of the Islamic state (dar al-Islam). However, the rest of the schools of law (maliki, shafii, and hanbali) refused such a territorial limitation to the enforcement of law in instances of protecting the rights of Muslims. Excommunication from the ummah is not a known practice in Islamic history. Although the renunciation of faith privately out of personal conviction was tolerated in Islamic history, public denouncement, sacrilege, and blasphemy against Islam and thus membership in the ummah, with a perceived attempt to undermine Muslim community, was considered an offense. Membership in the ummah is seen as an interminable commitment and allegiance to the community and faith, thereby permanently excluding the possibility of resignation.

RECEP SENTURK

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MUSLIM IBN AL-HAJJAJ

Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj al-Qushayri was the author of *Sahih Muslim.* After al-Bukhari's *al-Jami' al-Sahih,* Muslim's *al-Jami' al-Sahih* is the most respected collection of the hadith (the accounts of the words, deeds, and opinions of the Prophet Muhammad) in Islam.

In many ways, Muslim's *Sahih* resembles that of al-Bukhari, which has led to comparisons through the ages. Both are roughly the same size; the traditional figures given are that Muslim's work contains twelve thousand hadith with repetitions and three thousand thirty three individual hadith without. Like al-Bukhari, Muslim grouped his hadith according to the legal, theological, or historical issue that they address. In some quarters, his classification and presentation have been regarded as preferable to al-Bukhari's.

Both men were contemporaries and indeed shared many of the same teachers. For reasons that are by no means clear, it is unanimously asserted that al-Bukhari's collection predates that of Muslim. This may well be based on nothing more than a general impression created by the fact that Muslim took

some hadith from al-Bukhari, whereas there is no evidence that the reverse ever occurred. Al-Bukhari's collection is also commonly regarded as superior to Muslim's as a repository of authentic hadith, although the highly regarded Abu 'Ali al-Hafiz al-Nisaburi (AH 277/890 CE–349/960) and at least some scholars in North Africa held the opposite opinion.

Muslim's introduction to his collection is a very perplexing document. Among other things (including what was later interpreted as an attack against al-Bukhari), Muslim states that he included hadith from transmitters of varying degrees of reliability in his *Sahih.* For later scholars, reason seemed to necessitate that there exclusively be transmitters of the highest standard of reliability in a collection of authentic hadith. It has been argued Muslim meant to extend his work to cover less-authentic hadith but never had a chance to do so. Others felt that the less-reliable transmitters were only found in the isnads of certain non-core hadith, which were included merely to clarify the authentic hadith. Still others have argued that, although Muslim does include hadith from unreliable transmitters, he also knew the same texts from unimpeachable transmitters and chose to include the former because they happened to have shorter lines of transmission.

Muslim also left behind a number of monographs about subjects that were associated with the study of hadith. Of these, his *Kitab al-Tamyiz,* an account of the actual methods the early authorities used to authenticate hadith, is by far the most significant. There can be no doubt that, when this book receives adequate attention, a number of questions about the great hadith collections will be answered.

Very little is known about Muslim's life. He was born in Nishapur shortly after 200/816. As was the custom of the day, he traveled extensively throughout the Islamic world to collect his hadith, and it is claimed that he knew three hundred thousand. He died in 261/875 in Nasrabadh, outside of Nishapur, pehaps from eating too many dried dates at one sitting.

EERIK DICKINSON

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MUSLIM–BYZANTINE RELATIONS

Byzantium was the prime target of Muslim attack by virtue of its geographical position on the northwestern edge of the caliphate. More important, though, was the ideological challenge it presented. Not only was Byzantium a political rival that remembered its imperial past and believed in an imperial future (if only on the eve of the End of Time), but it continued to ascribe to itself a central role in God's providential scheme as the sole authorized managing agent in earthly affairs. Worse still, it clung tenaciously to a version of the true faith—over-intellectualized, it could be argued, and with a polytheistic encrustation—that had been superseded by the Prophet's revelation.

There was much more to relations between Byzantium and the Muslim world than open warfare. Religious polemic could be temporarily set aside. Diplomatic and other conventions grew up that mitigated conflict. After the caliphate dissolved into a number of regional powers, Byzantium could set its Muslim neighbors against each other. There was much commercial and cultural exchange. 'Abbasid magnates sponsored translations of Greek philosophical and scientific texts. The Byzantine court responded by sending intellectuals as ambassadors to Baghdad. Muslim fashions in dress and Muslim decorative motifs were picked up in Byzantium. Monarchical power in Islam as well as Byzantium manifested itself in sumptuously decorated palaces and carefully choreographed ceremonies in which automata as well as living beings played their part. Luxury artifacts with intricate workmanship moved in both directions in the course of diplomatic exchanges. Nonetheless, war was the norm. Byzantium may be characterized above all as a highly militarized society in which the collective life was dominated by war against Islam. That war had six distinct phases.

Warfare, 634–969 CE

(1) 634–718

After the conquest of Iran (642–652 CE), the prime foreign policy aim of the caliphate was the destruction of Byzantium. Hence, there were three concerted

attempts to take Constantinople, in 654, the 670s, and 717–718. Apart from a fleeting failure of nerve in 654, when the whole population of Anatolia (the inhabitants of the plateau, the mountains, and the coasts) formally submitted, Byzantium fought back, trading blow for blow, building a powerful fleet, and investing in fixed defenses by land. However, the cost was high; there was serious damage to the urban infrastructure of Asia Minor during the course of forty years of fighting before and after the second fitna.

(2) 718–ca. 840

Byzantium finally acknowledged its de facto loss of imperial status (its self-image was now that of a latter-day Chosen People, belabored from without but guaranteed survival from above), and it abandoned conventional warfare in favor of guerrilla methods. These can be documented from 779, but they were probably developed during preceding decades. They involved the evacuation of civilians and livestock to designated fortresses and refuge zones, the systematic harassing of raiding forays and foraging parties, and the concentration of effort on ambushing the Muslims as they withdrew through the frontier passes. Such tactics succeeded in preserving Byzantium's diminished resource base over several generations. The caliphate still directed major attacks against Byzantium, but there were now longer intervals of relative calm. The aim was now either incremental conquest or the harvesting of booty and prestige, as in 781, when a huge army, numbering just under ninety-six thousand men and under the nominal command of the young Harun al-Rashid, overran Asia Minor and entered Bithynia, where only a resort to hostage-taking secured the army's escape from a Byzantine trap. A system of forward bases *(thughur)* that were well fortified and permanently garrisoned was elaborated along the frontier from Tarsus in Cilicia to Malatya (Melitene) on the Euphrates, flanked to the north by Kalikala (Theodosiopolis) in western Armenia. Twice the Arabs came tantalizingly close to establishing a permanent presence inside Anatolia's mountain rim: in 806, when Harun al-Rashid briefly gained control of the whole length of the Cilician Gates, and in 833, when al-Ma'mun secured a fortified bridgehead at Tyana.

(3) ca. 840–969

During this phase, the task of prosecuting the war against Byzantium increasingly devolved upon the thughur and the volunteers who gathered there, especially in the well-endowed charitable foundations of Tarsus, a system that aroused Byzantine admiration and envy. The war stabilized into one of Muslim raid, by sea as well as land, and Byzantine counter-raid. Conventions were established to facilitate the exchange and ransoming of prisoners. A cross-cultural sense of affinity and a shared heroic ethos grew up in the borderlands, which, on occasion, led borderers to frustrate the policies of the central authorities by surreptitiously resupplying beleaguered enemy towns. The *Digenes Akrites,* a hybrid epic romance rooted in ninth- and tenth-century reality (although only written down around 1100), captures the attitudes of the frontier milieux. The balance of power and initiative shifted steadily in Byzantium's favor, but this change was attributable more to Arab divisions than Byzantine strength. A first orthodox counteroffensive (871–883) ended in defeat outside Tarsus. After an interlude during which Byzantium was preoccupied with Bulgaria and Armenia (the latter a vital buffer against Islam), a second offensive of unconventional character was launched in the 920s. Precision diplomacy and carefully targeted military action were directed into the thughur. A succession of strategic cities capitulated as each in turn was isolated and suffered a steady erosion of its resources, both physical and moral, through constant raiding. Malatya was the first to be annexed in 934; Tarsus (evacuated by jihad fighters carrying their small arms) and Antioch were the last, in 965 and 969, respectively. These successes, together with the reconquest of Crete (961) and the extrusion of Muslims from joint rule of Cyprus (965), reestablished Byzantium as a great Near Eastern power.

Warfare, 969–1453 CE

(4) 969–1081

The Fatimid conquest of Egypt and much of Syria transformed the geopolitical situation. Whereas Egypt under the Ikhshidids had been neutralized from 937, its massive resources were now in the hands of a hostile, ideologically active power. Byzantium responded first with shows of force in the Jazira and Syria (972–975) and then pursued a cautious policy of expansion in Transcaucasia, mainly through diplomacy; it succeeded in annexing a large swath of land (western Iberia, the kingdoms of Ani and Vaspurakan) between 1000 and 1045. Access was thus secured to a large supplementary reservoir of Christian manpower. Byzantium's eastern advance was abruptly halted and reversed upon encountering

the swifter-moving drive to the west of the Turks, the third great power of the eleventh-century Near East. First Armenia and then Anatolia came under attack from Seljukid armies and Turkoman bands. The decisive victory of the Sultan Alp Arslan at Manzikert in 1071 opened Anatolia to unrestricted raiding and settlement over the following decade.

(5) 1081–1204

Pressing problems in the Balkans and involvements further afield in Italy and Hungary may often have distracted Komnenian emperors, but they did not abandon hope of recovering Anatolia. Circumstantial evidence suggests that the conception of launching a Christian *jihad* (holy war) targeted at Jerusalem and of using the Pope as its principal propagandist originated in Byzantium. Latin Christendom formed much of the largest reservoir of Christian manpower on which Byzantium would have to draw if it were to confront the Turks on equal terms. Byzantine hopes of recovering Anatolia while their western allies secured the Holy Land found retrospective expression in the Treaty of Devol (1108). The gains in Anatolia were limited to the coastlands, and Byzantium had to rely on its own diplomatic and military resources to contain, subvert, and confront Turkish power. The defeat of a full expeditionary army at Myriokephalon in 1176 marked the end of this policy. Byzantium itself, weakened by political intrigue and civil war, soon fell prey to its erstwhile Western allies.

(6) 1204–1453

Both rump Byzantine states in Anatolia, the "empires" of Nikaia and Trebizond, had to maneuver for advantage in a Turkish-dominated world. The Nikaian rulers proved to be more successful, and they reconstituted a simulacrum of the Komnenian state, which was first the plaything and then the prey of the Ghazi-driven Ottoman Sultanate. While Byzantines increasingly stressed their Hellenism, the Ottomans laid claim to Rome's Trojan ancestry and finally absorbed Constantinople, the New Rome, in 1453.

James Howard-Johnston

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MUSLIM–CRUSADER RELATIONS

Politically, Muslim–Crusader relations during the two centuries of encounter in the Near East can be divided into three principal phases. The first lasted from the Frankish capture of Turcoman-held Antioch in AH 491/1098 CE until 'Imad al-Din Zanki's recovery of Edessa (modern Urfa in southern Turkey) from the

Crusaders in AH 539/1144 CE. The period is characterized by frequent accommodation between the two camps. Local Muslim rulers often resorted to arms against the western invaders, whose territory reached its maximum extent during the period. However, they feared co-religionist outsiders more than they did the Franks, with whom they tended to make political and military accords.

The second period, which lasted until the death of Saladin in AH 589/1193 CE, is marked by a rise in Muslim ideological fervor against the invaders. The success of Muslim arms under Zanki and his son Nur al-Din encouraged unity under the banner of jihad (holy war). Uncompromising opposition to the Crusaders reached its peak with the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in AH 583/1187 CE.

The third and final period, which ended with the capture of Frankish Acre by the Mamluks in AH 690/1291 CE, sees a return to the *détente* of the first phase. After the death of Saladin, competing Ayyubid interests often meant that expediency was put before jihad, most notably when the Ayyubid ruler of Egypt, al-Malik al-Kamil, gave Jerusalem to Frederick II of Sicily in AH 626/1229 CE.

Social relations between the two cultures were marked in the beginning by mutual incomprehension and hostility. Over time, however, second and succeeding generations of Franks were born (sometimes of mixed marriages) who would live all their lives in the East. Compromises began to be made in the matter of customs and personal habit, mostly by the newcomers, and a *modus vivendi* was achieved.

David Morray

See also Ibn Jubayr; Jihad; Pacts and Treaties; Peace and Peacemaking; Syria: Greater Syria; Usama ibn Munqidh; Zankids

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MUSLIM–MONGOL DIPLOMACY

Almost immediately from the time that they shared a border with the Muslim lands, the Mongols employed diplomacy to further their strategy of expansion. Having conquered Muslim territory, Mongol khans and commanders continued to send out missives and envoys to Muslim rulers who had yet to submit. Even after the Mongol efforts at conquest in the Middle East were stalled, after the battle of 'Ayn Jalut, when they were defeated by the Mamluks in 1260 CE, the Ilkhanid Mongols based in Iran continued to dispatch embassies to this enemy calling for their submission as part of the war that lasted for some sixty years. Other Mongol states, especially the Golden Horde, maintained contact with the Mamluks. Around 1320, the Ilkhanate launched a diplomatic *démarche* that led to the conclusion of the war against the Mamluks and inaugurated a period of peace with them. A full discussion of Muslim–Mongol diplomacy should be placed in a wider examination of Mongol diplomacy vis-à-vis other sedentary states, especially those in Europe. Such a discussion is impossible in the present context; please see the bibliography below.

Genghis Khan initiated contacts with the Khwarazm-Shah 'Ala' al-Din Muhammad, the ruler of the eastern Muslim countries, after the latter captured and put to death more than four hundred merchants that arrived at his frontier from Mongol territory. The Khan demanded restitution and punishment for those responsible. The Khwarazm-Shah's answer was to execute the envoys with the exception of one, who was sent back shaven. As is well known, the Khwarazm-Shah was to rue this action; other rulers were to learn that they tampered with the safety of Mongol envoys at their own risk. Genghis Khan, of course, was unable to accept this humiliation, and he launched the campaign (1219–1223) that first brought the Mongols to the Middle East.

As Mongol forces gradually expanded the territory under their control, they came into contact with other Muslim rulers. It appears that, on the whole, diplomatic contact was established by the local Mongol commanders working under the general auspices of the Great Khan in Mongolia. Many Muslim rulers gradually had come to recognize the power of the Mongols, and they saw no alternative to finding an accommodation with them. Thus, in the mid-1240s, contacts were already established between the Mongols and the Caliph al-Musta'sim (1242–1258), who, in 1246, sent envoys to the Great Khan, and it seems already that some type of submission was expressed. Likewise, relations were established around this time or a bit later between the Mongols and some of the princes of Syria, Anatolia, and the Jazira. Thus, in 1254 CE, when the Franciscan William of Rubruck reached the capital of the Great Khan Möngke, he found an envoy of the Ayyubid ruler of Karak, "who wanted to become a tributary and ally of the Tatars" (Jackson and Morgan, 1990). The most important Ayyubid ruler in Syria on the eve of the Mongol invasion of the country, al-Nasir Yusuf (r. 1236–1260 in Aleppo and after 1250 in Damascus), had sent an envoy to the Mongol governor Arghun Aqa as early as 1243 or 1244; the subsequent year, he was paying

tribute to the Mongols (and he may have been doing so as early as 1241). In 1245 or 1246, this sultan sent a relative to the Great Khan Güyük (1246–1248), who returned with an order defining the sultan's obligations to the Mongols. In 1250, yet another envoy was dispatched to the Great Khan's court. The Ayyubid ruler of Mayyafariqin, al-Kamil Muhammad, arrived at Möngke's court in 1253, made his submission, and found there Muslim princes from Mosul and Mardin. It is clear, then, that years before Hülegü's arrival in the area the majority of Muslim princes in Iraq, Jazira, and Syria had made some type of submission to the Mongols and that at least some were paying tribute.

This is not the place to examine why many of these rulers, including the caliph, responded belligerently to Hülegü upon his arrival in the area in the mid-1250s, despite their previous expression of submission. Prior to his attacks on Baghdad and Syria, the Ilkhan corresponded with the Caliph al-Musta'sim and al-Nasir Yusuf, and he called on them to submit or face the consequences of attack and destruction. It should be noted that, generally, the Mongols sent such calls for surrender before they attacked; this was in parallel with similar usage in Islamic law. In both cases, the Muslim rulers remained defiant and suffered Mongol attacks and conquests, and both were eventually executed.

In the spring of 1260, Hülegü sent a beautifully crafted missive in Arabic (composed by the savant Nasir al-Din Tusi and based on an earlier letter sent to al-Nasir Yusuf) to Qutuz, the new ruler of Mamluk Egypt. The latter had the envoys cut in half, and he had their heads prominently displayed in Cairo. This was a clear message of defiance to the Mongols, to the army, and to the local population; he made it obvious that he meant business and that there was to be no compromise with the Mongols. Qutuz soon set off on the campaign that led to the victory at 'Ayn Jalut. Qutuz's successor, Baybars (1260–1277), exchanged several letters conveyed by envoys with Abagha Ilkhan (1265–1282). These letters were generally truculent, and it is clear that the intent was more in the realm of psychological warfare than in real attempts at diplomatic relations, let alone ending the war.

The Ilkhan Tegüder (1282–1284) initiated an exchange of letters with Sultan Qalawun (1279–1290). The first impression from these letters is that the new Ilkhan, a convert to Islam, was interested in ending the state of war between the two states. A deeper examination, however, shows that these letters are really a more subtle demand for submission to the Mongols, despite their Islamic style. The Mamluks, it would seem, understood their true tenor, and they were far from enthusiastic about the supposed calls for peace. In any event, Tegüder's short reign ended any chance of a transformation of the essence of Mamluk–Ilkhanid relations. During the reign of Arghun Ilkhan (1284–1291), there was no evidence of any diplomatic contact between the two states. Overtly belligerent letters were exchanged by the Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil (1290–1293) and Geikhatu (1291–1295). The former, fresh from his victories at Acre and Qal'at al-Rum in eastern Anatolia, threatened to invade Iraq. His assassination, however, nipped this plan in the bud. The Ilkhan Ghazan (1295–1304) launched a series of invasions against Syria, even enjoying some success, although he was unable to hold the country after his victory in Wadi al-Khaznadar in central Syria in 1299. Interspersed with these campaigns, he exchanged letters with the young Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad (second reign, 1299–1309). Again, the Ilkhan called on the Mamluks to submit, although his claims are couched largely in Islamic terms. The Mamluks, for their part, rejected all of Ghazan's claims out of hand, disparaging the Islam of the newly converted Mongols in the process. Öljeitü Ilkhan (1304–1316) sent the Mamluks a letter soon after gaining the throne, calling for peace. Here, too, the Mamluk leadership realized that these were hollow claims and responded in kind. Only several years after Abu Sa'id (1316–1335) ascended the Ilkhanid throne did the Mongols of Iran open up with a real peace offensive that recognized the status quo. Initial contacts were carried out by the international slave trader al-Majd al-Sallami, and soon official envoys were bringing letters. A treaty was ratified in 1323, and this led to a period of peaceful coexistence until the demise of the Ilkhanate in 1335.

Under Baybars, diplomatic relations were maintained with the Mongol Golden Horde, which ruled the steppe region north of the Black and Caspian Seas. The Jochid Khans of the Golden Horde were engaged in a war with their Ilkhanid cousins, and both the Jochids and the Mamluk sultans were interested in cooperation, perhaps even in a joint offensive against their common enemy. Islam played a part in these relations, because some of the Jochid Khans were Muslims; however, even those who were pagans maintained warm relations with the Sultans. Evidently, other, more practical matters of state were behind these relations. Given the great distance between the Golden Horde and the Mamluk Sultanate, no joint campaign was ever organized, but the importance of the second front, where the Ilkhans had to fight on occasion and thus could not always devote themselves to the war against the Mamluks, was of great importance to the latter. In addition, diplomatic relations with the Golden Horde guaranteed the continual supply of young mamluks (military slaves) to the

sultanate from among the Turkish and even the Mongol tribesmen of this steppe area. The importance of these relations declined somewhat with the improvement of relations between the Mamluks and the Ilkhanate. There were also occasional relations with the Mongol rulers of Central Asia, and these were often at odds with their Ilkhanid relations; however, this was of minor importance in the long run.

REUVEN AMITAI

See also Genghis Khan; Mamluks; Mongols

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AL-MUTANABBI, ABU'L-TAYYIB AHMAD IBN AL-HUSAYN AL-JU'FI

Arabic poetry during the tenth century remained bound by conventions originating in pre-Islamic Arabia, with poets of the period still expected to employ the traditional *qasida* (ode) form. Abu'l-Tayyib Ahmad ibn al-Husayn al-Ju'fi al-Mutanabbi, whose name for succeeding generations became synonymous with the accolade "great poet," was born in the Iraqi city of Kufa in 915 CE. Despite the apparent poverty of his origins—his father was a water-carrier—al-Mutanabbi was educated at one of the best schools in Kufa (one with decidedly Shi'i leanings). In late 924, in accordance with the custom among poets and philologists of the period who viewed the Bedouin as the true repository of pure Arabic speech and eloquence (and probably also escaping the turmoil in Kufa after the Qarmatian invasion), al-Mutanabbi went to live for a period of two years among the south Arabian Bedouin of the Samawa in the Syrian desert, a sojourn that left its mark on both his psyche and his poetry.

During the early stages of his career, al-Mutanabbi worked in Baghdad and throughout Syria as the intermittent panegyrist of a number of rich bourgeois and Bedouin tribal chiefs. Even at this point, his masterful engaging of the Arab poetic tradition inspired the charge of plagiarism, which would plague him throughout his career. At the same time, several of the hallmarks of his style, including frequent use of antithesis, an emphasis on conciseness of expression, and careful attention to the musical quality of his verses, were already discernible in his poetry. Arrogant by nature and frustrated by the world's indifference, al-Mutanabbi eventually turned to violence as a means to attain the power and wealth that he saw as his due. It is from the insurrection he led in the Samawa region of Syria (ca. 933) that his name *al-Mutanabbi* ("the would-be prophet") derives. This rebellion, perhaps Qarmatian in origin, resulted in a two-year imprisonment for al-Mutanabbi. The poet himself later stated that he had never claimed to be a prophet and that his sobriquet, initiated by others, stemmed from a verse in which he likened himself to the pre-Islamic Arabian prophet, Salih, mentioned in the Qur'an.

The various patrons that al-Mutanabbi eulogized during the early part of his career were but a prelude to his nine-year relationship (middle of 948–middle of 957) with the Hamdanid prince Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Abi'l-Hayja' Sayf al-Dawla, which must be considered the heyday of al-Mutanabbi's career. Basking in the luxury of an opulent and intellectually vibrant court and indulged by a dynamic patron, al-Mutanabbi produced some of his most celebrated poetry. His panegyrics to Sayf al-Dawla bespeak the poet's pleasure at singing the praises of one he deemed a true Arab leader and a champion of Islam against the Byzantines; these demonstrated a measure of real affection mixed with the conventional praise of premodern Arabic poetry. At the same time, al-Mutanabbi's ability to capitalize on small details or events to diversify his odes helped minimize the

monotony that the all-important panegyric form sometimes experienced at the hands of a less-talented artist. The poet's affection for his patron also rendered more emotionally resonant the many elegies that al-Mutanabbi wrote about members of Sayf al-Dawla's family. In addition, al-Mutanabbi directly participated in almost all of his patron's military campaigns, and he recorded these events in poems such as his famous ode about the recapture of the fortress town of Hadath from the Byzantines. This poem conveys an epic quality that is reminiscent of the Amorium poem of Abu Tammam (ca. 805–845), whom al-Mutanabbi admired both for his poetry and for the Yemenite origins that they shared.

The poetry from this period illustrates al-Mutanabbi's ability to stretch the limitations placed on the poet by convention through manipulation—and sometimes omission—of the traditional amatory prelude, which he often replaced with lyrical and philosophical versifying about life and its paradoxes as well as his own feelings of pessimism and frustration. It is perhaps this irrepressible insertion in his poems of a measure of personal feeling and individual presence at a time when conventional taste least encouraged it that is al-Mutanabbi's greatest gift to Arabic poetry, and it at least in part explains the great admiration he inspired in subsequent generations. Many of al-Mutanabbi's gnomic lines have entered popular Arab culture as a result of their concision and the acoustical and semantic symmetry of their construction, which render them easy to remember.

In 957, al-Mutanabbi fled the Hamdanid court, a victim of both the plotting of enemies at court and his own insensitivity and arrogance. He made his way to the court of the Ikhshidid regent of Egypt, Abu'l-Misk Kafur, who represented, in the poet's eyes, the antithesis of the ideal patron. The opulence and intellectual fertility of his new environment were not enough to extinguish al-Mutanabbi's shame at having to eulogize a former slave, whom he considered inherently inferior. Al-Mutanabbi's five years in Egypt yielded not only biting satire focusing on the race, ugliness, and slave origins of the patron he so profoundly resented but also praise poetry that barely disguised a dangerously satirical subtext. By this point in his career, al-Mutanabbi was the recognized master of a school of poetry, and he continued to be the center of enthusiastic circles of admirers and students who discussed, annotated, and preserved his work under the poet's direct guidance. Among his most devoted students was the philologist Abu'l-Fath 'Uthman Ibn Jinni (d. 1002). Eventually, even some of his archenemies—including the literary theorist Abu 'Ali ibn al-Hasan al-Hatimi (d. 998), who had excoriated al-Mutanabbi for his so-called plagiarisms and borrowings from Hellenistic philosophy—came to acknowledge, albeit grudgingly, his excellence as a poet. Although panegyric was the main focus of al-Mutanabbi's poetry, as the economics of the contemporary poetic culture demanded, he had the distinction of having produced several hunting poems and even lyrical descriptions of nature. Leaving Persia in 965, probably to return to Sayf al-Dawla's court, al-Mutanabbi was attacked outside Wasit in Iraq and killed, along with his son, by a Bedouin chief who was the uncle of the Qarmatian rebel whom al-Mutanabbi had satirized a year earlier. Perhaps no other premodern Arab poet has had such a profound and sustained influence over the evolution of Arabic poetry, even into the modern era. Al-Mutanabbi's poetry provided one of the primary models for the neoclassical poets of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, who were bent on revitalizing Arabic poetry by reconnecting it to its glorious poetic heritage. His influence extended across the Arab East and North Africa and even into Persia.

MARGARET LARKIN

See also Abu Tammam; Elegy; Epic Poetry; Hamdanids; Ikhshidids

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MU'TAZILITES

The Mu'tazilites were a group of Muslim theologians that first appeared during the early eighth century and dominated Muslim theology during the ninth and tenth centuries. They emerged from the earlier group of Qadarites, who engaged in the theological dispute about human free will versus divine predestination. Qadarites, who were active in Basra, argued that humans have power (qadar) over their actions and are therefore morally responsible for them. They argued against a conservative group of scholars who held that the power to act lies with God, whose omnipotence determines human actions. Later Mu'tazilites claimed that, around the year 740 CE, the Basrian scholar Wasil ibn Ata' (699–749) disputed with his colleague 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd (699–761) and convinced him that the teaching of the prominent Qadarite Hasan al-Basri (642–728), namely that the grave sinner is an "unbeliever", is wrong. Wasil ibn Ata', together with 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd, is credited with having formed a new group that called itself "those who set themselves apart" *(al-mufitazila)*. The name *Mu'tazilites,* however, referred to a number of theologians and their students, and not all saw themselves as connected to Wasil and 'Amr; what brought them together was their rationalist approach toward Muslim theology. Various positions of this group developed into a school of thought that centered around five principles: (1) God's unity (tawhid); (2) God's justice (fiadl); (3) God's sincerity regarding the promised rewards and punishments for human deeds; (4) grave sinners should not be subject to legal sanctions as long they have committed no crime, although they should still be morally shunned ("the state between the two states"); and (5) the obligation to call for morally good deeds and forbid bad ones.

After the 'Abbasid revolution in 750, the Mu'tazilites became the leading theological direction in Basra and the new capital, Baghdad. Mu'tazilite theologians were favored by the early 'Abbasid caliphs, particularly by al-Ma'mun (r. 813–833) and his successors during the *mihna* (test). Although he himself was not committed to Mu'tazilite theology, al-Ma'mun unsuccessfully tried to force Muslim scholars to accept the Mu'tazilite position that the Qur'an had been created in time as opposed to being eternal. During the first half of the ninth century, leading proponents of the Mu'tazilites in Baghdad—most prominently Abu l-Hudhayl (d. 842) and al-Nazzam (d. ca. 840)—developed Mu'tazilite theology into a system that included explanations of physical processes, God's nature, His relationship with creation, and ethics. A second intellectual peak was reached during the turn from the tenth to the eleventh century, when a circle around the Qadi Abd al-Jabbar (d. 1025) in Rayy (modern Tehran, Iran) formulated the most comprehensive treatment of the school's theology. Although Mu'tazilites continued to be influential in regions on the edge of the Islamic world (in Yemen or in Khwarezm, modern north Uzbekistan), their influence on theological debates in the center diminished during the eleventh century. One of their last proponents was al-Zamakhshari (d. 1144), whose commentary on the Qur'an, *The Reconnoiterer (al-Kashshaf)*, had a great influence on all later books of this genre.

Mu'tazilite theology was part of Kalam, the rationalist technique of defending articles of faith. Although it stood under the influences of concepts in Greek philosophy, it developed quite independently thereof. The systematic character of Mu'tazilite theology focuses on the two principles of God's unity and God's justice. Mu'tazilites rejected all suggestions of anthropomorphism *(tashbih)* in the divine, and they taught that the relationship between God and his attributes *(sifat)* is totally unlike, for instance, that of humans and the attributes they have. God is believed to *be* the perfect mode of attributes like "knowing" or "just" that he ascribes to himself in the Qur'an. Al-Nazzam taught that "God is by himself continuously knowing, living, powerful, hearing, seeing, and eternal, not through a (separate) knowledge, power etc. (that he has)." God is perfect unity, and none of his attributes can be distinct from him. His attributes are not entities, like knowledge, that are inherent in Him as they are in the case of humans. The way in which God is "knowing," "powerful," or "just" is, according to the Mu'tazilites, different from what humans know as knowledge, power, and justice only through their deficiencies. Mu'tazilites maintained that divine justice, for instance, is the perfection of the kind of justice that is innately known to humans. They had to admit that destruction through natural disasters must be just punishment for immoral acts that could have been avoided. Acting according to the morals of the one justice that is both divine and human would, in turn, force God to grant salvation. Although this point led to the heavily moralistic outlook of the Mu'tazilite school,

it also made it vulnerable to the attacks of Sunni theologians, mostly of the Ashfiarite school, who argue that humans can have no full knowledge of divine justice, or, more generally, no full knowledge of God's attributes as such.

FRANK GRIFFEL

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MYSTICISM, JEWISH

Jewish mysticism, which is rooted in ancient biblical and rabbinic literature, is not exclusively limited to Qabbalah, which is the best known of its expressions. There existed pre-Qabbalistic forms of Jewish esotericism, some of which, like many of the later major developments of Qabbalah itself, flourished in an Islamic environment.

Beginnings in the East

Chronologically, it was Jewish mysticism that initially influenced Sufism. Although they recognize Neoplatonic and Christian influence on the evolution of early Sufi practice and doctrine, scholars have neglected the considerable impact of Jewish spirituality and piety on its formative period in Baghdad, the contemporary seat of great centers of Talmudic learning. Sufi hagiography has preserved many isrâ'îliyyât, edifying tales involving "the pious men from among the Children of Israel," which are traceable to rabbinic sources. These were supposedly transmitted through interreligious contacts or Jewish conversions to Islam, some of which took place precisely in Sufi circles in Baghdad, where Jews would attend lectures. Some scholars have dated to the post-Islamic era of the Ge'onim (ninth century CE) the composition of the enigmatic essay of Hebrew cosmogony, known as the Sefer yezirah or Book of Creation, which became the speculative framework of numerous systems of Jewish philosophy and mysticism. L. Massignon linked its cosmic semiotics and mystical phonetics to Arabic grammar and Shi'i gnosticism, a view that was recently defended by S. Wasserstrom. Its first recorded commentaries were composed in Judeo-Arabic between the ninth and thirteenth centuries and were of a philosophical and theological approach.

The Golden Age of Spain

Andalusia was a fertile terrain of intercultural exchange where Sufism flowered early during the tenth century, notably through the teachings of Ibn Masarrah (886–931), whose system involved the "science of letters." These arithmological speculations, known as *gematriyah,* were also a central part of Jewish exegesis and esotericism since Talmudic times (third to fourth centuries). Similarities between these two approaches suggest mutual interaction, probably in Muslim Spain, where this discipline was highly developed by MuÌyî al-Dîn ibn Arabî (d. 1240), who reports that he discussed this subject with a Jewish rabbi. Sufi traces are perceptible in the religious poetry of the great Hispano-Hebrew bards, such as Solomon ibn Gabirol (d. ca. 1057) and Judah Halevi (1075–1141). The first Jewish medieval work to betray clear Sufi influence was, however, BaÌyâ ibn Paqûdâh's *Farâ'i al-Qulûb (Duties of the Hearts)*, a treatise about ascetic theology that was composed in Arabic around 1080. It indicates the availability of Sufi sources in Muslim Spain, where it was the first fully fledged Sufi manual to have been composed. To revitalize Jewish ritual formalism, BaÌyâ devised a spiritual itinerary that follows the stages of the Sufi Path, although it rejects the possibility of union with God and eschews extreme forms of Sufi asceticism. One of the first classics of Judaeo-Arabic literature to be translated into Hebrew, it became an important channel for the percolation of Sufi notions in Jewish spirituality, remaining popular among Qabbalists and mystics right down to the eighteenth century. Drawing on al-Qushayrî's *Risâlah (Epistle)*, one of Sufism's basic textbooks, Joseph ibn 'Aqnîn's allegoric Arabic commentary (twelfth century) about the Song of Songs resembles a Sufi treatise about divine love.

His *Tibb al-Nufûs (Hygiene of the Souls)* quotes al-Junayd (d. 910) and Ibn Adham, referring to them by their Sufi epithets: Shaykh at-Tâ'ifah ("the elder of the community") and al-RuÌânî al-Akmal ("the perfect spirit").

The Jewish Pietist Movement in Egypt

Through Ayyubid and Mamluk protectors, Sufism prospered in Egypt, attracting a host of charismatic figures, such as Abû'l-Hasan al-Shâdhilî (d. 1258), Muhammad al-Badawî (d. 1276), Abû' l-Abbâs al-Mursî (d. 1287), and Ibn Atâ' Allâh (d. 1309). Progressively institutionalized in the form of brotherhoods and monasteries (khanqâhs) in the urban centers, its infectious religious fervor had repercussions on the local Jewish populations, whose mystical receptivity had been heightened by the contemporary social and intellectual unrest. By the time of the great scholar Moses Maimonides (1135–1204), many Jews, who were referred to in contemporary documents as *hasîdîm* ("pious ones"), had already begun to adopt the Sufi way of life. This attraction is reflected in the numerous Sufi writings discovered in the Cairo Genizah, which include pages from the principal masters copied into Hebrew letters. The same source also yielded Sufi-inspired Jewish ethical manuals, theological treatises, definitions of mystical states, and exegetical works that reinterpreted scriptural narrative in harmony with Sufi doctrine, often portraying biblical figures as masters of the Sufi path. They are not, however, simple Judaized adaptations of Muslim texts but rather original compositions that were dexterously transposed in the biblical and rabbinic texture.

This pietistic tendency gained momentum with the appointment in 1213 of Abraham (1186–1237), the son of Moses Maimonides, as the spiritual leader *(nagîd)* of Egyptian Jewry. An ardent protagonist of Judeo-Sufi pietism, in his commentary on the *Pentateuch,* Abraham Maimonides depicted the ancient biblical characters as pietists in the same way as Sufi literature portrays the Prophet and his companions as Sufis. His *Kifâyat al-Âbidîn (Compendium for the Servants of God)*, a monumental legal and ethical treatise, displays a strong propensity for mysticism of a non-Qabbalistic and manifestly Muslim type. He overtly expresses admiration for Sufis in whom he sees the heirs of ancient Israelite traditions. He wistfully acknowledges that the Sufi initiation ritual, which consists of the investiture of the master's cloak *(khirqah)* and the Sufi ascetic discipline as well as the necessity of spiritual guidance under an accomplished master, were originally practiced by the prophets of Israel. Like al-Ghazâlî, Abraham Maimonides emphasized the spiritual significance of the precepts and their "mysteries," which were partly rediscovered in the traditions preserved by the Sufis. Calling themselves "the disciples of the prophets," the pietists adopted manifestly Muslim customs, believing that they were an integral part of an original "prophetic discipline," the restoration of which would hasten the promised return of prophecy. Clearly inspired by Muslim models, Abraham enacted several ritual "reforms" with the purpose of enhancing the decorum and purport of synagogue worship. Considered especially meritorious by Sufi authors, the ablution of hands and feet, although not strictly required by Jewish law, became a prerequisite to prayer.

Following Muslim custom, worshippers were arranged in rows and faced Jerusalem at all times during the synagogue service. He prescribed various postures during prayer, such as standing, kneeling, frequent bowing, the spreading of the hands, and weeping in supplication. In addition to canonical prayers, nightly vigils and daily fasts were instituted, as was solitary worship *(khalwah)*, a practice that was characteristic of Sufism and that required retirement from society for protracted periods in an isolated and dark place. Although contrary to the Jewish tradition of communal prayer, Abraham Maimonides considered it to be of Hebrew origin. The hasidim also refer to *dhikr,* or "spiritual recollection," which is a typically Sufi ritual; so far, however, no details have been discovered describing how it was performed in Jewish circles. Because of their protracted devotions, the pietists established special prayer halls; Abraham Maimonides himself possessed his own private synagogue. Other pietist innovations included ascetic aspects. In contrast with traditional Jewish ethics, they advocated celibacy like certain Sufis, and they considered marriage and family responsibilities to be an impediment to spiritual fulfilment. The association of the Maimonides family with Sufi-type pietism endured for nearly two centuries. Abraham's own son, Obadyah Maimonides (1228–1265), showed strong leanings toward Sufism in his *al-Maqâla al-hawdiyyah (The Treatise of the Pool)*, an ethico-mystical manual based on the typically Sufi comparison of the heart to a pool that must be cleansed before it can be filled with the vivifying waters of gnosis.

David ben Joshua (ca. 1335–1415), last known of the Maimonideans, was also interested in Sufism. The progressive, spiritual program presented in his Judeo-Arabic work *al-Murshid ila t-Tafarrud (The Guide to Detachment)* embodies the most far-reaching synthesis of traditional rabbinical and Sufi ethics. For example, since the first step on the path to

perfection is motivated by the quest for light, he derives the initial stage, *zehîrût,* originally signifying in Hebrew "precaution," from the root *zhr* ("to shine"), following the Illuminationist notion of ishrâq. Certain Judeo-Sufi personalities were associated with the Maimonidean dynasty. Rabbi Hanan'el ben Samuel al-Amshâtî, not only a member of Abraham Maimonides' rabbinical court but also his father-in-law, authored exegetical works that resound with philosophical and Sufi notions. A committed pietist (several Genizah documents refer to him as *he-Ìâsîd* [the pietist]), he actively defended the movement, although its novel practices and doctrines had come under attack. In his mystical commentary on the Song of Songs, Abraham Abû Rabî'a he-Îâsîd (d. 1223) interpreted the book as an allegorical dialogue between the mystic intoxicated with divine love and the object of his desire, the beatific vision. Despite Abraham Maimonides' political and religious prestige, the pietist movement, like many revivalist trends in religious history, met with virulent opposition.

The pietists were accused of introducing "false ideas," "unlawful changes," and "gentile (Sufi) customs," and they were even denounced to the Muslim authorities. Although Abraham excommunicated his opponents, opposition continued during the office as nâgîd of Abraham's son, David Maimonides (1222–1300), who, after the closure of his synagogue, was compelled to leave Egypt, seeking refuge in Akko. As a result of its elitist character, together with this opposition, the movement gradually disappeared with the general decline of Oriental Jewry.

Later Influences

Sufism continued sporadically to fascinate individual Jews. According to the biographer al-Kutubî, the thirteenth-century Sufi al-Hasan Ibn Hûd would study Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed* with the Jews of Damascus. The sixteenth-century Egyptian mystic al-Sha'arânî relates in his autobiography that Jews would attend his lectures and ask him to write amulets to protect their children. Qaraite Jews, perhaps through a kinship between Sufi asceticism and their own rather austere brand of ethics, showed an interest in Sufi writings, which they were still copying during the seventeenth century. Jews also maintained contact with Sufis in other localities. Fifteenth-century Yemenite Jews freely used Sufi concepts in their writings and quoted verses from the mystical poetry of the Sufi martyr al-Hallâj. Sufi concepts percolated into Jewish literature through Hebrew translations made in Spain and Provence, especially those of the works of al-Ghazâlî.

There were contacts between Sufis and Qabbalists in Morocco as related by the great Moroccan sixteenth-century Qabbalist David ha-Levi. Hebrew transcriptions of the poetry of Rûmî and Sa'dî contributed to the diffusion of Sufi ideas among Persian Jews, foreshadowing the exquisite rub'ayyât of Sarmad (d. 1661), a Persian Jew who became a wandering dervish in India.

The Early Kabbalists

Thirteenth-century disciples of the Qabbalist Abraham Abû'l-'Afiyah (d. ca. 1291) in the Holy Land show familiarity with Sufi practices that they directly observed. Isaac of Akko (ca. 1270–1340) in particular had knowledge of Sufi techniques, including solitary meditation (*khalwah;* Hebrew, *hitbôdedùt*) and the visualization of letters. He is an important link in the transmission of these methods to the later Qabbalists of Safed. Abû'l-'Afiyah may himself have encountered Sufis during his brief visit to Akko (Acre) around 1260 or elsewhere during the course of his wide travels. The focal point of his meditative discipline, which led to prophetic inspiration, is the practice of *hazkârâh,* a term that is itself strikingly reminiscent of the Arabic *dhikr.*

The Kabbalists of Safed

Evliya Chelebi testifies that sixteenth-century Safed was a vibrant Sufi center. Islamic influence has insufficiently been taken into account in the study of the Safed Qabbalistic school, which flourished under Rabbi Isaac Lurya (1534–1572), himself a native of Egypt. Among the most significant Sufi models that may lie behind some of the mystical rituals initiated by the Qabbalists are saint worship and the visitation of tombs, the formation of spiritual brotherhoods *(habûrôt)* around saints, and spiritual concerts *(baqashshôt)* consisting of the singing of paraliturgical poems (similar to the Sufi samâ' ceremony). Solitary meditation resurges in the *Sullam ha-'Aliyyâh* (*Ladder of Ascension*, a title that smacks of Sufism) by Judah al-Butînî (d. 1519) and the *Pardes Rimmônîm (Orchard of Pomegranates)* by Moses Cordovero (d. 1570). In his meditative method, which is practiced in dark places, the latter advocates Sufi-like techniques such as breathing control. Other techniques, which were subsequently transmitted to East European

Hasidim, include ritual purity, silence, fasting, restriction of sleep, and the ecstatic repetition of divine names.

The Shabbatians

Significant contact between mystics took place in Turkey and its provinces during the Ottoman era. These were intensified during the messianic turmoil roused by Shabbatay Zevi (d. 1675). During his confinement in Adrianople and after his outward conversion to Islam, Zevi would attend dhikr seances in the Bektashi convent at Hizirlik, and it seems that he established contact with the khalwatî mystic Muhammad al-Niyâzî (d. 1694). His apostate followers, known as the Doenme, continued to maintain close relations with the mystical brotherhoods in Turkey and in particular with the syncretistic Bektashis, from whom they borrowed certain rituals, Turkish liturgical poems, and melodies. As late as the nineteenth century, Doenme descendants such as the Mevlevi Ezzet Effendi were prominent in Sufi orders.

PAUL B. FENTON

See also Kabbala

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MYTHICAL PLACES

Medieval Islamic culture abounded with stories, legends, and beliefs about mythical and imaginary places. Almost all such places were described as the result of travel, whether real or imagined. This helps to explain why most were to be found at the edges of the (then) known world: in the direction of China and Japan to the far east (e.g., Roc Island); in the colder climes of the Nordic lands (e.g., the Sea of Karkar); and especially in the Indian Ocean (viewed by Ptolemy as an "encompassing sea"), both to the south (e.g., Camphor Island) and in Southeast Asia (e.g., Zabaj). Desert and mountain locations include Hush, the land of the jinn, and Mount Qaf, respectively.

The principal medieval Islamic sources for information about mythical places include travel accounts, such as *Akhbar al-Sin wal-Hind (Accounts of China and India)* by Sulayman the Merchant (ca. ninth century), written in 850; mariners' tales and works about navigation, such as *'Aja'ib al-Hind (Book of the Wonders of India)* by Buzurg ibn Shahriyar (d. 1009), written in 953; works of regional and world geography, such as *Kitab al-Buldan (Book of Regions)*, written around 903 by Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadhani (ca. early tenth century), and the anonymous Persian *Hudud al-'Alam (The Regions of the World)*, written around 982; cosmographical works—more often than not in the marvels and wonders genre ('aja'ib; Latin, mirabilia)—such as *'Aja'ib al-Makhluqat (Wonders of Regions)* by al-Qazwini (d. 1283) and the Ottoman Turkish *Dürr-i Meknun (The Well-Preserved Pearl)* by Yazidi-oghlu Ahmed Bijan (d. ca. 1456); and, finally, popular and folk literature, such as *Alf Layla wa-Layla (The Thousand and One Nights)*.

The mythical places of the medieval Islamic imagination may be classified into three broad categories: (1) places that are liminal, typically at the ends of the earth or at the edge of the known world (e.g., the City of Brass); (2) places where things are topsy-turvy and normative rules are suspended (e.g., the Island of Connubial Sacrifice); and (3) places that are habitats for unusual creatures or inhabitants (e.g., the land of Gog and Magog). These categories are by no means mutually exclusive. The islands of Waqwaq typify the mythical place and occur, moreover, in all types of sources, which place them everywhere, from the southwest Indian ocean to the Indonesia archipelago and even as far as Japan. In most cases, dark or

dangerous waters surround the islands. Descriptions of Waqwaq range from a land inhabited by ingenious and treacherous inhabitants to the home of the Waqwaq tree, whose fruit is women. Waqwaq is not, however, to be found in the North, unlike Artha (or Arthaniya), a city described in the *Risala (Epistle)*, an account of a journey up the Volga by the diplomatic envoy Ibn Fadlan (c. early tenth century). In Artha, the sun never sets, and the inhabitants are said to eat strangers, a story that may have circulated to protect valuable trade routes.

Artha and Waqwaq, like so many of the mythical locations described in medieval Islamic sources, probably had their origin in real places but were then transformed into mythical ones with a hold on the imagination that has been both enduring and, from the perspective of medieval literature and art, also richly rewarding.

Shawkat M. Toorawa

See also Folklore and Ethnology; Heaven; Hell; Stories and Storytelling; Trade

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N

NAFS AL-ZAKIYYA

Muhammad b. Abdallah b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. ʻAli b. Abi Kalib is believed to have been born in the year AH 92/710–711 CE. Shiʻi sources, however—as well as many Sunni sources—give the year as AH 100, which is dubious because of its messianic connotations.

Abdallah b. al-Hasan, his father, was the head of the Hasanid family and a figure who was respected by the entire Hashimid family. His mother was Hind bnt. Abi ʻUbayda b. Abdallah b. Zam'a b. al-Aswad b. al-Muyyalib b. Asad b. ʻAbd al-'Uzza b. Qusayy. Her father, Abu ʻUbayda, was one of the leading figures of Quraysh.

Muhammad had nine brothers and five sisters from three different mothers. Abdallah b. al-Hasan's family had a house in al-Madina, although evidently the family's main place of residence was a large estate near al-Madina called Suwayqa or Farsh Suwayqa. Muhammad had two wives and three concubines, who bore him seven sons and two daughters. The best known among his children was ʻAbdallah, called al-Ashtar.

Little is known about Muhammad's education. It seems that his father sought to give his sons Muhammad and Ibrahim a formal knowledge of *hadith* (tradition) and *fiqh*. However, Muhammad was not known for any kind of scholarship; in the books of *rijal* (transmitters) of Hadith he is mentioned as a minor transmitter.

Muhammad is described as having a large body, great strength, and a very dark complexion. On his face he had the scars of smallpox *(al-judari)*. In the middle of his shoulders, he had a black mole that was the size of an egg, and he stuttered when he talked. Some of the physical traits attributed to Muhammad b. ʻAbdallah were similar to those of the Prophet Muhammad, and the resemblance to Moses is also apparent (e.g., stuttering). Traditions depicting his physical as well as spiritual–religious traits were disseminated, circulated, and transmitted by pro-Shiʻi scholars, family members of the Hasanids (some of them belonging to the most inner and close circle of Muhammad b. Abdallah's supporters), and other sections of the ʻAlid family.

The accepted tradition is that Muhammad b. ʻAbdallah was already called al-Mahdi ("The Messiah") and al-Nafs al-Zakiyya ("The Pure Soul") during the Umayyad period. Clearly, at the time of his death, both names were in current use.

There is little information about Muhammad from the Umayyad period. What there is deals for the most part with one subject: the political aspirations that Abdallah b. al-Hasan had for his son, Muhammad (or Muhammad and his brother Ibrahim), which included fostering a recognition of Muhammad among Banu Hashim as the most deserving candidate for the caliphate.

It is highly plausible that these traditions were created and disseminated after the rebellion of Muhammad b. Abdallah against the ʻAbbasids in 145/762 and possibly already for a short period before the rebellion.

The ʻAbbasid Period

In several traditions, it is said that Muhammad never ceased promoting himself as a candidate for the caliphate, even during the rule of Abu ʻl-'Abbas al-Saffah (r. 132/750–136/754). He and his brother Ibrahim remained in hiding and did not appear before the caliph, despite the caliph's request for them to do so and despite his most generous attitude toward their father, Abdallah b. al-Hasan, the Hasanid family, and the ʻAlids in general.

After the year 136/754, when allegiance was sworn to al-Mansour until the breaking of the revolt in Rajab in 145/762, Muhammad and his brother Ibrahim refrained from appearing before al-Mansour. They remained in hiding and did not swear allegiance to the caliph. At the end of the year 140/758, al-Mansour ordered that Muhammad's father be put under house arrest in al-Madina, along with some of his family members. They remained under arrest in al-Madina until the end of 144/762. Between the years 140 and 144—and especially between 143/760–761 and 145/762, during the governorship of Riyah b. ʻUthman—pursuit of the two brothers intensified. At the end of 144, Abdallah b. al-Hasan, his brothers, and their children were taken to al-Hashimiyya near al-Kufa and put in prison. This brought Muhammad out in open rebellion.

Muhammad strove to give the rebellion as broad a character as possible and to extend it to other regions beyond the borders of the Arab Peninsula. Actual attempts were made in Egypt, Syria (to a small extent), and apparently also in al-Basra and al-Kufa. However, other than those of several individuals, no missions of aid are known to have been sent to Muhammad from these cities.

Muhammad b. Abdallah entered al-Madina, openly proclaiming rebellion, on the twenty-eighth of Jumada II, 145 (23 September 762). His takeover of the city did not meet with any significant resistance. Immediately upon entering the city, he freed the prisoners from jail, arrested the ʻAbbasid governor and the mawali of the ʻAbbasid family, confiscated the properties of the ʻAbbasids in the city, and took over bayt al-mal. Another important source of finance for the rebellion was the money given to Muhammad by one of the dignitaries of al-Madina: the total sadaqa of the Óayyi' and Asad tribes, which he had collected for the ʻAbbasids. Muhammad wanted to administer the city as the capital of the caliphate and, to that end, he established a series of administrative and judiciary posts. He sent his brother Ibrahim to al-Basra, where he raised the banner of rebellion on Ramadan 1, 145 (November 762). At the same time, Muhammad sent governors to all parts of the Arabian Peninsula.

Al-Mansour's letter to Muhammad b. Abdallah, suggesting that he accept an aman, evoked a strong reply from Muhammad. These letters may very well be authentic, but even if they are not, they are very early and of great importance in that they reflect the early arguments of the ʻAbbasids and the Hasanids with regard to who had the legitimate right to rule.

Al-Mansour sent his nephew, ʻIsa b. Musa, to head a strong army that was composed mainly of Ahl Khurasan units against Muhammad. At the beginning of the rebellion, most of the inhabitants of al-Madina supported Muhammad. However, this support was not uniform; there were those who opposed the rebellion, even among his close family, among the rest of the ʻAlid families, and among the important families of Quraysh. In the Zubayrid and ʻUmari (the descendants of ʻUmar b. al-Khassab) families, however, there was general homogeneity with respect to supporting Muhammad, with just a small opposition. The Zubayrids constituted the main military and administrative backbone of the rebellion. Also noted among Muhammad's supporters are families and individuals from Arab tribes: the Juhayna, Sulaym, Bakr, Aslam, Ghifar, Numayr *(mawali)*, and Bahila *(mawali)*.

Several of the important religious scholars *(ʻulama)* of this period from al-Madina as well as from other cities supported and joined the rebellion. Some of them had Shiʻi tendencies, although a large number were not pro-Shiʻi. Noted among them are Malik b. Anas, Sufyan al-Thawri, Abu Hanifa, Hisham b. ʻUrwa b. al-Zubayr, and others. When this list of scholars is examined, it becomes clear that, for at least some of them, their leanings toward the rebellion and their support of Muhammad is not at all unequivocal. It is noteworthy that Ja'far al-Sadiq did not support Muhammad and his rebellion, although despite this there are a number of people belonging to Ja'far's immediate family who took an active part in the uprising. First and foremost, his sons Musa and Abdallah and his brother's son Hamza b. Abdallah should be mentioned, but there were also other Husaynids, all uncles and cousins of Ja'far al-Sadiq, who participated in the rebellion.

After their rise to power, tense relations and hostility prevailed between the ʻAbbasids and Ja'far al-Sadiq. Their fear no doubt greatly increased seeing that the Husaynid family was neither united in their attitude toward the rebellion nor, evidently, in backing Ja'far al-Sadiq's leadership. They were displeased with Ja'far's quietism during the rebellion. His refraining to appear openly before ʻIsa b. Musa as a sign of loyalty to the ʻAbbasids led to the confiscation of

Ja'far's estate, 'Ayn Abi Ziyad, with the approval of al-Mansour, who also ordered his house in Medina to be burned down.

Muhammad b. Abdallah was considered the sixth or seventh imam of the Zaydis. During this period, there was a body in al-Kufa that was noted in the sources as Zaydiyya, the nucleus of which was made up of supporters of Zayd b. 'Ali b. al-Husayn b. 'Ali b. Abi Talib. This group constituted the important nucleus of Ibrahim b. Abdallah's army, although no mention is made of it in connection with Muhammad's rebellion. Evaluating the rebellion as a Zaydi–Hasani rebellion fully supported by the Mu'tazila is too general and inaccurate.

With the arrival of 'Isa b. Musa's army at the approaches of al-Madina, most of Muhammad's supporters abandoned him. At various stages of the battle, particularly at the end, several senior commanders and many soldiers ran away. The final battle took place at Ahjar al-Zayt, to the south of Thaniyyat al-Wada', on the fourteenth or fifteenth day of Ramadan 145 (sixth or seventh of December 762). Because of their numeric and qualitative inferiority, the battle quickly ended in the defeat of Muhammad's men. His head was sent to Caliph al-Mansour; his dead warriors were crucified in two rows in the city and left there for three days. Throughout his entire rule, al-Mansour never stopped persecuting members of the Hasanid family and Muhammad b. Abdallah's supporters. He ordered the confiscation of all of the estates of Banu Hasan and an estate of Ja'far al-Sadiq, who only had it returned to him by Caliph al-Mahdi.

Throughout the Umayyad Caliphate and particularly during the reign of Hisham b. 'Abd al-Malik (105/724–125/743), there was a slow decline in the economic and geopolitical status of Medina. With the 'Abbasids' rise to power, this process was accelerated by the deliberate policy of the first two 'Abbasid caliphs.

Despite the limited strategic importance of Medina for the 'Abbasids, they took the rebellion very seriously, because, to a certain extent, Muhammad b. Abdallah succeeded in extending it past the borders of the Arabian Peninsula and thus constituted a real danger to the 'Abbasid regime. Above all, the rebellion was a challenge to their right to rule. Participation of the Quraysh families in al-Madina (particularly the Zubayrids, who had a history of hostility towards the 'Alids), the 'Umaris, the Ansar, and some of the tribes in al-Madina and its environs in the rebellion—as well as the support of scholars who were not known to be pro-Shi'i—all speak against an exclusive Shi'i tinge to the rebellion.

Nevertheless, the fact that the rebellion was headed by Muhammad b. Abdallah was of great importance. His lineage and claim to the right to rule competed successfully with the arguments for the legitimacy of the 'Abbasids, which at that time were in a stage of transition from the legitimacy of the 'Alid-Hashimiyya to that of al-'Abbas, the Prophet's uncle. Muhammad b. Abdallah's rebellion accelerated the development of the 'Abbasid ideology of legitimacy relating to al-'Abbas and was an important turning point in the relationship between the 'Abbasids and the branches of the 'Alid family, particularly the Zaydis and the Hasanids. It is also very likely that it hastened the development of the qu'ud doctrine of the Husaynids.

Amikam Elad

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NAMES

The parts of a medieval Arabic name are best demonstrated by an example. The great mystical writer Ibn 'Arabi had the proper name *(ism 'alam)* Muhammad, the *kunya* Abu 'Abd Allah ("the father of 'Abd Allah"; "paedonymic" would be the normal English word for this, if one existed), the *nasab* ibn 'Ali ibn Muhammad ("the son of 'Ali the son of Muhammad"), the nickname *(laqab)* Muhyi 'l-Din ("the reviver of the faith"), and the *nisbas* al-Hatimi and al-Ta'i, since his family claimed descent from a man of pre-Islamic Arabia named Hatim of the Tayy tribe. Most biographical dictionaries arrange their subjects in alphabetical order by proper name, then father's name, and so on, but the 'urf by which someone is best known may happen to be any part of the name: Abu Hanifa (kunya), Fatima bint Muhammad (name with nasab), Ibn Sa'd (nasab to the father), Ibn Khaldun (nasab to a remote ancestor), Shajar al-Durr (laqab), al-Mas'udi (nisba to a remote ancestor), al-Qazwini (nisba to a city), and al-Mawardi (nisba to a trade). It was normally most polite to address someone by kunya, and women are often known only by kunya.

Hadith (tradition) recommends the names 'Abd Allah and 'Abd al-Rahman as those God likes best, and it is also advised to name one's children after prophets. Although not otherwise encouraged by Islamic law, Arabic personal names have always been most popular among Muslims, followed by Persian and Turkish personal names (many of which are now common in the Arab world as well).

Christopher Melchert

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NAVIGATION

The Arabic term that denotes navigation is *milaha,* which signifies in a broader sense seafaring or in a narrower connotation the sailor's act of determining the vessel's position, location, and course to the destination. The sunna of the Prophet (his sayings and doings) and the Qur'an do not prohibit Muslims from sailing the seas. The Qur'an urges Muslims to consider navigating as well as exploiting the rich resources of the sea. Likewise, the sunna comprises hundreds of hadiths that exhort Muslims to organize maritime expeditions, to sail to Mecca on pilgrimage, to exploit marine resources, and to expand overseas trade. Regarding military operations at sea, Prophetic traditions give more credit to Muslim naval warriors and amphibious troops than to holy warriors who fight on land. One hadith says that "a maritime expedition is better than ten campaigns of conquest on land." The Prophet also said that "a day at sea is equivalent to one month on land, and a martyr at sea is like two martyrs on land" and that "those who perish while fighting at sea will receive double the compensation of those fighting on land." Al-Shaybani added that "any Muslim who takes part in a sea expedition would be doubly compensated (rewarded) and that once the soldier puts his foot on ship all his sins are forgiven as if he were born anew." This emphasis on the double reward might reflect the legacy of a traditional fear of the sea and the necessity for encouraging recruitment for a religious war (jihad) at sea. Maritime expeditions were regarded as very risky owing to unreliable weather and the naval power and maneuvers of the enemy, but these factors did not allow a soldier to flee the scene of the battle unless the Muslim admiral commanded his flotilla to withdraw collectively.

Although the Arabs had long been acquainted with the sea and had sailed for centuries through the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean using different types of ships and nautical techniques, it seems that they emerged as a global sea power after the Islamic military advents on the eastern and western fronts. Within less than a century of the emergence of Islam in Arabia, the Prophet's followers dominated more than half of the maritime possessions of their former neighbors. The eastern, western, and southern shores of the Mediterranean Sea were entirely under Islamic dominion, as were the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and parts of the coast of the Indian Ocean. The Islamic expansions in the east and west united the former Persian and Byzantine territories that had been split by the successors of Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE). Owing to this new political unity, commercial activity between the Far East and the Mediterranean greatly expanded. As evidence, al-Biruni reports the following:

> "... the power of the Muslim state and its extension from the al-Andalus in the west to the outermost reaches of China and Central India in the east, and from Abyssinia and Bilad al-Zinj (East Africa) in the south to the Slav and

Turkish land in the north enabled many nations to live together in intimacy, without allowing outsiders to bother them or to interrupt traffic. Other peoples who were non-Muslims and still pagans came to regard the Muslim state and its people with respect."

(Nazmi, *Commercial Relations*, p. 54)

Muslim caliphs, especially the Umayyads, maintained all dockyards and naval bases and the former administrative system of Rome and Byzantium in the southern shores of the Mediterranean as well as the marine system in the former Persian provinces; they also established new maritime installations. In AH 18/640 CE, when a severe famine spread in Arabia, Caliph ʻUmar ibn al-Khattab ordered a cleaning of Trajan's canal, which connected Babylon with Clysma (sixty-nine miles in length), for the transport of sixty thousand irdabbs of corn from Egypt to Jar, the port of Medina. The real age of Islamic navigation began from the reign of ʻUthman ibn ʻAffan. During the Umayyad and ʻAbbasid periods, many port cities on the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, and the Arab, Red, and Mediterranean Seas flourished. Among these cities were Basra, Siraf, Aden, Suhar, Shihr, Qais, Bahrain, Hurmuz, Jedda, Jar, Qulzum, ʻAydhab, Tarsus, Ladhiqiyya, Beirut, Sidon, Tyre (Sur), Acre, Alexandria, Rosetta, Damietta, Tinnis, Babylon, Barqa, and Tunis.

Over the course of time, Islamic societies contributed to the art of navigation. Their contributions are reflected in manuals of seafaring, nautical instruments, and the introduction of the lateen sail (a triangular sail suspended from a long yardarm at an angle to the mast) to Mediterranean navigation. Among the oldest Islamic manuals of navigational science that have come down to us are *Kitab al-Fawa'id fi Usul ʻilm al-Bahr wa-l-Qawaʻid,* which was composed by Ahmad ibn Majid in 895/1490, and the works of Sulayman ibn Muhammad al-Mahri (d. 917/1511). This should not be interpreted to mean that Muslim navigators did not produce and use portolan charts (sing., *qunbas*) before the days of Ibn Majid. By contrast, Ibn Majid names two Persian navigators, Ahmad ibn Tabruya and Khawsshir Ibn Yusuf al-Ariki, who sailed during the early years of the eleventh century and who wrote navigational works. Another major instrument that Muslim astronomers and mathematicians developed as early as the seventh century was the astrolabe, an instrument for observing or showing the positions of the stars. On the astrolabe, latitude was determined by the height of the sun or the pole star, which was measured by the qis figure system (science of taking latitude measurements). A third nautical instrument that Muslim sailors transferred from China was the compass. This magnetic instrument was known to Muslim seafarers before the tenth century and probably was not considered very important in the East, because the skies over the Indian Ocean were usually very clear, especially during the times that Muslim mariners sailed with monsoons. The earliest documented Arab use of the compass in the Mediterranean dates to the 1240s. In brief, Muslim navigators mastered astrology; the science of latitude and longitude; the nature and directions of winds; the seasons; the knowledge and locations of coasts, ports, islands, dangerous shoals, and the narrow maritime lanes; the use of various terrestrial instruments; and the art of calculating solar months and days. Most of the Islamic literature about the science of navigation was translated into Latin. For instance, the population of the Balearic Islands—especially the Mallorcan Jewish cartographers—played a vital role in translating Arabic nautical charts, instruments, and books into Latin. By doing so, Western European commercial ships could sail toward the Canary Islands and other destinations along western African coasts.

Islamic ships sailed to every part of the known world, including the major ports on the Mediterranean, Adriatic, Aegean, Marmara, Black, and Caspian Seas, in addition to the western African coasts on the Atlantic Ocean; their ships also sailed as far north as Denmark in 844. In the East, Muslim seafarers navigated the Red and Arab Seas, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean. Their merchant ships sailed from Near Eastern ports to India and Sri Lanka, Malay, the Philippines, Indonesia, and China in the Far East as well as Zanzibar, Mozambique, and even Madagascar in east and southeast Africa. Certainly the seasons and art of navigation differ for each one of the seas and oceans mentioned above. For instance, the sailing season in the Mediterranean had been observed from the Classical Hellenic period to the late medieval period. Ships habitually set out from the eastern basin of the Mediterranean during the early spring and returned from the west during the Feast of the Cross *(ʻid al-salib)*, which was celebrated on the 26th or 27th of September, whereas the return journey of ships heading eastward took place between the end of July and the beginning of September. However, sailing during inappropriate times was probably limited to military expeditions and instant transport of food supplies. As for the seasons of navigation in the Indian Ocean, navigators took advantage of the seasonal winds (monsoons) that blow in one direction for about six months and in the opposite direction for the rest of the year. With regard to the art of navigation on these waters, Muslim geographers (e.g., al-Masʻudi [d. 346/956]; author of *Muruj al-Dhahab*) point out that navigating on each one of these seas

required the previous personal knowledge and expertise of sailors.

The duration of maritime voyages depended on the seaworthiness of the vessel, the professional behavior of the sailors, the distances between ports of origin and destinations, cargo's volume and weight, weather conditions, and the human hostilities that the ship could encounter. After the embarkation and debarkation ports were specified, captains and shipmasters could fix the ship's course, whether it had to cross the high sea, hug the coast, or sail on inland waters (e.g., rivers, artificial canals).

This discussion cannot be concluded without saying a few words about navigation for military purposes. One of the few—but most important—sources about the subject that still survives is *Al-Ahkam al-Mulukiyya fı Fann al-Qital fi l-Bahr wa-l-Dawabit al-Namusiyya*, by Muhammad Ibn Mankali (d. 784/1382). His treatise, which contains explicit references to and fragments of an Arabic translation of Leo VI's *Tactica*, is a mine of information about the technology of Islamic warships and "Greek fire"; rights and duties of sailors, marines, and commanders; navigation under various climatic conditions; and, most importantly, how to plan, manage, and coordinate the battle at sea.

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NAVY

It is commonly believed that Mu'awiya Ibn Abi Sufyan was the first planner and establisher of the Islamic navy. A careful examination of primary sources reveals that the first Islamic naval expedition in history took place in AH 17/638 CE during the caliphate of 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab and was led by al-'Ala Ibn al-Hadrami, governor of Bahrain, against Persia; it ended with a trapped Islamic army nearby Istakhr. Three years later, in 20/641, with the permission of 'Umar, 'Alqama Ibn Mujazziz crossed the Red Sea toward Abyssinia. The expedition was disastrous, and only a few ships returned safely to their home port. In view of these facts, one may justifiably feel that the reluctance of 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab to permit his generals to embark on naval adventures did not result from religious considerations but from his unsuccessful and disastrous attempt against Abyssinia. However, the establishment of the Islamic navy in the Mediterranean Sea occurred during the reign of Uthman Ibn 'Affan. It was through the joint efforts of 'Abd Allah Ibn Abi Sarh, governor of Egypt, and Mu'awiya of Syria that the first maritime expedition on Cyprus in 28/648–649 was launched.

The Islamic expansions in the East and the West were not destructive. Muslim authorities not only preserved all dockyards, naval bases, and systems in the former Byzantine and Persian provinces, but they also founded new maritime installations—arsenals and naval centers—along their maritime possessions. Along the Syro-Palestinian coast were Tarsus, Laodicea, Tripoli, Beirut, Tyre, 'Asqalan, and, most importantly, 'Akka (Acre), from which the first Islamic naval expedition was launched against Cyprus; Egypt had Alexandria, Rosetta, Damietta, Tinnis, Babylon, and Clysma on the Red Sea. As for North Africa and Spain, their most important naval centers were Barqa, al-Mahdiyya, Tunis, Bougie, Ténès, Badis, Ceuta, Cádiz, Algeciras, Seville, Málaga, Almuñécar, Pechina/Almeria, Cartagena, Alicante, Denia, Valancia, and Tortosa. Likewise, they maintained and developed several naval centers in strategic Mediterranean islands, such as the Balearic Islands, Sicily, Crete, and Pantelleria. As a protective measure and until Muslims had acquired supremacy over the sea, the headquarters of their fleets were located in inland waters; the Egyptian navy was in Babylon, whereas the Andalusian one was in Seville.

Amir al-bahr (admiral) was the supreme commander of the maritime frontiers and naval forces. The duties of the construction of warships and the selection of appropriate materials—timber for keels, planking, masts, yards, oars, oakum, metals, skins, cables, pitch and tar, and other fittings—were laid upon him and a team of inspectors, who had to ensure that shipwrights observed technical standards and did not use inferior or inadequate raw materials. Every ship passed a comprehensive technical inspection while it was still in the yard and during the journey to avoid unpleasant consequences. Among the types of warships built in the arsenals for the fighting fleets in the eastern and western basins of the Islamic Mediterranean were *dromon, fattash, ghurab, harraqa, jafn, jariya, qarib, qarqur, qishr, shalandi, shini, tarida,* and *zawraq*.

The responsibility of recruiting highly skilled sailors, patient artisans, brave warriors, alert spies, and physicians rested with the admiral and his chief commanders. Papyri from early Islamic Egypt show that the method of recruitment of sailors for the raiding fleets was compulsory; sailors were drawn from all provinces and included various classes of the population. In case of reluctance or fugitiveness, the local authorities had to pay the wages of men hired from another place. As for the fighting men, they were Arab emigrants and mawalis who settled in the Levantine, Egyptian, and North African frontiers. Only experienced crews and warriors with high morals who were faithful, professional, and fearless in the face of the enemy were taken onboard. Supplies for the ships' human element included bread, butter, wine, oil, and salt.

Only a few Arabic manuals dealing with Islamic naval warfare have survived. Ibn Mankali's handbooks, *Al-Ahkam al-Mulukiyya wal-Dawabit al-Namusiyya fi Fann al-Qital fi al-Bahr* and *Al-Adilla al-Rasmiyya fi al-Ta'abi al-Harbiyya,* give great detail about naval preparedness and tactics. Because Islamic warships could be attacked with all kinds of weapons, their commanders were instructed to carry a large supply of spears, swords, crossbows and arrows, stones and catapults, venomous creatures sealed up in earthenware jars, and combustibles and Greek fire. Ibn Mankali describes how to be prepared against enemies, addressing such things as the following: exercises; prayers offered and speeches delivered before the actual combat; time, place, and disposition of enemy; strategic tactics and arrangement of warships; disposition of the flagship; and the flags to be used during the maritime battle for signaling purposes.

HASSAN KHALILEH

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NAWRUZ

Of Persian origin, Nawruz (No Roz; new day), the ancient Iranian festival of the New Year, survived the Arab conquest and continued to be celebrated in Islamic lands many centuries thereafter. Originally the first day of the Persian solar year, it corresponded with the spring vernal equinox, and the duration of its celebration was six days. Medieval Islamic sources give various (folkloric) explanations for the origins of Nawruz, which involve the mythical Persian Jamshid or the biblical patriarchs Abraham and King Solomon. No Roz was the day to wear new clothes and serve food of the new season. People used to rise early in the morning, go to wells and streams, draw water in vases, and pour it over themselves or sprinkle it on each other. Explanations for these customs varied, from considering them a good omen and a means to ward off harm to the cleansing of the smoke off of those attending the rituals of the fire of the preceding winter nights. Shiʻi explanation of the significance of Nawruz, which is ascribed to the Imam Jaʻfar al-Ṣādiq, sees in it the day of God's primal covenant with mankind, the day of the first rising of the sun, the day of the defeat of the Antichrist, and the day of a number of other important events.

During ʻAbbasid time, and especially during the reign of al-Mutawakkil (847–861 CE), Nawruz was celebrated with great pomp and rejoicing. Performances of masked actors took place at the caliphal court in Baghdad, a variety of sweet dishes were cooked, and caliphs received gifts from their subjects and exchanged gifts with high officials. In addition, the common people exchanged gifts. They used to illuminate their homes with cotton pods and clay censers. Enthusiasm could reach such a degree that Caliph al-Mutadid's attempt in 284/897 to prevent the unrestrained rejoicing in the streets failed. Other customs reported are the dyeing of eggs and the sprinkling of perfume on a man and treading seven times on him as a means of driving away the evil eye, laziness, and fever. A report from around 900 tells that the Baghdadi people even dared to sprinkle water on policemen. There is a report about Muslims drinking wine in public and eating lentils "like the non-Muslims *(dhimmis)*."

Nawruz was celebrated not only in previously Sasanian territories but also in Islamic Egypt. The circumstances of its arrival there are unknown, however; it could be an effect of the Persian rule of ancient Egypt or, alternatively, an adaptation of the Saturnalia of the Roman era. Be that as it may, in Egypt, unlike in the eastern provinces, although it did mark the beginning of the year, Nawruz was an autumn festival that was celebrated on the first day of the Coptic month of Tūt (September), when the Nile was expected to reach its highest level. Celebrations are first reported in Egypt in the year 912, and some of the reported customs remind one of those that have been related for ancient Iran: the exchange of gifts, the eating of special food, and the wearing of new clothes. Under the Fatimids, Nawruz was expressed in an official celebration in which gifts were bestowed on officials and their families. It appears, however, that a carnival increasingly became its main function. The people drank wine and beer; there were those who ambushed travelers and sprayed them with filthy water or wine, and others threw eggs on one another. Even emirs and dignitaries were exposed to this sort of ridicule, and, to rescue themselves, they had to pay "ransom." Slapping one another with boots or leather mats in public places was possibly a remnant of a pagan ritual. Sexual overtones were expressed in the play of water games, causing men and women to

become wet so that naked bodies could be seen through clothes. In 1188, the public gathering of transvestites and prostitutes is reported. Masquerades are reported during the celebration of 975. Puritan scholars of the Mamluk period lamented the adverse effect of the festival on both the common people and the learned. They reported that schools were shut down and turned into playgrounds and that teachers were insulted and sprayed with water. These writers found it detestable that the participants were able "to commit all kinds of evil," that "there was no interdiction [to any sort of behavior] and no authority imposed."

The high mark of Nawruz in medieval Cairo was the procession of the Emir of Nawruz, usually a wanton who was either naked or dressed in colorful clothes, his face besmeared with lime or flour and a beard of fur attached to his face, on his head a special cap made of palm leaves, riding a donkey in the streets. He held a sort of register in his hand, "visited" homes of dignitaries to collect "debts," and punished those who refused to pay. Manifest in this procession is the carnivalesque element of status reversal and riotous revelry á la medieval Christian festivals such as the King of Fools.

Egyptian rulers occasionally outlawed certain elements of the Nawruz festival, such as the spraying of water. The Mamluk Sultan Barquq banned the celebrations in 1385 altogether, and those disobeying were severely punished. Although reports are contradictory regarding what the situation was afterward, it is most likely that the festival vanished from Cairo after approximately 1400. Still, there are indications that it survived in one form or another in Egyptian provinces until modern times.

Boaz Shoshan

See also Festivals and Celebrations

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NEZAMI

Nezami was born in Ganjeh (Kirovabad under the Soviets, now Gyandzhe) in Azerbaijan in 1141, and he died in the same town in 1209. He is reputed to have left the town only once in his life, at the behest of a local ruler who wished to meet him. The exordia and conclusions to his poems tell us that he was monogamous but married three times due to his wives' deaths; that he was particularly enamored of his first wife, Afaq; that he had a son named Mohammad; and that he was never a court poet, although all of his poems were written with aristocratic patrons in mind, and all of them were apparently well received by their dedicatees.

His fame rests with his *Khamseh (Quintet)*, also known as the *Panj Ganj (Five Treasures)*, which consists of five long poems in the masnavi (couplet) form, using different meters. Three of the five are romances, and they are considered to be the greatest examples of the form in Persian. The first of the five—and the only one that does not consist of a single narrative—is the *Makhzan al-Asrar (Treasury of Secrets)*, which is a compendium of mystical tales; the second poem, *Khosrow o Shirin,* tells the story of the love of the Sasanian King Khosrow for the Armenian Princess Shirin; the third, *Leili o Majnun*, deals with two legendary lovers from different Arab tribes; the fourth, *Haft Paykar (The Seven Portraits)*, is concerned with the loves of the Sasanian King Bahram Gur; and the fifth, *Sekandarnameh,* deals with Alexander the Great.

The sources for three of the four narratives are to be found in Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh* (the exception, *Leili o Majnun,* is an Arab tale with no known Persian source before Nezami). The eleventh-century romance *Vis o Ramin* by Gorgani provided the basis for Nezami's rhetoric, but, in the same way that Nezami considerably elaborates on Ferdowsi's relatively brief anecdotes, he develops Gorgani's rhetoric in complex and sophisticated ways. In particular, despite his evident delight in his skill at writing highly evocative sensuous descriptions, he turns the emphasis of the romance away from carnal love as an end in itself to a concern with spiritual identity and ethical growth. His last poem, which treats Alexander as a seeker of spiritual wisdom, returns to the mystical emphasis of his first work and makes explicit the theme of personal ethical development that is implicit in his love stories.

Nezami is both a learned poet and a humanly endearing one. He is not afraid to deploy his thorough knowledge of the traditional learning of his time (e.g., his extensive use of arcane astrological lore), but his poems are never overwhelmed with such matter, and they have remained enormously popular for their human portraits (particularly of women), their suspenseful (if leisurely) plots, and their sumptuous descriptive passages. Nezami's elegant and highly effective allegorical integration of sensuous and mundane elements on the one hand and mystical and

ethical elements on the other is unequaled by any other Persian narrative poet.

RICHARD DAVIS

See also Alexander; Astrology; Ferdowsi; Sasanians; Traditions, Islamic

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NILE

Suffering an almost total lack of rain, Egypt, which has always been a primarily agricultural society, has been uniquely dependent on the flood of the Nile for its survival. This role of the river overshadowed its secondary importance as a means of transportation, especially of goods, as it was in Mamluk time, when boats with a usual capacity of seventy tons (and up to 350 tons) were used for carrying grain.

Knowledge of the Nile among Medieval Muslim geographers was based mostly on legendary or pseudoscientific traditions adopted from Ptolemy's ideas about the sources of the Nile in the legendary "Mountain of the Moon"; they believed it was south of the equator, as reflected in al-Khwarizmi's ninth-century *Surat al-Ard*. A map in an eleventh-century manuscript of this work indicates that the Nile's sinuous course was by then known. Later geographers, gathering pieces of information from traders and travelers, assumed the existence of a few "Niles"; alternatively, they believed there was one long one made out of a few.

The Nile habitually was at its lowest level in Lower Egypt around the beginning of June and would then rise and reach its maximum level in the Coptic month of Tut (29 August to 27 September), coinciding with the ancient New Year. If the level was sixteen to eighteen cubits (dhira') (about 9.3–10.4 meters), crop growth should have been sufficient. However, the whimsical nature of the Nile's inundation impelled most political regimes to measure its rise, and, for this, the ancients invented the Nilometer. Al-Maqrizi, the renowned chronicler of Mamluk Egypt, quotes a popular saying to the effect that God should save from a level of twenty cubits, because it would result in flooding and the destruction of crops. It now appears, though, that, by the Mamluk period, this level no longer posed a threat of overflooding; over the course of time, the minimum and maximum increased at a steady rate as a result of the sediment on the bed of the river.

Until the nineteenth century, a maintenance-intensive irrigation system remained almost unchanged. When the flood began, the water was harnessed by an extensive network of local irrigation canals of various sizes to draw it into basins along the Nile Valley and in the Delta. Dikes were used to trap the water and to allow moisture to sink into the basins. The alluvium washed down from Ethiopian topsoil settled on the fields and provided rich fertilization. Constant dredging of the canals and the shoring up of dikes were required. Some innovations, like the saqiya (an ox-driven water wheel), the Archimedes screw, and the shaduf (a simple water hoist), appeared already during the late Pharaonic and Ptolemaic eras, and they persisted into the Islamic period.

A too-slow rise of the water between July and September or its sudden recession frequently aroused anxiety among the populace. This was the point when merchants and brokers would consider it in their interest to withhold supplies and push prices of grain up. There are numerous descriptions of crowds at the Nile docks or in front of mills and bakeries, struggling to obtain grain, dough, or bread. Small wonder, then, that medieval rulers attempted to conceal information about the river level; one sultan even contemplated destroying the Nilometer.

The attainment of a level of at least sixteen cubits was the occasion for celebrating the "Plenitude of the Nile"; this has been so since at least the Fatimid time. Announcing to the people the attainment of the desired level, the official in charge of the Nilometer went in procession from the palace along the road of Bayn al-Qasrayn, dressed in a special golden robe, to the sound of trumpets and drums. The preparations for the ceremonies required the relocation of the Fatimid caliph and court officials from the palace to the pleasure pavilions erected along the Canal from Cairo to Fustat. The ceremonies themselves consisted of two parts. The first was the perfuming with saffron of the Nilometer at Rawda Island, which was presided over by the Fatimid caliph and later by Ayyubid and Mamluk sultans, who were sailing in decorated boats. The second part was the "breaking of the dam," which was annually constructed across the Canal (khalij) near its mouth to prevent too early a flooding. The ruler throwing a spear at the dam was a signal for the workmen to rush forward and destroy it. During that ceremony, the Qur'an was recited, and singers performed into the night; the ruler then presided over a banquet. In Fatimid times, there were

public observatories near the dam, where seats were rented; at some point during the twelfth century CE, they were destroyed by either overcrowding or fire. Occasionally Mamluk troops performed lancing drills, and merrymaking, wine drinking, and sexual promiscuity were part of the Nile celebrations. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the traveler Leo Africanus reported in some detail about family trips in decorated boats. There were occasional attempts to ban popular celebrations, and scholars considered the people's "abominations" the reason for the Nile's low level.

Islamic regimes tried to abolish Coptic festivals associated with the Nile. Already, ʿUmar ibn al-Khattab, the second caliph, forbade the sacrificial rites and, instead of a virgin known as the "Nile Bride," a piece of paper was thrown to the river. Later, the Fatimids and Mamluks in particular subjected Coptic festivals of the Nile to occasional censorship, especially during droughts, but this met only limited success. Among these festivals, one should mention the Feast of Submersion (ʿId al-Ghitas). This occurred on the eve of the Epiphany, which commemorated Christ's baptism and coincided with a seasonal transition shortly after the winter solstice around the middle of January. During the ʿAbbasid period, thousands of torches were lit, and large crowds of Copts and Muslims thronged the river banks. Another Coptic Nile festival, the Festival of the Martyr (ʿId al-Shahid), was celebrated in May to mark the beginning of the spring. Its focal point was a sacrificial object—a finger of a martyr that was kept during the year in the Shubra church in Cairo—being immersed in the river. The priests of the church orchestrated the ritual that was believed to bring about the Nile's inundation. Large crowds are reported to have been spectators. A description from the height of the Mamluk period reports about the riding of horses, the pitching of tents, the performing of singers and entertainers, and the consuming of much wine (so much, in fact, that the local peasants could pay their land tax from the revenues procured from its sale). Even prostitutes, effeminate males, and reprobates of all types participated, to the point that "numerous sins are performed in excess." This festival persisted to the mid-fourteenth century, a time when the Mamluk regime moved against a perceived threat of increasing Coptic influence.

Boaz Shoshan

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NISHAPUR

Nishapur is a city in northeastern Iran. During its heyday (ca. 950–1050) it was the largest city in the Muslim world (one to two hundred thousand people) that was not situated on navigable water. Although the semiautonomous Tahirid dynasty ruled from Nishapur in the ninth century, its prominence stemmed from trade, manufacturing, and religious learning rather than from being a military garrison or imperial capital. Growing largely through religious conversion, Nishapur supplanted nearby Tus (modern Mashhad), a Sasanid governing center, as the administrative hub of the province of Khurasan. Trade from eastern lands passing south of the Kopet Dagh mountains funneled through Nishapur, and the city became a major producer of cotton cloth and high-quality ceramics. The Ashʿari school of Islamic theology, which featured such noted scholars as Imam al-Haramain al-Juvaini and al-Ghazali, came to be based in Nishapur during the eleventh century. It was simultaneously the home of such noted Sufis as Abu al-Qasim al-Qushairi. Nishapur's great size required high productivity in the surrounding farmlands. The advent of the Seljuq dynasty with its pastoralist followers in 1037 unsettled the agricultural economy and triggered the city's slow decline. A decade of fighting among religious factions (primarily the Hanafis and the Shafiʿis), nomadic raids, and earthquakes caused most of the shrunken city to be abandoned in 1162. A smaller walled city rebuilt on the western border of the metropolis was destroyed by the Mongols during the thirteenth century; Nishapur was then relocated two kilometers further west. With the growing pilgrimage city of Mashhad, the new regional metropolis, Nishapur never again attained more than local importance.

Richard W. Bulliet

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NIZAM AL-DIN

Nizam al-Din Awliya' (1244–1325 CE) was the most renowned Sufi saint of medieval South Asia (India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh). He was a scholar of *hadith* (tradition) and an exponent of juridical independence *(ijtihad)*. He systematized the core practices of the Chishti Sufi community and spread its institutions, making the Chishti community the most characteristically South Asian Sufi group. His contribution to Persianate Islamic culture in Hindustan is vast. His given name was Muhammad Nizam al-Din, and a nickname, Awliya' (Saints), evolved from his early titles: Sultan-i Masha'ikh (Ruler of Spiritual Masters) and Mahbub-i Ilahi (God's Beloved).

Life

Nizam al-Din was born in Badaun, north of Delhi. Mongol invasions exiled his parents' families from Bukhara; his father died during his childhood. Raised by his mother, Bibi Zulaykha, he held her as an exemplar of ascetic and mystical women. She supported him while he studied Qur'an, hadith, and jurisprudence (usul al-fiqh). At sixteen, he migrated to Delhi and studied hadith with Mawlana Kamal al-Din Zahid.

While in Delhi, he heard of a Sufi master named Shaykh Farid al-Din Ganj-i Shakar. The Shaykh's brother commented on his aim to become a judge (qadi), to which he replied, "Don't become a judge—become something else." Listening to Qur'an 57:16, "Has not the time arrived for true believers that their hearts should humbly engage in remembrance of God?," he abandoned his ambition to instead "become something else."

Shaykh Farid al-Din greeted him with a poem: "Burning of separation from you has singed so many hearts/Flooding of desire for you has ravaged so many souls." He initiated Nizam al-Din into the Chishti Sufi practices of rapturous love, disciplined poverty, and poetic sensitivity. Nizam al-Din became his spiritual successor (khalifa) at age twenty-three, and he settled in Ghiyathpür, outside Delhi. He built a popular devotional center (jama 'at-khana or khanaqah), confronted the rulers, and trained disciples. He refused to marry or raise children (see Lawrence, 1994).

Teachings

Mu'in al-Din Hasan Chishti (d. 1236) brought the Chishti order from Afghanistan. Teaching that a Sufi cultivates "generosity like a river, magnanimity like the sun, and humility like the earth," he distilled universal teachings from Islam, attracting Hindu devotees while extolling Muhammad as the perfect human being and Imam 'Ali as the exemplary Sufi. He adapted Hindu devotional hymns to create the Chishti institution of sama'. Musical devotion has roots in Persianate Sufism, but Chishti masters elevated it to a central practice.

Nizam al-Din's teachings can be summarized in three statements. First, service to the needy is better than ritual worship; the way to knowledge of God *(ma'rifa)* is bringing happiness to others. Arguing that this was the best way to imitate the Prophet Muhammad, Nizam al-Din made a pun that equated Prophethood *(payghambari)* with "bearing the sorrows of others" *(pay-i ghamm bari)*. Second, the presence of God is found among the destitute. To this end, Nizam al-Din emphasized a hadith: "All people are God's family, and the most beloved of people are those who do most good for God's family." Third, egoism is idolatry. The following anecdote reveals his compassion and tolerance with regard to interfaith relationships. Walking with Amir Khusraw, wearing his cap tilted, Nizam al-Din observed Hindus praying to the sun; he approved of their worship, paraphrasing Qur'an 22:66: "To every community there is a religious way and a direction for prayer" *(har qawm ra-st rahi dini o qiblah gahi)*. Amir Khusraw spontaneously added, "Every community has a right way and a direction to pray/and I turn in prayer to face the captivating one whose cap's awry" *(man qiblah rast kardam janib-i kaj-kulahi)*. This conversation makes for a rhyming couplet that is sung in Qawwali performances.

Nizam al-Din advocated three practical means to realize these teachings. First, find a spiritual master and serve him *(pir-muridi)*. Second, embrace poverty and renounce hoarding *(tark-i dunya)*. Third, nourish the heart through devotional music *(sama')*. Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq (r. 1320–1325 CE) entertained criticism from legalistic scholars that Islamic law forbade such music. The Shaykh debated in court and defended the practice with hadith reports.

Community

Nizam al-Din was a skilled organizer who brought into his devotional center disciples of all classes. He

codified the rules of living at devotional centers; in finance, he relied on voluntary gifts *(futuh)* rather than royal land grants *(jagirdari)*. Members daily gave away everything beyond basic needs and maintained a communal kitchen *(langar-khanah)* that fed the needy by the thousands. Nizam al-Din refused to meet Sultans face to face, which was in contrast with their Suhrawardi peers in South Asia. Nizam al-Din oversaw the expansion of the Chishti community by sending delegates across the Delhi Sultanate, which expanded to Bengal, Rajastan, and Gujarat and which, by 1310 CE, encompassed the Deccan. Delegates set up devotional centers based on Nizam al-Din's model.

Nizam al-Din attracted followers of high quality. He insisted that his inner circle study Islamic sciences *(usul al-din)* before he granted successorship *(khilafat)*. His chief successor, Shaykh Nasir al-Din (d. 1356), was a scholar of Qur'an and Arabic grammar whose Sufi discourses (see Khayr al-Majalis) are interwoven with hadith reports. Other disciples were more musical, like Burhan al-Din Gharib (d. 1337), who oversaw the spread of the Chishti community in Gujarat through his rapturous dance (see Ernst, 1992).

Nizam al-Din's disciples included courtier poets. Amir Khusraw (d. 1325) created Persian love poems *(ghazal)*, Hindawi poems in praise of Nizam al-Din based on Krishna-devotion imagery, and musical settings of Islamic prayers and praise that defined the tradition of Qawwali singing. Amir Hasan Sijzi (1254–1336) wrote down Nizam al-Din's oral Sufi discourses in a unique record, *Fawa'id al-Fu'ad* (see Lawrence, 1992), spawning a genre of Sufi literature *(malfuzat)* that was adopted by other South Asian Sufi communities.

Legacy

Although Nizam al-Din wrote no books, the historian Barani left a record of his personality. His followers enriched South Asian literature and music. Their Persian prose formed a unique genre at the interface between oral discourses and written records, and their Persian poetry set the standard for ghazals throughout the early modern period. Their sung poetry sparked the use of vernacular South Asian languages in Sufi communities (Hindawi, Punjabi, and Gujarati, and, later, Deccani Urdu).

Nizam al-Din's legacy includes his tomb complex *(dargah)*, built by rulers of the Tughluq dynasty (1320–1451) and the Lodi dynasty (1451–1526), who chose to be buried near it although they ruled from Agra. Mughal rulers (1535–1865) patronized his tomb. In later Mughal times, it became a centerpiece of spiritual life in Delhi through The Procession of the Flower-Sellers (see Lewis, 2002), a parade from the Red Fort to the tomb of Nizam al-Din and on to Mehrauli, near the Qutb Minar. Nizam al-Din's tomb remains one of the most popular Islamic sites in independent India, and the Chishti community he formalized continues to be the most active Sufi community in South Asia.

SCOTT A. KUGLE

See also Chishti; Dancing; Music; Muslims; Singing; South Asia; Saints and Sainthood; South Asia; Sufism and Sufis

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NIZAM AL-MULK, ABU 'ALI B. 'ALI AL-TUSI,

Abu 'Ali b. 'Ali al-Tusi Nizam al-Mulk was an influential Seljuk vizier and educational patron. He was born in Tus in Khurasan (eastern Iran) in AH 408/1018 CE, the son of a Ghaznavid tax collector; little is known of his early life. By 445/1054, he was in the service of Alp Arslan, who was then a lieutenant in eastern Khurasan for his father, the Seljuk Sultan Chaghri Beg. Soon after Alp Arslan's accession to the sultanate after the death of his uncle Tughril Beg, Nizam al-Mulk was appointed vizier after he had contrived the execution of his rival al-Kunduri, formerly Tughril Beg's vizier.

The period of Nizam al-Mulk's greatest influence upon the affairs of the Seljuk empire began after the death of Alp Arslan in 465/1072. The early years of the reign of Alp Arslan's successor, the eighteen-year-old Malikshah, were completely dominated by his vizier. Eventually, however, rival interests at court and Malikshah's own desire to be rid of the man who for twenty years was the real ruler of the empire led to Nizam al-Mulk's downfall. He was murdered in 485/1092, apparently by an agent of the assassin leader Hassan-i Sabbah at the instigation of the vizier's enemies at court.

Nizam al-Mulk founded a chain of madrasas (Islamic schools) in the main cities of Persia, Iraq, and the Jazira. His motive was perhaps to assert Seljuk Sunnism against Fatimid and other Shi'i interests by training a cadre of reliable, Sunni-oriented officials to run the Seljuk empire. His political desiderata and the means of achieving them were articulated in the *Siyasat-nama (Treatise on Government)*, which was made up of fifty chapters of advice illustrated by historical anecdotes.

DAVID MORRAY

See also Bureaucrats; Madrasa; Mirrors for Princes; Viziers

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NOMADISM AND PASTORALISM

Through the early middle ages, nomads in the Middle East exploited the dry, inarable steppe and desert inside the Fertile Crescent and below into the Arabian peninsula; they focused on subsistence. The region's arable lands at oases, near rivers, or in rainy zones that enabled irrigated or "dry" farming supported settled communities. The inarable areas provided vegetation (technically, a desert may have vegetation on up to 49% of its surface) for sustaining domestic animals and their human managers, which were Arab Bedouins for the most part and able to move about to reach enough of it. Sheep and cattle that can only move short distances and that require water daily were raised on the better pastures and water sources fringing the settled lands. Camels subsisted on poorer range: they can eat a variety of vegetation (e.g., "camel thorn"), bear infrequent watering, and move at a good pace between widely separated patches of vegetation, wells, oases, and markets. The nomads traded animals and their products for agricultural and manufactured goods from settled communities.

This nomadism entailed (and still does, where it survives) an attenuated society. Communities consisted of camps of a few households of somewhat extended families. Beyond this, clans and tribes—genealogical constructs differing only in size—established personal identity and rights to pasture and water. Tribes descended (in the male line) from a remote ancestor (usually male); a clan's founding ancestor lived more recently; membership in both is by birth (although "clients" may be assimilated). Genealogy gave these units form, although their apparently fixed shape depended on memory that was usually softened by forgetfulness and often altered by falsification enabled by fogginess. Pastoral dispersion discouraged gatherings of the clans and tribes, and genealogical structure provided no obvious political center: apical ancestors were long dead, and living clansmen were only collateral relatives. Leadership involved persuasion and cajolery rather than authority.

Limitations of pasture and water restricted the keeping of horses. Horses require regular and plentiful watering and quality grazing (i.e., no camel thorn); at times they had to be fed the nomads' own food, dates, and camel milk. In addition, horses are endangered by high temperatures and would at

times have to share the nomads' tents; these nomads kept few of them.

The small size, isolation, and insecurity of their communities made for the compensatory cultivation of a warrior culture, but shortages of weaponry and horses impaired their military capabilities. The best arms were expensive. Spears and daggers were common; swords and armor were coveted but rarer. Without trees, archery was of little importance. The warriors mostly fought on foot: camels make awkward fighting platforms (Lawrence of Arabia shot his own camel in the head during a camel charge). Nevertheless, the camel was the main military asset, providing mobility and logistics that were superior to their better-armed and better-mounted settled neighbors. Military commanders were chosen ad hoc by consensus, and they had to maintain the voluntary and revocable participation of their followers by persuasion. Raiding was the most common military undertaking.

During the early years of Islam, nomads made up the bulk of the manpower of the Muslim armies, although men from Mecca and Medina led them and worked to settle them in garrison towns. Although these settlements were subdivided by tribe, the army in the field was arrayed in decimal units, and the troops were supported by state stipends rather than pastoralism. As these armies became professional, nomads were relegated to occasional voluntary service in caliphal campaigns.

Beginning in the eleventh century, nomads from Inner Asia—mostly Turks, who were reinforced by Mongols during the thirteenth century—occupied the fine and largely arable grasslands of Anatolia, northern Iran, and Afghanistan. Their nomadism was geared not to try to make use of useless land but to the maintenance of military capabilities enabling seizure and defense of valuable resources. In these regions, the nomads moved up to cool highland meadows in the summer and down to snow-free but rainy and grassy lowlands in winter; this was done to obtain good grazing all year round for their sheep, goats, cattle, camels, and especially horses—lots of horses (actually ponies, because they grazed instead of requiring feeding).

Horses opened the Middle East to these nomads and enabled them to stay. They could raise horses easily, mount all of their warriors, and provide plentiful remounts (five per Mongol soldier) to outnumber and outpace low-horsepower sedentary cavalries. Pastoralism eased logistics: the horses grazed; the soldiers ate horse meat. The sedentaries' armies required food and fodder to be bought and transported. In addition, horses enhanced the nomads' basic weaponry—homemade bows made by compounding bits of wood, bone, and sinew into a light, compact, strong tool to project heavy arrows—enabling the archers to hit hard and then run fast. Finally, these nomads had an advantage in "manpower availability." Subsistence chores could be managed by women and children; in peacetime, men basically had nothing to do (Bedouin pastoralism seems to be somewhat more labor intensive). In war, most men could participate, particularly as cavalrymen. As with the Bedouin, the warrior way of life pervaded these nomads' culture and inspired their actions, but to greater effect.

The social and political arrangements of these originally Inner Asian nomads differed from the Bedouins'. A nuclear family—a man, his wife, and their children—constituted a household. By the nomads' calculation, a hundred milking sheep or their equivalent (one horse or cow was considered to be equal to five sheep or goats) could decently support a household. The community in times of security was a camp of up to ten households, depending on the size of their herds (if there were more animals, there were fewer households). In dangerous times, households might camp together by the thousands within a protective circle of wagons; a large camp's many animals required frequent moves to new pastures.

Clans were like the Arabs': based on genealogy and providing identity and certain rights. Tribes were quite different. Leading and managing large camps and large cavalry forces produced chiefs with powers that were unknown to the indigenous Middle Eastern nomads: absolute and arbitrary authority. The tribe in Inner Asia and its related Middle Eastern regions was not just a large clan that was kin to the chief, but it could include any persons obedient to him of any lineage, religion, economy (non-nomad), language, or culture. These tribes had no membership or size limitations. Mongol tribalism during the thirteenth century produced cavalry armies that numbered in the tens and sometimes hundreds of thousands.

John Masson Smith

See also Sedentarism

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NUMBERS

A variety of number systems were used in medieval Islamic civilization:

1. The Hindu–Arabic system is the modern decimal position system for writing integer numbers by means of ten symbols: the modern forms 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 0. The system was developed in India around 500 CE and probably transmitted by Indian scholars to Baghdad around 775 CE. The numbers were described in a small treatise about arithmetic by Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khwarizmi around 830 in Baghdad. The name *al-Khwarizmi* indicates that he was from Khwarizm, now Khiwa in modern Uzbekistan. He also authored an influential work about algebra. His treatise about arithmetic is lost in Arabic, but it was transmitted into Latin in the twelfth century. His name was Latinized as *Algorismi,* hence the modern word *algorism* or *algorithm* for methods of computation in general.

   In or after the tenth century, two varieties of the symbols emerged: the Eastern forms, which are still used in Egypt, the Middle East, Iran, and Pakistan; and the Western forms, which were used in North Africa and Spain and which are the immediate precursors of the modern shapes.

   The words *cipher* and *zero* are both derived (via Latin *cipherum* and *zephirum*) from the Arabic word *sifr,* meaning "empty place," which was used for the zero. This Arabic word *sifr* is, in turn, a translation from the Sanskrit term *shunya,* which the Indian mathematicians used for zero. Contrary to what is sometimes believed, the zero was not invented by Islamic mathematicians but rather adopted by them from India.

   The decimal position system never became very popular in medieval Islamic civilization; it was used mainly for the writing of very large numbers. Al-Khwarizmi and later mathematicians illustrated the system by means of the famous chessboard problem: if we put one grain on the first cell of the chessboard, two grains on the second, four grains on the third, eight grains on the fourth, and so on, what is the total number of grains on the chessboard? The total number can be written in the "Indian" system as 18,446,744,073,709,551,615.

   The decimal position system was transmitted to Christian Europe by the Latin translation of al-Khwarizmi's work and also by the Italian mathematician Leonardi Fibonacci. During the late twelfth century, Fibonacci learned the system in the city of Bougie (Algeria) and then on his return wrote an explanation of the system in his *Liber Abaci*, which became influential in Europe. It took until the Renaissance for the system to be firmly established in Europe. The modern forms of the symbols were fixed after the development of printing.
2. The abjad system can be used to write integer numbers between 1 and 1999. In the Arabic alphabet (and also in the Greek alphabet and the alphabets of the other Semitic languages), each letter has a numeric value between 1 and 1000. The name *abjad* is a combination of the letters with values between 1 and 4: *alif* = 1, *ba*' = 2, *jim* = 3, and *dal* = 4. The numeric values of the letters are the integers from 1 to 9, the tens from 10 to 90, the hundreds from 100 to 900, and 1000 for the letter ghayn. Numbers between 1 and 1999 are formed from a combination of these letters, thus 1024 = ghayn-kaf-dal (*kaf* = 20).
3. The medieval Islamic astronomers used the sexagesimal system that had been invented in ancient Babylonia and that is still used today for writing angles in degrees, minutes, and seconds. The system was also used by the later Greek astronomers, including Ptolemy. The Greeks indicated the individual numbers by a system similar to the Arabic abjad system. Each letter of the Greek alphabet has a numeric value, thus alpha = 1, beta = 2, theta = 9, and so on. The Islamic astronomers applied the same system to the Arabic alphabet according to the abjad system, which has been explained above. This system was called the "numbers of the astronomers," and it was very popular. For numbers larger than 1000, the astronomers in the Eastern Islamic world occasionally used the Hindu–Arabic numbers.
4. Examples of other, less-popular systems are the Coptic numbers used in Egypt and the siyaq

numbers used in bookkeeping. In many Arabic texts, numbers are written out in words: for example, "twenty-three." Computation and trading were often done without number symbols; the traders possessed an elaborate system of finger reckoning.

JAN P. HOGENDIJK

See also Mathematics; Geometry; Astronomy; Algebra

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NUR AL-DIN IBN ZANGI

Nur al-Din Mahmud (d. 1174 CE) was the second son of the Turkish warlord Zangi and, like his father, a leading figure in the Muslim opposition to the Crusader states established in the Syrian littoral as a result of the First Crusade (1097–1099). Zangi had been murdered shortly after he had taken Edessa from the Crusaders in 1144, and Nur al-Din, initially operating from his base in Aleppo, made permanent the Muslim reconquest of Edessa in 1146 and then expanded his campaigns against the remaining Latin states. Shortly after the failed Second Crusade, Nur al-Din inflicted a serious defeat on the Principality of Antioch. By 1154, Nur al-Din took over control of Damascus from the Muslim Burid dynasty. From this base, he took several steps to support the ulama and their clarion calls for jihad (holy war) against the Franks. He constructed and endowed centers of learning and worship.

Within a decade after establishing Damascus as the capital of lands under his control, Nur al-Din's attention was drawn to the succession struggles within Fatimid Egypt, which were in turn complicated by Crusader invasions from the Kingdom of Jerusalem. In 1164, 1167, and 1168, Nur al-Din sent armies to Egypt led by his Kurdish General Shirkuh. Shirkuh died on this last campaign, and he was succeeded in command by his nephew Salah al-Din Yusuf ibn Ayyub (subsequently known to the Crusaders as Saladin), who quickly took control of Egypt, ruling it but recognizing Nur al-Din as his overlord. When Nur al-Din died in 1174, Saladin quickly moved against Nur al-Din's heirs and subordinated their holdings to his growing realm.

WARREN C. SCHULTZ

See also Crusades; Damascus; Jerusalem; Saladin

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NUR JAHAN

Nur Jahan (born Mihrunnisa) was one of the most powerful figures in seventeenth-century Mughal government, literature, and art. She was born in 1577 CE in Kandahar to a noble and ambitious Persian family, fleeing Persia for better prospects at Akbar's court in Fatehpur-Sikri. In 1594, she was married to 'Ali Quli Khan Istajlu, a Persian soldier likewise seeking his fortune in India, with whom she produced a daughter, Ladli Begam. She was widowed in 1607 at the age of thirty and was invited to the Mughal court to be a lady-in-waiting to one of the stepmothers of the Emperor Jahangir.

She met Jahangir in the palace bazaar at the Agra Fort in 1611 and married him two months later. In 1614, he named her Nur Jahan (Light of the World), a sign of her central role in his life and at court. Indeed, he became so incapacitated by addictions that she gained enormous influence over him and de facto power over the empire. One sign of this was her minting gold and silver coins, an act that was traditionally reserved for the sovereign alone. A contemporary European observer wrote that Jahangir "hath one Wife, or Queen, whom he esteems and favours above all other Women; and his whole Empire is govern'd at this day by her counsel." Nur Jahan's success was due equally to an astute sense of politics and diplomacy and to her family's support and parallel rise to power. Her father held the title of *I'tmad al-Dawla* (Pillar of the Government), and her brother similarly held high office in the court of Jahangir and later Shah Jahan. Although Nur Jahan never bore a child for Jahangir, her family was nonetheless enmeshed with the Mughal line: Ladli Begam married one of Jahangir's sons and produced a daughter, and Shah Jahan married Nur Jahan's niece, for whom he built the Taj Mahal.

As a result of gifts, court stipends, and her own business acumen, Nur Jahan became extremely wealthy and could patronize literature, art, architecture, and fashion with taste that extended to imported European luxury goods. Her innovations in these areas included new weaves and prints for textiles, clothing designs, and gourmet recipes with artistic presentation. In addition, she was a connoisseur of painting and an accomplished poet in both Arabic and Persian. She seems to have played a role in almost all imperial architectural commissions during the period of her marriage to Jahangir. Not only was she the principal patron of the Nur Mahal Serai (Jalandhar) on the Agra–Lahore Road, the renovated Ram Bagh (Agra), the Nur Manzil Garden (Agra), the Tomb of I'tmad al-Dawla (Agra), the Pattar Mosque (Srinagar), and her own tomb near Jahangir's in Shahdara (Lahore), but she also clearly played an important role in the design of the many imperial gardens built along the shores of Lake Dal in Kashmir.

Even before the death of her husband in 1627, Nur Jahan schemed against the future emperor, Shah Jahan, and on his accession she was sent to live her last years in Lahore with her daughter. Her house stood in the same garden enclosure where she built her tomb, and she was buried there upon her death in 1645.

D. Fairchild Ruggles

See also Mughals; Women Patrons; Women Rulers

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NUSAYRIS

Nusayrism is a syncretistic religion with a close affinity to Shi'ism. Most of its adherents live in Syria and the southeastern regions of present Turkey. In Syria, the Nusayris constitute more than one million (about twelve percent of the population). They live chiefly in the mountainous areas of Latakia, known as Jabal al-'Alawiyyin, on the country's northwest coast, where they represent close to two-thirds of the populace.

The original name of the sect is *Nusayriyya,* after Muhammad ibn Nusayr, a disciple of the Imams 'Ali al-Hadi (d. 868 CE) and al-Hasan al-'Askari (d. 873–4), the tenth and eleventh imams of Twelver Shi'ism. The modern name of the sect is *'Alawis;* this name was adopted at the beginning of the twentieth century to underscore the sect's links with 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, the common ancestor of all of the Shi'i factions.

Despite the important role played by Ibn Nusayr during the formative phase of Nusayrism, the real founder and promulgator of the Nusayri faith seems to have been al-Husayn ibn Hamdan al-Khasibi (d. ca. 957).

During the early years of the twelfth century, the Crusaders conquered part of the mountainous region of Latakia. During the Mamluk period, unsuccessful attempts were made to convert the Nusayris to Sunni Islam.

For most of the Ottoman period, the Nusayris were recognized as a distinctive group with the right to maintain an autonomous judicial apparatus. Modern Western interest in the Nusayri religion began during the mid-nineteenth century. A pioneering monograph about the Nusayris, *Histoire et Religion des Nosairis,* was published by the noted French scholar René Dussaud in Paris in 1900. An important source for the study of Nusayrism in modern times is *al-Bakura al-Sulaymaniyya fi Kashf Asrar al-Diyana al-Nusayriyya,* a description and refutation of the Nusayri religion that was written by Sulayman al-Adhani, a Nusayri convert to Christianity from the town of Adhana in southern Turkey.

The Nusayris again came to the fore during the period of the French mandate over Syria and Lebanon (from 1920). France promoted their integration into the ranks of the French army and even granted them autonomy in the Jabal al-'Alawiyyin region. Their presence in the French army prepared the ground for their later inclusion in the army of an independent Syria. The Nusayris are the only minority to have succeeded in assuming power in their own country.

Like the rival Druze religion, Nusayrism is shrouded in mystery, its secrets being the exclusive prerogative of the initiated *(khassa)*, whereas the uninitiated *('amma)* are kept strictly separate. In essence, Nusayrism is an antinomian religion, and the religious obligations are limited to moral prescriptions.

The Nusayris believe that the deity manifested itself in history in the form of a trinity. This trinitarian revelation is believed to be a theophany that has recurred in seven eras (called *akwar, adwar,* or *qubab*) throughout the course of history. According to the Nusayri trinitarian doctrine, two entities or persons *(aqanim)* emanated from the supreme aspect of the deity. This supreme aspect, called *ma'na* (meaning, essence), is sometimes identified with God Himself. The second is the *ism* (Name) or *hijab* (Veil). The third entity is the *bab* (Gate), which is the gate through which the believer may contemplate the mystery of divinity. This trinity has been incarnated in historical

or mythical persons. During the seventh and last cycle, the "Muhammadan cycle" that opens the Muslim era, the trinity was incarnated in three central figures of early Islam: ʻAli as the maʻna, Muhammad as the ism, and Salman the Persian as the bab, from whence comes the acrostic sirr ʻA[yn] M[im] S[in] (i.e., the mystery of ʻAli, Muhammad, and Salman).

The syncretistic nature of the Nusayri religion is also evident in its calendar, which is replete with festivals from diverse origins: Christian, Persian, and Muslim (both Sunni and Shiʻi). However, being regarded by the Muslim world as heretics has not prevented the Nusayris from seeing themselves as monotheists *(muwahhida* or *muwahhidun)*.

Among the Nusayris in Syria, there are currently two distinct trends. The more conservative members of the community, living mainly in the Jabal al-ʻAlawiyyin region, adhere steadfastly to the traditional creeds and rituals of the sect. Alternatively, others are becoming assimilated into Twelver Shiʻism and in fact identify themselves as Shiʻis. This is taking place mainly in cities, where these individuals have come under the influence of Shiʻi communities.

Meir M. Bar-Asher

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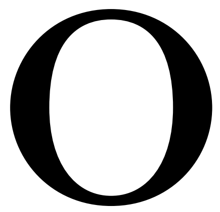
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OATHS

Known variously as *qasam, half,* and *yamīn*, the oath was ubiquitous in medieval Islam. Apart from its formal use in judicial contexts, the oath—and its close relative, the vow *(nadhr)*—was a common means by which individuals affirmed commitments to one another in all areas of life, from high politics to business negotiation to relationships within the family. The treatment of oaths in the medieval law books attests to not only the ubiquity of this social practice but also the ongoing efforts of religious scholars to shape and control it.

In the most basic sense, oaths can be described as commitments made to another party in which God serves as witness and guarantor ("By God, I shall never set foot in this house again," "By God, I shall not sell this item for less than one dinar"). As such, the legal scholars normally distinguish them from vows in which the commitment is made directly to God ("If God should restore my health, I pledge to make the pilgrimage to Mecca on foot"), although the boundaries between them are easily obscured: vows, for example, might assume the shape of oaths, particularly if they are uttered not for straightforwardly pious purposes but rather to achieve something in a negotiation (for example, "If what I say is not true, I will sacrifice a sheep and distribute its meat as alms," known to the lawyers as a "Vow of Incitement and Anger" and not always considered binding by them). In principle, vows are sworn *to* God, whereas oaths are sworn *by* God. In practice, the latter were also sworn by things other than God, as is suggested by the repeated strictures of the lawyers against such practices and the number of *hadith,* which insist that valid oaths are sworn only "by God," He alone being worthy of such magnification. People swore "by my father's life" and "by the beard of the Prophet"—and by any number of other things as well—but normative practice insisted that God is the only true guarantor of commitments, and we even read of a teaching ascribed to various Companions that it is preferable to swear falsely by God than truthfully by anything else.

Oaths "by God" contain within themselves no specific penalty for nonfulfillment *(h.inth)*, and in most cases such oaths were not judicially enforceable. There were, of course, informal social sanctions that regulated the use of swearing and would have discouraged the habitual swearing of false oaths, but in the immediate sense violation of an oath "by God" was strictly a matter between the individual and God. To swear falsely, or to break an oath-bound commitment, was to make oneself vulnerable to divine punishment. Believers might turn to any of several Qur'anic passages that underscore the importance of fulfilling one's covenants (for example, Q 16:91) and promise a painful doom to those who knowingly swear false oaths (for example, Q 58:14f). Similarly, there is no shortage of *hadith* reminding those who would swear falsely or otherwise sinfully that they will be barred from Paradise and given a seat in the Fire. It was because of the otherworldly nature of the sanction that the practice of swearing at a mosque or a saint's tomb was often adopted. At the same time, some oaths did spell out specific temporal

consequences in their very language; for example, "If I do not repay this debt in full by the end of the month, one of my slaves is free," or "If you [that is, my wife] leave this house without my permission, you are divorced." These are essentially conditional statements of manumission and divorce: Once the condition is met, the penalty takes immediate effect and would at least in theory be enforceable by a court.

Unlike such conditional statements, oaths "by God" uttered with deliberation could, when not fulfilled, be expiated along the lines set out in Qur'an 5:89 (feeding or clothing ten paupers, freeing a slave, or, for those who lack such means, a three-day fast). It was even possible, in the eyes of some scholars, to set aside an oath, make no effort to fulfill it, and replace it with an act of atonement *(kaffāra)*, a practice reflected in a prophetic *hadith* in which Muhammad states that "I never swear an oath unless, upon seeing something better, I expiate it and do the better thing." What is reflected here is the practical acknowledgment that believers needed ways to escape their oath-bound commitments without irreparably damaging their status in the afterlife. This concern is attested to at several places in the Qur'an; for example, 66:1–2 (dissolution of oaths of sexual abstention) and 2:224 (oaths ought not become an obstacle to righteous behavior). In the legal discussions as a whole, it is clear that the scholars were concerned to provide escape routes and otherwise limit the oath's binding power when to insist on it would place the afterlife of believers in jeopardy or undermine ritual practices favored by the law. (Examples of the latter problem would include vows of extreme asceticism or commitments to make pilgrimage to sites not part of the recognized sacred topography of Mecca.) These escape routes include, in addition to expiation, the practice of *istithnā'* (adding the phrase "If God wills" to the oath) and the recognition of a category of "unintended" *(laghw)* oaths that are considered neither binding nor—by most jurists—in need of expiation. Finally, the well-known literature of juristic expedients *(hiyal)* is filled with clever evasions by which one escapes the consequences of an oath while formally respecting it, as well as examples of recourse to misleading language that seem to undermine the very idea of an oath.

KEITH LEWINSTEIN

See also Cursing

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ÖLJEITÜ (ULJAYTU)

Öljeitü (Ar. Uljaytu) was the eighth Mongol Ilkhanid ruler of Persia and Iraq. Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad Khudabandah Uljaytu was born in AH 680/1282 CE and succeeded his brother Ghazan as *ilkhan* on Dhu 'l-Hijja 703/July–August 1304 and reigned until 716/1316. Ghazan, Uljaytu's predecessor, had converted to Islam in 694/1295. Uljaytu continued the practice, begun under his brother, of rebuilding and reestablishing the schools and mosques that had been destroyed by previous Mongol rulers. Shortly after he succeeded his brother as *ilkhan* in 703/1304, Uljaytu declared Islam as the official religion of all areas within his realm. During his reign, Uljaytu engaged in extensive patronage of religious institutions and scholarship. He was aided in the central administration of the dynasty by three primary officials: the *wazirs*, Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah Hamadani, Sa'd al-Din Muhammad Sawaj, and Taj al-Din 'Ali Shah Gilani, who replaced Sa'd al-Din after his fall from favor and execution in 711/1312. Uljaytu also relied extensively on Qutlughshah as senior commander of his armies *(amir)*.

Uljaytu's reign as *ilkhan* was characterized by both the ongoing external effort to win success over the Mamluks by subjugating Syria and Egypt, and the internal struggle to consolidate his kingdom in the face of challenges from several independent Mongol chiefs. Uljaytu's acceptance of Islam did not prevent him from reaching out to European kings and

Christian authorities in Europe for support in his struggle against the Mamluks. He sent letters to Edward I of England, King Philip the Fair of France, and Pope Clement V expressing his desire for a concerted action against the Mamluks. Internally, one of the first steps undertaken by Uljaytu to gain control over independent Mongol provinces came in 705/1306 when he launched an attack on Fakhr al-Din, the ruler *(malik)* of the Kart dynasty that controlled Harat. The expedition was unsuccessful and Uljaytu's commander, Danishmand Bahadur, was killed in a conspiracy organized by one of his officers, Jamal al-Din Muhammad Sam.

In the following year, Uljaytu set out on a campaign against the province of Gilan on the Caspian Sea, not far from his newly established dynastic capital of Sultaniyah. It is likely that Uljaytu saw the conquest of Gilan as necessary for generating revenue for financing his long-term goal of challenging Mamluk dominance of Syria and Egypt. In part due to its harsh climate and difficult-to-navigate geography, the small kingdom of Gilan was able to resist Mongol conquest during the period of Uljaytu's predecessors. In 706/1307, Uljaytu mounted an elaborate invasion of Gilan, ordering his commanders to lead armies into the province from four different points: Chupan entered Gilan from the Northwest, Tughan and Mu'min were sent to the eastern province of Gurjiyan, his senior *amir*, Qutlughshah, descended on the city from Khalkhal, and Uljaytu himself advanced on Gilan through Kurandasht, Lawshan on the Shahrud, Daylaman, and finally entering Lahijan. There is considerable debate concerning the outcome of Uljaytu's expedition to Gilan. Persian contemporary sources have largely described the attempt to subjugate Gilan as successful. In addition, Arabic sources, particularly Mamluk chroniclers, appear to confirm this view, with variation in the time and sequence of events between the two historiographical traditions. It appears that the Mongol armies suffered a number of significant losses during the campaign, including the death of Uljaytu's senior amir, Qutlughshah. The *ilkhan* was ultimately successful in establishing Mongol sovereignty over the province and its resources.

In 712/1312–1313, Uljaytu launched what was to be the last Mongol offensive against Mamluk territory. The Ilkhanid army marched from Mawsil and reached the walls of Rahbat al-Sham on the Euphrates in Ramadan/December of that year. The inhabitants of the city defended the invasion fiercely and after almost three weeks of fighting, lacking the provisions, Uljaytu ordered his troops to withdraw. Following the unsuccessful invasion, Uljaytu began to engage in conciliatory diplomacy with the Mamluks, and in 723/1323, al-Nasir Muhammad concluded a peace treaty with his son and successor, Abu Sa'id.

Contemporary biographical sources on Uljaytu reveal a high degree of ambiguity concerning the details of his conversion to Islam. His conversion to Islam was preceded by a series of religious affiliations, from being baptized as a Christian, to later becoming Buddhist, before finally accepting Shi'ism. At the time of his conversion to Islam, Uljaytu initially became an adherent to the Hanafi *madhhab*. This is perhaps a result of the early Hanafi influence during his time as governor of Khurasan. Uljaytu later adopted the Shafi'i *madhhab* under the influence of the Shafi'i scholar, Nizam al-Din 'Abd al-Malik al-Maraghi, and his *wazir*, Rashid al-Din. However, Uljaytu continued to encourage religious debates and exchanges at his court and surrounded himself with scholars of all legal schools and theological persuasions. Uljaytu invited the erudite Shi'i scholar al-'Allama al-Hilli to join his court for the purpose of furthering religious debate. In Rajab 709/December 1309, al-'Allama al-Hilli accompanied Uljaytu on a visit to the tomb of Salman al-Farisi at Mada'in. Though the issue of which of the Shi'i scholars in the court of Uljaytu was responsible for the conversion of the *ilkhan* to Shi'ism is contested in the contemporary sources from the period, Uljaytu publicly converted to Shi'ism in Sha'ban 709/January 1310.

The existent documentary and literary sources from the period after Uljaytu's conversion are replete with accounts of his efforts to propagate Islam more generally and Shi'ism in particular. The *ilkhan* sponsored several legal and theological debates between al-'Allamah al-Hilli and Sunni scholars in the court from the years 710/1311 to 716/1316. Shortly thereafter, Uljaytu established the *madrasah sayyarah*, which was a mobile school founded to accompany the *ilkhan* whenever he traveled. Positions in the *madrasah sayyarah* were apparently reserved for scholars with a close relationship with the *ilkhan*. The famous eighth-fourteenth-century traveler, Ibn Battuta, although generally displeased with the degree of what he deemed to be Shi'i heresy on his visit to Iraq and Iran, provides extensive details concerning the endowed religious institutions he observed in Mongol domains during the reigns of Uljaytu and his son, Abu Sa'id. Furthermore, Ibn Battuta and other contemporary observers provided important numismatic evidence related to Uljaytu's efforts to promote Shi'ism. Uljaytu eliminated the names of the Sunni *khulafa' al-rashidun* from coins and ordered coins minted honoring the Twelve Shi'i Imams. He also ordered that the names of the Twelve Imams be in the Friday prayer.

Furthermore, Uljaytu transferred the Ilkhanate capital from Tabriz to Sultaniyah, where he sought

to establish a large religious institution in the city to rival the size of the one established by Rashid al-Din in the Rab'-i Rashidi. Uljaytu also completed work on his large and intricately decorated tomb prior to his death, and his magnificent tomb is one of the greatest examples of Mongol architecture that still survives. The funerary complex built by Uljaytu includes several prayer halls, spaces for reciting the Qur'an, and residence halls. The largest copy of the Qur'an made in the period, an enormous (seventy-two by fifty centimeters) thirty-part manuscript transcribed in Baghdad between 706/1306 and 710/1313, was also endowed to Uljaytu's funerary complex at Sultaniya. Although the other contemporary buildings surrounding the tomb did not survive, there was a large congregational mosque with a monumental portal leading to a large central courtyard with four *iwan*s, a domed sanctuary, and an adjacent *khanaqah*.

In addition to the lavish building that Uljaytu engaged in at Sultaniyah and the endowment of formal institutions, he also served as patron for individual scholars. Uljaytu continued to support the renowned observatory and school for the study of philosophy and mathematics at Maragha, endowed first by Hulagu in 657/1258 under the direction of Nasir al-Din al-Tusi and completed during the reign of Hulagu's successor, Abaqa (663–683/1265–1284).

Uljaytu died in his bed at Sultaniyah 17 December 1316/1 Shawwal 716. He was thirty-six years old. Quite extraordinary for a reigning Mongol ilkhan, he is believed to have died of natural causes, related to a protracted struggle with a stomach ailment.

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OMAN

The name 'Oman' has been used since classical times to describe southeastern Arabia. It was referred to thus by early Arab accounts, and the name continued in use throughout the medieval and later periods.

After the death of Muhammad the Prophet (632 CE), Oman became part of the Islamic caliphate. Many of its people, primarily from the Azd tribes, migrated to Basra during the early Islamic period and formed an important part of the Umayyad army. Led by al-Muhallab ibn Abi Sufra, they also played an important role in domestic affairs in Iraq.

During the Umayyad period, the Omani emigrants in Iraq maintained close contact with Oman itself, and many of them returned home after the failure of the Yazid ibn al-Muhallab uprising in 723 CE. In Basra, many Omanis supported the nascent Ibadi movement, named after ʻAbdallah ibn Ibad, an early Khariji leader who rejected the use of violence against an unjust ruler. Thus they formed the nucleus of the Ibadi sect.

The Imamate in Oman

After the downfall of the Umayyads in 749–750 CE, the history of Oman can be divided into two geographical areas. The coast was dominated for much of the time by external powers and was heavily influenced by political and military vicissitudes until the arrival of the Portuguese at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

In the interior, the Ibadi Imamate was established in 750 CE, eventually emerging as a separate religious sect adopted by the majority of Omanis. In time, Ibadism became both a sect and a political system, which has profoundly affected the structure of Omani society and history. For Ibadis, spiritual and political authority meets in the body of one person, the Imam of the community and its legal jurist in secular and religious matters. He has full freedom in practice, limited only by the constraints of jurisprudence as interpreted or seen by the Imam.

Despite many attacks, the Ibadi Imamate developed into an institution that was defended strongly by Omanis for centuries. Political conditions and external dangers obliged its adherents to coalesce into an integrated community in order to guarantee their survival.

Oman's history has been greatly influenced by Ibadi thought. Also of importance was the Nabhani period (twelfth to seventeenth centuries CE), when there was a flowering of local literature and culture, which can be seen in the rich literature of the Nabhanis, especially their poetry.

Making use of the monsoon winds, Omani ships sailed to Africa, India, and Southeast Asia, selling local produce such as dates, and pearls, frankincense, and imported goods. On the return voyages they brought items such as perfumes, ivory, silk, sandalwood, spices, and rice.

Because of this active trade, many Omanis settled in East Africa and Southeast Asia, spreading both Arabic culture and Islam. Oman's rising power and economic strength led in due course to the emergence of the Ya'ariba dynasty in 1624 CE. This became a regional power, dominating much of the East African coast and initiating a new era in Oman's modern history.

Hasan M. al-Naboodah

See also ʻAbbasids; Trade, African; Trade, Indian Ocean; Tribes and Tribal Customs

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ONE THOUSAND AND ONE NIGHTS

One Thousand and One Nights is an anonymous collection of Arabic tales. In Baghdad, by the AH second/eighth CE century, a Persian book titled *Hazar Afsaneh (The Thousand Tales)* had been translated into Arabic. It then circulated under a new Arabic



Portrait of Caliph Harun al-Rashid (785–809), hero of the Arabian Nights, shown as a young man. Indian miniature, signed Behzad. Seventeenth century CE. Ms.arabe, 6075, f.9r. Credit: Snark/Art Resource, NY. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, France.

title, *Alf Layla wa Layla (A Thousand and One Nights)*.

However, this version no longer exists. The oldest extant manuscripts date from the fifteenth century, and further different versions from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In these, some elements have changed completely (the tales told by Shahrazad) and others slightly (the opening story of the two kings), while the formal organization of the book has not changed. We know this because its overall structure still corresponds to the description given by Ibn al-Nadim in his fourth-/tenth-century bibliography, *al-Fihrist*. It consists of an opening story inside which, each night, other stories are told. The use of embedded stories is a narrative technique that probably comes from India. From a theoretical viewpoint, it raises important questions about the purposes of storytelling.

The frame story, which introduces Shahrazad, continues to fulfill its original function, although the events which it reports are slightly different from those described by Ibn al-Nadim. (More significantly, a comparison of the framework of the *Thousand and One Nights,* as we now know it, with that of the *Hundred and One Nights*, an abridged North African version, shows that the latter is an older version; this is clearly important to an understanding of the development of the *Nights*.)

Entirely new are the tales told by Shahrazad, which immediately follow the opening of the frame *(The Merchant and the Genie, The Fisherman and the Genie)*. They constitute a new corpus, which went through two phases.

The first phase was one of literary conceptualization. In terms of Arabic literary theory, the stories in *Thousand and One Nights* were fictitious (*khurafat*, sing. *khurafa*). When they were adopted into Arabic, the story that was placed at the beginning of the book was the one which, to Arabic thinking, represented the *khurafa* par excellence, that of *The Merchant and the Genie*. All versions of the *Nights* begin with this story, and from the functional, thematic, and ideological points of view, it conditions the choice of stories that form the core of the work in all its extant forms (for example, *The Fisherman and the Genie, The Porter and the Three Ladies, The Story of the Three Apples, The Story of the Hunchback,* and the tales included therein). From the functional viewpoint, the story of didactic intent *(mathal)* yields place to the marvelous tale *('ajab)*, with the added feature, characteristic of the *khurafa*, that each successive tale must be more astonishing. The *Nights* as a whole bear the imprint of this new function; their aim is to surprise and astound, and only incidentally to teach a lesson. From the thematic viewpoint, the notions of justice and injustice provide a continuous link, with the drama of the tales arising from the fact that the punishment is always incredibly disproportionate to the crime. Lastly, from an ideological viewpoint, the process of embedding is used specifically to express what may be termed a Near Eastern (that is, Islamo-Judeo-Christian) outlook, in which a story is told in irrevocable exchange for a human life, as if it were a righteous deed.

The second phase was one of compilation. As the collection grew in size it came to include various registers of Arabic literature, from historical anecdotes only a few lines long and derived from high literature (*see* Adab) to folk tales (*see* Folk Literature) and tales of chivalry (*see* Sira) stretching over hundreds of pages. The resulting mixture was a middling literature comprising hundreds of story cycles in a diction lying somewhere between classical and colloquial Arabic. It is anonymous and above all freely creative, in the sense that any redactor could make his own changes to it. Consequently, most manuscripts, editions, and even translations of the *Nights* include new stories, in addition to the common core previously mentioned, and sometimes the same story will be found with considerable variations. The most striking instance of this is the translation of Antoine Galland (1704–1715), which includes numerous Arab folktales, such as those of Aladdin and Ali Baba, which had never belonged to the *Nights*. Thus a translation such as that of Richard Burton (1885–1888, online at www.geocities.com/jcbyers2000/toc.htm#burton1) may be considered as representative in its way of the varied *Nights* corpus as the Bulaq edition of 1835 with 1001 nights and Muhsin Mahdi's 1984 edition with only 282.

Aboubakr Chraibi

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OPHTHALMOLOGY

Ophthalmology is the branch of medicine devoted to the study of diseases of the eye and their cures. Physicians from all religious groups within the medieval Islamic world, where eye diseases were common, avidly studied this branch of medicine. From many sources, they compiled in Arabic considerable information on this topic and added new observations of their own. All this information served as the common body of knowledge on ophthalmology in the Muslim world until the nineteenth century. The earliest treatise on this subject—the Greek, Syriac, and other special textbooks being lost—was written by the Christian court physician in Baghdad, Yuhanna ibn Masawaih (777–857). This book, *Daghal al-'ayn (The Alteration of the Eye)*, which provided the first known description of pannus, was a mixture of information that was soon superceded by the work of Ibn Masawaih's student and coreligionist, Hunayn ibn Ishaq (809–877). Hunayn's *al-'Ashr maqalat fi 'l-'ayn (The Ten Treatises on the Eye)* was the first systematic textbook on ophthalmology. He wrote it over many years, completing it while at the height of his glory as a translator and medical practitioner in Baghdad, under the caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–861). Based primarily on Galen, it described the structure of the eye and its relationship to the brain, vision, health, and disease, the causes of eye diseases, remedies for eye diseases, the treatment of eye diseases, and compound remedies for eye diseases. This book also contained the earliest known anatomy of the eye.

Ophthalmology reached its height of understanding in the works of two other Christians, 'Ali b. 'Isa (d. in the first half of the eleventh century) and his contemporary, 'Ammar al-Mawsili. 'Ali, who practiced in Baghdad, wrote *Tadhkirat al-kahhalin (The Promptuary for Ophthalmologists)*, the most comprehensive book on ophthalmology in Arabic to survive in the original format. Based on Hunayn, Galen, and other authors of antiquity, it described at length the anatomy of the eye, external and internal diseases of the eye and their treatment (including conjunctivitis, cataracts, and trachoma), and numerous remedies and their effect on the eye. The work *Tadhkira* became the standard resource on the subject. More original, however, was 'Ammar, who was born in Mosul but eventually practiced in Egypt during the reign of al-Hakim (996–1020). His *Muntakhab fi 'ilaj al-'ayn (The Select Work on the Treatment of the Eye)* combined a succinct account of ophthalmology with noteworthy descriptions of cataract surgery. Subsequent work on ophthalmology was overwhelmingly derived from Hunayn, 'Ali, and 'Ammar. It was epitomized, with some notable discussion of trachoma and its sequelae, by the Muslim Ibn al-Nafis (d. 1288), who was born in Damascus and went on to become the personal physician of Sultan Baybars in Egypt (r. 1260–1277), in his *Kitab al-Muhadhdhab fi 'l-kuhl (The Perfected Book on Ophthalmology)*. The works of Hunayn, 'Ali, and probably 'Ammar were translated into Latin in the Middle Ages and formed the basis of ophthalmology in Europe until the first half of the eighteenth century.

GARY LEISER

See also Materia Medica; Medical Literature, Arabic; Optics; Physicians; Surgery and Surgical Techniques; Translation, Pre-Islamic Learning into Arabic

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OPTICS

Optics, as a scientific discipline that explores the nature and comportment of vision and light, finds its earliest methodic roots in Euclid's elementary treatise the *Optika* (ca. 300 BCE), which eventually was

geometrically systematized by Ptolemy (d. ca. 165 CE). According to those polymaths, vision results from the emission of actual light rays from the eye, which take the shape of a cone whose vertex is at the center of the eye and its base on the surfaces of visible objects. This optical theory reconfirmed Plato's account in the *Timaeus*, wherein it was stated that vision is attributed to the soul's nonconsuming fire, which provides the eye with a light that gets emitted into the surrounding air to meet lit objects. This picture was also affirmed in Galen's (d. ca. 200 CE) anatomy of the eye, whereby he argued that vision occurs due to the eye's spirit, which passes through the luminous channels of the optical nerve and is radiated unto the external environment as a light ray that travels at an infinite velocity. A similar observation regarding the speed of light was also made by Heron of Alexandria (d. 75 CE) in his work *Catoptrics*. These mathematical "emission" theories of vision contrasted the physical "intromission" accounts of sight, like what is encountered in Aristotle's *De anima (Tract on the Soul)*, wherein it was ambivalently stated that visual perception results from the introduction of the form of the visible object without its matter into the eye. Although the channels of the transmission of Euclid's Greek *Optika* were indeterminate, its Arabic version was preserved under the title *Kitab Uqlidus fi ikhtilaf al-manazir*. As for Ptolemy's text, it is known from its Greek source, whereas its Arabic rendition is only recoverable from fragments of Latin translations. One of the earliest engagements with optics in Islam may be traced back to Hunayn ibn Ishaq's (d. ca. 873) Galenic studies and al-Kindi's (d. ca. 870 CE) commentaries on Euclid's *Optika*; the latter surviving in Latin under the title *De aspectibus* and were directed by philosophical speculations more than geometric demonstrations. The most remarkable accomplishment in the science of optics is ultimately achieved in Ibn al-Haytham's (Alhazen; d. ca. 1039) monumental *Kitab al-manazir* (*The Optics*; ca. 1027), which was translated into Latin as *De aspectibus* (ca. 1270 CE) and had a focal impact on the unfolding of the perspective tradition in the history of medieval science and Renaissance art. Gathering the findings of the Ancients, Ibn al-Haytham was able to overcome the main dispute over the nature of vision between the Greek mathematicians and physicists. Rejecting the claim that vision occurs by way of the emission of a light ray from the eye, Ibn al-Haytham systematized the intromission account of vision by demonstrating that seeing results from the introduction of the rays of light into the eye in the shape of a virtual conical model. He moreover supplemented his *Optics* with a *Treatise on Light (Risala fi l-Daw')* that studied the radiating dispersion of light across transparent media in a rectilinear propagation. His optical writings did also incorporate catoptrical explorations of reflection on planar, spherical, cylindrical, parabolic, and conical mirrors. He also integrated the study of lenses and magnification within the science of optics, as well as verify his theoretical hypotheses with controlled tests and experimental installations. The refraction of light also constituted a central subject in his *Optics* that assisted him in his explorations in astronomy and meteorology. Although his optical tradition was comprehensively studied and integrated within the European Latin scientific impetus, it, unfortunately, confronted a period of long interruption in transmission within the medieval Islamic civilization. A parallel engagement in ocular investigations is noted in Ibn Sina's (Avicenna, d. 1037 CE) critical espousal of the Aristotelian theory of vision, which classified optics as a branch of physics rather than mathematics. However, in diverging from Aristotle's *Meteorology*, Ibn Sina ultimately advanced an alternate explanation of the phenomenon of the rainbow. Following his tradition, Nasir al-Din Tusi (d. 1274 CE) wrote a commentary on Euclid's *Optika* that did not show signs of being aware of the optical writings of Ibn al-Haytham. However, the most notable progress in optics, which built on Ibn al-Haytham's results and disseminated them, is creditably attributed to *Tanqih al-manazir (The Revision of the Optics)* by Kamal al-Din al-Farisi (d. 1320 CE). Informed by Ibn Sina's writings, Kamal al-Din revised Ibn al-Haytham's elucidation of the nature of the rainbow and the halo. Using geometrical constructs to demonstrate how the rainbow results from the refraction of light falling on individual raindrops, Kamal al-Din further substantiated his hypothesis by experimentally modeling this process on the passage of light through a spherical vessel filled with water. Following this latest advancement in classical optics, the study of vision in the Muslim world did not progress beyond synoptic summarizations of earlier sources.

NADER EL-BIZRI

See also Aristotle and Aristotelianism; Astronomy; Geometry; Hunayn ibn Ishaq; Ibn al-Haytham, or Alhazen; Ibn Sina, or Avicenna; Kindi, al-, Historian; Mathematics; Meteorology; Plato and (Neoplatonism; Ptolemy; Tusi, Nasir al-Din

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OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The Ottoman Empire was one of the largest and longest-lived Islamic empires. It emerged around 1300 CE as a small principality on former Byzantine territory, to the west of Constantinople. It ceased to exist after defeat in the World War I and the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. The term *Ottoman*, or *Osmanli,* in Turkish derives from the ruling dynasty, named after Osman (c. 1300–1324), the first ruler of the line.

At the time of its foundation the emirate—not yet an empire—of Osman was one of a large number of Turkish principalities that emerged in western Anatolia following the collapse of Byzantine rule in the late thirteenth century. Several factors favored its rapid expansion. In the second half of the thirteenth century, central and eastern Anatolia had come under the rule of the Ilkhanids, the Mongol dynasty of Iran. The collapse of this dynasty in the early fourteenth century resulted in a political fragmentation. The Balkan Peninsula underwent a similar disintegration. The Latin victors of the Fourth Crusade in 1204 had divided Byzantine Greece among themselves, and for more than a century most of Greece remained a mosaic of Latin principalities. Much of the northern Balkan Peninsula was briefly united in the fourteenth century under the Serbian Tsar Stephen Dushan, but this political unity did not survive his death in 1355. This lack of a major opposing power was a factor that facilitated Ottoman expansion, as was the ability of the Ottoman rulers to exploit rivalries between their neighbors. Most notably, it was as the ally of the Byzantine pretender John VI Kantakouzenos that the second Ottoman ruler, Orhan (c. 1324–1362), occupied territory on the Gallipoli Peninsula, marking the first stage of the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans. By the end of his reign, Orhan's successor, Murad I (1362–1389), had, through conquest, marriage, and alliances, become the dominant power in much of the Balkans and western Anatolia. By 1402, his son, Bayezid I (r. 1389–1402), had annexed all of western and central Anatolia. In the Balkans he established the Danube as the Empire's northern frontier, provoking hostilities with the kingdom of Hungary. The rout of a Hungarian-led crusading army at Nicopolis in 1396 confirmed Bayezid as the dominant ruler south of the Danube.

In 1402, Timur-i Leng (Tamerlane) defeated Bayezid at Ankara, dismembering his empire in Anatolia and unleashing an eleven-year civil war between his sons. The disaster might have led to the end of the Ottomans. Instead, a hundred years later, the Ottoman Empire was on the verge of becoming a world power, while Timur's empire had disappeared. Three factors probably favored the Ottoman recovery. First, the Ottomans had adopted the principle that Ottoman territory was indivisible. Bayezid's sons fought to the death until a single ruler, Mehmed I (r. 1413–1421), prevailed rather than divide the territory. Second, by the end of the fourteenth century the Ottomans had established, probably on Byzantine and Ilkhanid precedent, a system of registering fiscal and military obligations that allowed administrative continuity in times of political crisis. Third, rivalries among the enemies of the Ottomans prevented a major threat to the warring princes. Mehmed I and his son, Murad II (r. 1421–1451), recovered much of the territory that had been lost in 1402. In central Anatolia, only the emirate of Karaman,

reestablished after 1402, escaped reannexation. In the West, the Ottoman annexation of Serbia in 1435 threatened Hungary, triggering Hungarian invasions in 1443 and 1444. It was the Hungarian defeat at Varna in 1444 that ensured that the Balkans would come under Muslim Ottoman rather than Catholic Hungarian rule.

Murad II's successors Mehmed II (r. 1451–1481) and Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) gave the empire a shape familiar from later centuries. Mehmed II's conquest of Constantinople in 1453 provided the empire with its enduring capital. In thirty years of continuous warfare, he conquered most of the Balkan Peninsula, including Bosnia in 1463, annexed Karaman and other non-Ottoman principalities in Anatolia, and established in these territories direct Ottoman rule rather than rule through vassal dynasties. The work of Mehmed's son, Bayezid, in sponsoring the codification of Ottoman law gave Mehmed's conquests an administrative/legal identity. The strongly Sunni identity of the empire was a product of the following reign.

In 1514, Selim I (r. 1512–1520), after defeating and killing his brothers, routed the Safavid Shah of Iran, Isma'il I, at Chaldiran and, in the following two years, conquered Safavid territory in southeastern Anatolia. The Safavids did not present so much a military as an ideological threat. They were both Shi'i and, more important, heads of a religious order that claimed many Ottoman subjects among its adherents. These religious claims led the Ottoman sultans to emphasize their Sunni orthodoxy as against Safavid heresy. Selim I's conquest (1516–1517) of the Mamluk domains in Syria, Egypt, and the Hejaz reinforced this tendency. Not only did he double the empire's size but he also acquired the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, giving him a claim to leadership of the Islamic world. These were claims that his son, Süleyman I (r. 1520–1566), reinforced. Süleyman opened his reign with the conquest of Rhodes and of Belgrade, on the southern border of Hungary. In 1526, he defeated the Hungarians at Mohács, and from 1526 until 1541, Hungary was a vassal kingdom. The conquest brought Süleyman into conflict with the Habsburg, Ferdinand of Austria, who claimed the Hungarian crown, and his brother, the Holy Roman Emperor and King of Spain, Charles V. To counter Habsburg claims, Süleyman, in 1541, converted central Hungary to an Ottoman province, leaving Transylvania as a vassal kingdom. Nonetheless, continuing Habsburg claims led to intermittent warfare in Hungary until the end of the reign. At the same time, Ottoman and Spanish rivalries in North Africa—Algiers had accepted Ottoman suzerainty in 1519—led to intermittent warfare with the Spanish Habsburgs in the Mediterranean. The third area of conflict was with the Safavids. From 1533 to 1536, a campaign brought Baghdad, much of Iraq, and eastern Anatolia under Ottoman control; later campaigns between 1548 and 1555 brought no Ottoman gains.

The sixteenth-century wars against the Safavids, and the Habsburgs, brought the Ottomans into conflict with powerful dynastic empires, and it was as a competitive response to these rivals that Süleyman I stressed his Islamic orthodoxy against Safavid heresy and his equivalence to Charles V's status as Holy Roman Emperor, by assuming the title of "Caliph." After a favorable treaty with the Habsburgs of 1547, he adopted the title of "Emperor." The Ottoman dynasty was to use the title Caliph intermittently until 1924.

It was once customary to designate the period from the death of Süleyman in 1566 as the period of the "decline" of the Ottoman empire. Although this designation is an oversimplification—the Ottomans conquered Cyprus from Venice in 1572 and much of the Caucasus and Azerbaijan from the Safavids between 1578 and 1590—the period saw a setback in Ottoman fortunes. The inconclusive war in Hungary from 1593 to 1606 revealed Ottoman military weakness; by 1606, the Ottomans had lost all territory gained from the Safavids after 1578. An eventual peace with Iran in 1639 confirmed the border as fixed in the treaty of 1555. The last major Ottoman conquest, Crete in 1669, came only at the end of a war that lasted nearly twenty-five years. After the failed siege of Vienna in 1683, the Ottomans began to lose territory, the Treaty of Carlowitz in 1699 confirming the loss of Hungary and other possessions. By the outbreak of World War I, almost nothing remained of Ottoman territory in Europe.

To explain these losses, it is more accurate to think in terms of the "rise" of Europe rather than the "decline" of the Ottomans. The changes in European ways of thinking bearing the labels (of convenience) "the Renaissance" and "the Scientific Revolution" led, from the sixteenth century, to developments in military and naval weapons, tactics, and organization, which the Ottomans had difficulty in emulating. The same developments in European thinking created "the Industrial Revolution" of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which together with the earlier development of mercantile capitalism, led to European domination of the Ottoman economy and the undermining of indigenous industries. Furthermore, after an unsuccessful confrontation with the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean in the sixteenth century, the Ottomans abandoned attempts to control maritime trade westward from India and Southeast Asia, allowing the Atlantic powers to dominate this lucrative

field of commerce. Perhaps most significant of all, the import in the nineteenth century of the European concept of nationalism undermined the political unity of an empire based on dynastic and religious identities. The attempts by nineteenth-century reformers to create an Ottoman national identity, and the attempt of Abdulhamid II (r. 1876–1909) to encourage a shared identity among all Muslim subjects, with a loyalty to the sultan/caliph, could not stem the growth of nationalism in the Empire. Even without the defeat in World War I, nationalist separatism would probably by itself have destroyed the Ottoman empire.

COLIN IMBER

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P

PAINTING, MINIATURE

Although there remains a persistent belief that the religion of Islam, in its myriad expressions, opposed images and the creation of paintings, painting was consistently practiced in the historical Islamic lands, especially in books. The size of the book, and comparisons to Western medieval manuscripts, led scholars to reference painting in Islamic codices as "miniatures." For Islamic material, however, the term is restricted to painting—generally in polychrome—alone and not to the illuminations in gold and opaque pigments that accompany books.

Islamic painting is an art form of widely different visual expressions and rich in its formal and aesthetic developments, whether one looks at books composed in Arabic, Persian, or Ottoman Turkish. Stimulated by new purposes and needs, the practice of painting had developed outside of the codex by the late 1400s. Artists made single-page paintings, for example, for exchange within the contexts of royal courts. By the late 1500s, artists produced paintings speculatively for sale to a broader sector of the population whose loose collections were often assembled into albums.

Early historical evidence of paintings for books, or even as single sheets, is fragmentary, with few extant examples and only occasional references in written sources. In his preface to *Kalila wa Dimna*, for example, Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. ca. 758–760 CE) mentions that the function of paintings in his text was to provide pleasure to the reader and also to make the reader more mindful of the book's value. Illustrated copies of *Kalila wa Dimna* do not survive from this early period, though they are attested to, along with other illustrated texts, in primary sources. The extant historical record grows after 1000 CE, becoming steadily more complete with each passing century.

The earliest known books containing paintings are all in Arabic and are principally works of science (for example, astronomy/astrology and specific applications of medicine and mechanics) and belles-lettres (such as wisdom literature, mirrors for princes, and the *Maqamat* of al-Hariri). The earliest dated illustrated codex is al-Sufi's *Book on the Fixed Stars* (1009), which contains line drawings of the constellations. Like other manuscripts of its general type, the images draw from pre-Islamic artistic tradition or contemporary non-Muslim societies (for example, Byzantium) and recast them by subtle adaptations. Prototypes were also selected for paintings that served nonillustrative functions, including the author portraits used as visual frontispieces in copies of Dioscurides's *De Materia Media* of the early 1200s. A number of functions are evident in manuscript paintings between ca. 1000 and 1300. Some paintings were designed to clarify points in the text and thus served a didactic illustrative function. Others went beyond this role to develop visual subjects not strictly required by the text (such as the genre scenes in the Pseudo-Galen *Book of Antidotes*, early 1200s, that show figures working in fields and pharmacists preparing remedies). Others, like the frontispieces to the *De Materia Medica*, visually expressed such cultural practices as the method of learning or the transmission of knowledge and the foundation of its authority.



The Secret Rose Garden, by Mahmud Shabistari (mystic author, thirteenth century CE). Persian miniature. Inv. 994/1586. Photo: Ruth Schacht. Oriental Division. Credit: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Berlin, Germany.

Paintings in these Arabic manuscripts are characterized by direct compositions that arrange starkly silhouetted figures against unpainted paper on a single ground line tufted with plants and flowers. The dramatic contrast between painted compositional elements (and their general shape) and the unpainted paper in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century copies of al-Hariri's *Maqamat (Assemblies)* inspired formal comparisons to the shadow puppetry of the medieval Islamic period. Other paintings arrange figures in schematic depictions of architecture. In both compositional types the image appears as a visual interruption to the text, directly inserted into it.

This painting idiom held sway in the Central Islamic lands only until the late 1200s but continued in Syria and Egypt. Little is known about manuscript painting on the medieval Iberian Peninsula, because books are rare. After 1200, in the aftermath of the Seljuks, painting took on a more prominent role in books.

The permanent presence of the Mongols in Iran after 1258 resulted in numerous changes in painting. The pictorial idiom current in centers such as Baghdad and Maragha was steadily altered, presumably through artists' exposure to Chinese models. These changes are reflected in isolated adoptions of iconography (such as Buddhist types used to represent Gabriel in a copy of al-Biruni's *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, dated 1307); the handling of paint as a wash; and a calligraphic line to render landscape elements and drapery. Compositions of marked horizontal emphasis and the habit of cutting off figures at the frame (suggesting they continue beyond its edge), moreover, indicate a conceptual link to Chinese scroll painting. Geographically remote artistic traditions were absorbed into Mongol Ilkhanid painting, exemplified in the illustrated sections from the world history composed by Rashid al-Din (d. 1318). Experiments with composition and spatial representation, and the development of painting that covered the paper, culminated with the *Great Mongol Book of Kings* (before 1336) and the *Shahnama* composed by Firdawsi (ca. 1010). In addition to these new formal developments, painting under the Ilkhanids occurred in a milieu that witnessed a broad shift toward the Persian language and an understanding that programs of paintings in books could enhance the ideological message of its text. It was also a time when painting joined the canon of artistic forms sponsored by imperial patronage. The importance of painting as a courtly art is attested to by the multiplication of centers after 1350 where painting flourished, though painting continued to be practiced in noncourtly settings.

The next critical development took place in Baghdad under the Jalayirid dynasty. A manuscript composed of three *mathnawi*s, by Khwaju Kirmani in 1396, contains a small number of highly developed compositions that have grown to fill the vertically oriented page format, closely keyed to the relevant text, and which are executed in an exacting technique at a small scale. One painting carries the signature of Junayd amid the architectural decoration; although not the first artist's signature, its prominence signals the artist's growing status. All of these features of the Khwaju Kirmani manuscript constitute a watershed in the practice of painting and were embraced by the Timurids. They became ardent patrons of painting and further perfected earlier traditions.

By the early 1400s, paintings illustrated books of diverse subject matters—history, science, and poetry (epic, lyrical, and romantic)—in Iran and Central Asia. Pictorial idioms were codified for each literary genre, where textual genres were also reflected through differing rates of illustration. Timurid achievements in the art of painting—principally in Herat and Shiraz—manifest in sheer aesthetic power and high technical development were such that contemporary and later dynasties followed their example. One major development that took place in the late 1400s has been attributed to the artist Kamal al-Din Bihzad (d. 1535–1536). Working under Mir ʻAli Shir (d. 1501) and Sultan Husayn (d. 1506), paintings signed by or attributed to Bihzad evidence an increased naturalism in palette, diverse facial expression and gesture (which suggest direct observation), and complex compositions with multiple focal points of activity. Paintings of his design, and those of his contemporaries, came the closest to evoking an image of what the eye might see, though its specific pictorial variety was short lived.

Under the Safavids, successors to the Timurids, painting continued to constitute a principal artistic medium of the court, and it was sponsored through the royal workshops of such patrons as Shah Ismaʻil (d. 1524) and Shah Tahmasp (d. 1576): Members of the royal house also practiced painting and elevated some artists to the status of intimate. Safavid painting fused the idioms of the Timurids and the Turkmen dynasties of western Iran and Iraq to create a fresh aesthetic distinct from its sources. The same developments later took place in India under the Mughals. Eager to assert their Timurid ancestry, Mughal patrons sought out Timurid manuscripts, which they collected, as well as artists from Iran and Central Asia. In India, imported styles were fused with local Rajput Hindu traditions and later combined with European sources in the form of prints or paintings under Akbar (d. 1605).

Similar processes occurred in Ottoman painting, a tradition that responded equally to Persian and

European idioms. By the early 1500s, Ottoman painting had developed its unique character, one often described as "realistic" or "documentary" in conception and nature. It may well be that these visual aspects result from the principal texts favored by the Ottomans as much as by the particular resources to which artists were exposed or the artists' objectives. Unlike the contemporary Safavids, the Ottomans developed the illustrated history (to unprecedented levels) while they also composed shorter historical narratives describing campaigns, especially during the reigns of Suleyman (d. 1566) and Murad III (d. 1595).

Another unprecedented Ottoman development occurred in the subject matter of topographical painting, images representing cities encountered on various military campaigns. Such images drew from multiple pictorial sources, from works of cartography—both European and Islamic—to pilgrimage guidebooks and scrolls of the Islamic tradition.

DAVID J. ROXBURGH

See also Arabic; Ceramics; Cultural Exchange; Kalila wa Dimna; Ilkhanids; Libraries; Manuscripts; Maqama; Materia Medica; Mughals; Ottoman Turks; Paper Manufacture; Persian; Safavids; Seljuks; Shadow Plays; Shahnama; Timurids; Turkish and Turkic Languages

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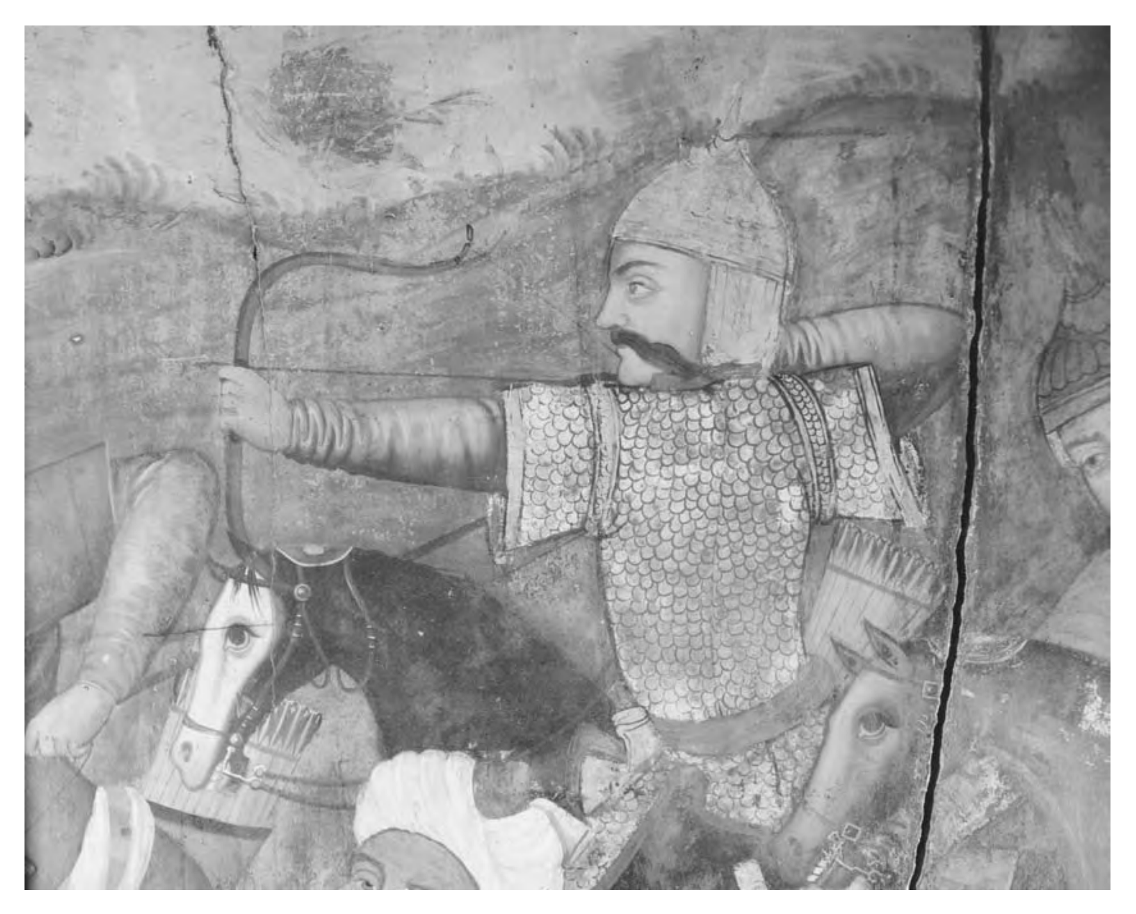
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PAINTING, MONUMENTAL AND FRESCOES

A major problem in assessing the role of monumental painting in Islamic art is the uneven distribution of the evidence. We have a number of frescoes surviving in whole or in part from the first two centuries of Islam, and again from the seventeenth century onward. However, for the intervening centuries we are largely dependent on fragmentary finds and literary evidence. There are also anomalies in the geographical distribution of the evidence, with most of the early paintings coming from Syria and Iraq, the later material concentrated in the eastern Islamic world, and the Maghrib poorly represented.



Detail of a Persian archer, from Shah Abbas I. (1587–1629) leading the Battle against the Ishbeks. Persian fresco from the Great Hall of the Pavilion of the Forty Columns. Credit: SEF/Art Resource, NY. Chihil Sutun (Pavilion of the Forty Columns), Isfahan, Iran.

At the time of the Muslim conquest of Mecca (630 CE), the interior of the Ka'ba was painted with images of Christ and Mary, Old Testament Prophets, trees, and angels. Remains of classically inspired wall paintings recovered from Qaryat al-Faw in Central Arabia also attest the presence of frescoes in a pre-Islamic Arabian secular milieu that may have informed the decoration of the Umayyad palaces in Syria (ca. 700–750 CE), many of which were provided with wall paintings. In some cases (for example, Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi and Rusafa) painted dadoes imitate the quarter-sawn marble panels used in Umayyad mosques. In others, more elaborate figural schemes were used. In Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi a pair of painted plaster floors were painted with a hunting scene of Sasanian inspiration juxtaposed with a remarkably Classical personification of Earth.

Such eclecticism reaches a crescendo in the interior of the small bathhouse at Qusayr 'Amra, where the walls, vaults, and domes are covered with a spectacular array of painted images whose iconography is poorly understood. These include a royal enthronement scene with Solomonic overtones, the six major kings of the earth, hunting scenes, images of the three ages of man, flying victories, scenes of everyday life (including musicians and carpenters), acrobatic scenes, and an enormous seminaked woman standing beside a pool. The painting of an extraordinary zodiacal dome on the interior of the caldarium dome continues a late antique tradition known from accounts of a bathhouse in Gaza.

Evidence from the ninth-century 'Abbasid palaces at Samarra in Iraq suggests a continuing eclecticism and the use of wall painting to emulate more costly modes of ornament. Frescoes in the Balkuwara Palace were gilded, perhaps in imitation of gold-ground mosaics. In the Jausaq al-Khaqani, scrolling acanthus designs were painted with white dots to imitate the mother-of-pearl discs used in glass mosaics, the scrolls of the acanthus peopled with human and animal figures like the inhabited scrolls of Classical pavements. The so-called Harem in the same palace was extensively decorated with figural paintings, including an enigmatic female figure wrestling a bull, and female

attendants. Continual repaintings make it difficult to date these images with any precision.

Fragmentary ninth- or tenth-century wall paintings recovered from Nishapur range from simple red and white geometrical dadoes to inhabited vegetal scrolls, to male and female figures with the severe fringes and dark scalloped curls found in the Samarran frescoes. The paintings included a falconer wearing a coat patterned with large rosettes, a sword, and a belt with lappets similar to those worn by Central Asians and Turks. The component units of a *muqarnas* vault bore flowering plants with eyes at their base. This anthropomorphism also characterized a series of dadoes painted with a bizarre ensemble of feathery wings, vegetation, or cornucopia sprouting hands and eyes, which may have had an apotropaic function.

A penchant for striking visual effects is suggested by textual accounts of illusionistic wall paintings executed in Fatimid Egypt (969–1171 CE), including a pair of dancing girls who, through a skillful use of color, were seen to merge into or emerge from the wall of a palace. A dancing girl is among the images painted in concave *muqarnas* elements recovered from a Fustat bathhouse, which also include a seated figure with a cup. The dancer is comparable to those found on Fatimid lustre ceramics and on the Capella Palatina ceiling (ca. 1142 CE) in Norman Palermo, which may have been decorated by Fatimid artists. The evidence from Nishapur and Fustat highlights the common practice of painting frescoes (sometimes of an erotic character) in medieval bathhouses. The fourteenth-century writer al-Ghuzuli explains that hunting, war, lovers, and gardens are the types of scenes appropriate to a bathhouse, possessing a therapeutic value capable of restoring the animal, spiritual, and natural aspects of man and overcoming the physical debilitation caused by the bath.

Further to the West, evidence for wall painting comes chiefly from the palace of the Alhambra in Granada, much of which was built by the Nasrid sultans (1232–1492 CE) in the course of the fourteenth century CE. The Torre de las Damas was painted with mounted hunting or military scenes, some in superimposed registers, that included a representation of a group seated within an open tent. In the Court of the Lions, three extraordinary concave wooden ceilings were covered with leather and gesso, on which images of the Nasrid sultans were painted, along with themes of courtly love and chivalry derived from contemporary French and Castilian paintings.

The continued development of wall painting in eastern Iran was facilitated by the rise of regional dynasties and courts from the tenth century onward, and descriptions of Ghaznavid architecture include mention of a palace at Balkh whose walls were decorated with scenes of Sultan Mahmud (r. 998–1030 CE) in battle and also feasting, staples of Islamic courtly art inherited from Sasanian tradition. Mahmud's son is said to have had a palace at Herat decorated with erotic paintings. Frescoes of forty-four life-size Turkish guards clad in rich robes were found in the South Palace at Lashkari Bazaar, confirming the existence of elaborate wall paintings at the Ghaznavid court.

Fragmentary wall paintings reportedly from Rayy depict registers of small-scale figural scenes less than twenty centimeters high, which raise interesting questions about the relationship between wall painting and other arts in Seljuk Iran (1040–1194 CE). In both their style (black outline with bold reds, greens, and blues) and the use of superimposed registers, these fragments recall contemporary Minai (enamel) ceramics, which may themselves imitate a lost tradition of late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Persian book illustration. In the neighboring Seljuk sultanate of Anatolia, wall paintings ranged from the utilitarian (painting faux masonry over heterogeneous construction materials) to the visual marking of buildings associated with the sultan with prominent red checkerboard and zigzag patterns. The remains of wall paintings depicting seated figures were found at the thirteenth-century Seljuk kiosk at Alara near Alanya.

Combinations of painted and tile decoration were used in monuments erected in the wake of the Mongol conquest such as the palace of Takht-i Sulayman (ca. 1280 CE) in Azerbayjan, and there are reports that the Ilkhanid sultan Abu Said (r. 1316–1335 CE) had a palace near Herat decorated with scenes of his military victories. The painted decoration of the Mausoleum of Uljaytu at Sultaniyya (1313 CE) suggests a relationship with contemporary manuscript illumination, which is also witnessed later in surviving Timurid wall paintings, such as the lapis and gold interior of the Gur-i Amir in Samarqand (1405 CE). Wall paintings represented in Ilkhanid, Jalayirid, and Timurid book painting are executed in a fine calligraphic blue and white style that is quite unlike that of the images in which they appear. Their style and preference for elements of chinoiserie betray the impact of Chinese blue and white ceramics. That they are reliable guides to contemporary wall painting is suggested by frescoes preserved in the Timurid tombs of the Shah-i Zinda complex in Samarqand (late fourteenth century CE), which depict naturalistic landscapes, trees, and ewers or vases containing flowers, executed in dark blue pigment on a white ground.

Literary references indicate the parallel existence of a tradition of Timurid historical wall painting. These include Ibn Arabshah's description of Timur's

(r. 1370–1405 CE) garden palaces at Samarqand, in which he was depicted engaged in hunting or specific military campaigns, receiving homage, and feasting and at leisure, so "that those who knew not his affairs, should see them as though present." Timurid cartoons preserved in later albums contain large-scale figures (some more than forty centimeters tall) pounced for transfer, perhaps to wall surfaces. Conversely, it has been suggested that some historical scenes in Timurid historical manuscripts, such as the *Zafarnama,* may have been modeled after lost wall paintings.

Evidence for wall painting in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ottoman architecture comes mainly from mosques such as the Muradiye at Edirne (1434 CE) and the tombs of Ottoman sultans in Bursa, decorated with trees, and vegetal motifs including vases of flowers. Although there are literary references to the Italian artist Gentile Bellini being commissioned to paint frescoes for Sultan Mehmet II (r. 1444–1481 CE) in the Topkapi Palace in Istanbul, no such paintings survive and most extant Ottoman frescoes date from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Further East, in the Delhi sultanate, a prohibition on figural art imposed by the Tughluqid sultan Firuz Shah (1351–1388 CE) offers incidental evidence for the decoration of palace walls and doors with figural paintings, which were considered especially appropriate to royal places of rest. Textual evidence for wall painting is more plentiful in the Mughal period (1526–1858 CE), especially during the reigns of Akbar (1556–1605) and Jahangir (1605–1627), whose interest in world religions explains a penchant for Christological imagery, which appeared alongside hunting, battle, and garden scenes in the palace at Fatehpur Sikri (1579 CE). Miniature paintings of this period show wall paintings inspired by European prints and Christian imagery decorating the Mughal throne. Remains of paintings executed during the reign of Jahangir were found in the tower of Lahore fort, where a vault was painted with scenes of European inspiration, including angels, birds, and stars. The vault has been interpreted as a Solomonic baldachin, a reminder of the role that monumental painting could play in creating a suitable ambience for the projection of royal authority.

In Turkey, Iran, and India, wall paintings were commonly employed in funerary monuments. The earliest intact funerary frescoes are those in a polygonal tomb-tower at Kharragan in northwestern Iran (1067–1068 CE), depicting peacocks, trees, and hanging lamps. Among the most spectacular Indian examples is the tomb of the Bahmanid ruler Ahmad Shah, which was built near Bidar in the Deccan in 1436 CE, and offers important evidence for pre-Mughal Indian wall painting. The interior surfaces are covered with vibrant paintings of inscriptions, medallions, and cartouches filled with geometrical and vegetal ornament, in which red predominates, with blue, yellow, and white used as subsidiary colors. The paintings derive inspiration from tile dadoes, Indian stone carving, textiles, and even Ottoman carpets, a reminder of the role of textiles in transmitting architectural designs. They are broadly comparable to paintings found in Rasulid and Tahirid mosques and madrasas in the Yemen, a region that has preserved particularly fine examples of medieval painted ceilings. Among these are the Jami‘ al-Muzaffar (before 1295 CE) and the Madrasa al-Mutabiyya‘ (1392 CE) in Taizz. In the paintings of the ‘Amiriya Madrasa at Rada‘ (1504 CE) red predominates as in the Deccani tomb.

A number of extant wall paintings in Isfahan and elsewhere indicate the importance of the medium in the architecture of the Safavids (1501–1765 CE). The ‘Ali Qapu Palace in Isfahan was originally provided with paintings of tall willowy youths in the style of the famous painter Riza-yi ‘Abbasi (d. 1635 CE). The vague eroticism of such paintings is mirrored in the contemporary vogue for epic love stories such as *Yusuf and Zulakha*, or *Farhad and Shrin*, which were included in the carved and painted decoration of a Safavid palace at Nai‘in (ca. 1560 CE).

The ancient themes of *bazm va razm* (feasting and fighting) known from reports of Ghaznavid, Timurid, and Turkmen frescoes were also popular at the Safavid court. Examples include the paintings of the Qaysariyya (1620 CE), the entrance to the bazaar in the maidan of Isfahan where Shah ‘Abbas I (1587–1629 CE) is depicted battling his Uzbek enemies. Four large paintings (ca. 1660s) in the interior of the Chihil Sutun depict historical scenes involving Safavid engagement with their neighbors, including the Mughals and Uzbeks.

Some of the Safavid wall paintings are said to have been commissioned from European artists, and Europeans (primarily the Dutch and English) feature frequently in wall paintings of the period. They are often associated with small dogs (such as those on the exterior of the Chihil Sutun), a theme also found in single-page paintings of the period. The popularity of such subjects reflects the increasing importance of European powers in the Middle East and India, where contemporary images of Europeans were also painted on the walls of Mughal palaces.

Finbarr Barry Flood

See also Baths and Bathing; Ceramics; Mosaics; Painting, Miniature

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PALERMO

See Sicily

PALESTINE

The Roman province of Palestine (Palaestina) was created following the suppression of the Bar Kokhba Jewish rebellion of 132–135 CE. It replaced the province of Judea (Iudaea) that existed since 63 BCE, following the conquest of Pompey. Around 400 CE, the province of Palestine was subdivided into three provinces: Palaestina Prima, Secunda, and Tertia. According to Irfan Shahid, the Muslim administrative division of Syria into four provinces (*ajnad*, sing. *jund*) was inspired by the Byzantine theme system that Heraclius created between 628 and 636 CE. The Muslim *ajnad* system included four provinces known as Jund Filastin, Urdunn, Dimashq, and Hims. Jund Filastin consisted of Palaestina Prima, while Palaestina Secunda became Jund Urdunn. Jund Filastin included within its borders the coastal towns of Casearea (Qaysariyya) in the North and Rafah in the South and internal territories, including Jerusalem.

The impact of the Arab–Muslim conquest of the Middle East was manifold, but two issues—Arabization and Islamization—stand out. The main question is: Was Islamization driven by the sedentarization of Arab–Muslim tribes from Arabia in the Middle East, or by mass conversion of the local populations? The evidence for Palestine, irrespective of the Arab–Muslim administrative division of the area, is that Arabization preceded Islamization, and the Christian and Jewish populations adopted Arabic while resisting Islamization. However, in some places the two processes went hand in hand. During the eight and ninth centuries, the town of Ayla (modern-day 'Aqaba) became renowned for its scholarship and families of scholars engaged in the transmission of traditions. Local circumstances must always be taken into account. In Samaria (administratively divided between the *ajnad* of Urdunn and Filastin), for example, mass conversion driven by economic hardship and persecutions took place from the ninth century onward. However, the conversion of the Samaritan population reflected local conditions and says little about other populations. The Muslim conquest of Palestine also had repercussions on the agriculture of the region, with cotton replacing flax as the main cash crop. The spread of cotton facilitated the development of the papermaking industry in Syria and Palestine.

Ramla, the capital of Jund Filastin, was founded by the Umayyad caliph Sulayman ibn 'Abd al-Malik in 715. The caliph is credited with the construction of a palace, a mosque, an extensive water supply and storage system, and the House of the Dyers. The town proved to be a successful urban creation important enough to attract the attention of the caliph Harun al-Rashid, who built there a large underground water reservoir. Two pious endowments (*awqaf*, sing. *waqf*) set up in AH 300/912–913 CE and 301/913–914 revealed the town's prosperity. The first pious endowment was established by the Egyptian administrator Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-Madhara'i and consisted of water installations for the benefit of the public. The second *waqf* was set up by Fa'iq, a Saqlabi eunuch who was freed of the caliph al-Mu'tamid (870–982). Although the exact nature of this foundation remains elusive, the endowed property consisted of an urban commercial building *(funduq)*, which functioned as a place of commerce and an inn.

Several Fatimid officials resided in Ramla during the Fatimid period (early eleventh century), including the governor, who is referred to as *wali*, meaning apparently the governor of Jund Filastin. The governor, through his military slave *(ghulam)*, controlled the police force and kept contact with Cairo through the postal service, or the *barid*. The town was also the seat of the secret policy *(ashab al-akhbar)* and the local Fatimid propagandist *(da'i)*. Two other officials whose presence is attested to in the town were the fiscal administrator *('amil)* and auditor *(zimmam)*, both of whom were nominated by the government in Cairo. The social composition of the population of Ramla remains enigmatic, but there was a local Muslim elite made up of notables, judges, and court witnesses.

Much of our information about Ramla, Jund Filastin, and the other *ajnad* is derived from the chronicle of Musabbihi (977–1029) and concerns the governorship of Anushtakin al-Dizbiri and the Bedouin rebellion of 1024–1029. In Muharram 414/ March–April 1023, Anushtakin was appointed as the governor of Jund Filastin, bearing the title of a military governor *(mutawalli harb Filastin)*. The beginnings of his governorship were peaceful and, in April 1024, a large caravan of Khurasani pilgrims from Mecca traveled through Ayla via Ramla and Damascus to Baghdad. The Fatimid regime was quick to take advantage of the need of the Khurasani pilgrims to use the Fatimid territories, due to unsafe roads between Mecca and Baghdad, for propagandistic purposes. The military governors *(wula al-harb)* were ordered to assist the pilgrims. Khurasan was a staunch Sunni region, and Musabbihi testifies that the Fatimids hoped to demonstrate that the hostile propaganda that depicted them as heretics was unfounded. The pilgrims visited Jerusalem, and the regime in Cairo hoped that they would be impressed by the prosperity of the region under Fatimid rule. However, the situation in Jund Filastin quickly changed for the worst. In September 1024, hostilities erupted between Anushtakin and Hassa ibn al-Jarrah, the leader of the Banu Tayy Bedouins, who was authorized to collect taxes (under the terms of an *iqta'* grant) from Bayt Jubrin, in the South of Jund Filastin. This round of hostilities ended with the looting of Tiberias (Tabariyya), the capital of Jund Urdunn, and the occupation of Ramla. The Bedouin conquest of Ramal was a bleak chapter in the history of the town. Hassan executed the soldiers of the Fatimid garrison in the town and confiscated the property and money of several well-to-do people. The town was looted and women and children enslaved. Eventually, after taking vast plunder, Hassan set fire to Ramla. The soap industry suffered ruin, and large quantities of olive oil and soap were destroyed. In spite of the destruction inflicted on Ramla, Hassan tried to win formal concession from the Fatimids, asking for Nablus and Jerusalem to be recognized as his *iqta'*. Nablus was practically Hassan's stronghold and was officially added to his territories, but the Fatimids refused to cede Jerusalem. Eventually, Anushtakin, with the cooperation of the governors of Tiberias and Jerusalem, was able to defeat Hassan and by the end of 1025, the high tide of the Bedouin uprising was over. However, in 1029, Anushtakin fought and defeated the Bedouin coalition that challenged the Fatimid rule in Palestine and Syria.

The impact of the Bedouin rebellion on Palestine (or more precisely the *ajnad* of Filastin and Urdunn) and Bilad al-Shamm (meaning Damascus and Aleppo) was short-lived. In 1047, the Persian traveler Nasiri Khusrau visited these regions and, on the whole, his impression was very favorable. The towns of the Eastern Mediterranean (that is, those of the Syria–Palestine littoral) prospered under the Fatimid rule. By the mid-eleventh century the Mediterranean trade of the Fatimid state was in its full swing, and Nasiri Khusrau's description of Tripoli, Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, and Acre mirrors this booming commerce. As a person coming from the inland territories of the Muslim world he was much impressed by port facilities *(mina)* that, for his Persian readers, he describes as "a stable for ships." In Tripoli, anchored ships from Byzantium, Sicily, Maghreb, Muslim Spain, and Europe, and the ten percent tax collected from them, financed the Fatimid garrison in the town. The chain in the entry of the port of Acre ('Akka) attracted Nasiri Khusrau's attention, but he is vague about Acre's commerce. The port of Acre had been built during the rule of Ahmad ibn Tulun (868–884), the semi-independent ruler of Egypt, but only during the Fatimid period did the Mediterranean trade make its full impact on the coastal towns Syria and Palestine. It also had significant internal consequences and facilitated the emergence of local commercial elites. Nasiri Khusrau, for example, refers to the Sunni cadi of Tyre Ibn Abi 'Aqil as a rich and influential person. During the second half of the eleventh century and the first decades of the twelfth century, Banu 'Aqil emerged as the local ruler of Tyre and navigated skillfully between the Fatimids, Seljuks, and Franks. Then, in 1124, the town was conquered by the Crusaders.

Nasiri Khusrau's description indicates that the eleventh-century Mediterranean trade had greater significance for the coastal towns of Syria (modern Lebanon) than for those of Urdunn and Filastin. With the exception of Jerusalem, Nasiri Khusrau has little to say about the inland towns of these two *ajnad*. The Jasmine Mosque of Tiberias is fully

described, but he has nothing to say about the town itself. Ramla is described as a fortified town with an elaborate system of rainwater collection and storage. An inscription commemorated the 425/1033 earthquake that destroyed many buildings but spared the people. If the soap industry of Ramla recovered from the 1025 destruction remains unknown, but the cultivation of olives continued to prosper and the agriculture of the region abundantly supplied the two stable foods of its population: bread and olives. In 1068, Ramla was hit by an especially destructive earthquake, which destroyed the town and killed fifteen thousand people.

Nasiri Khusrau estimated the population of Jerusalem at twenty thousand and referred to its endowed hospital, which is not alluded to by other sources. He fully describes the holy places of Jerusalem and Hebron, including measurements, and he also provides a detailed description of the Hebron soup kitchen. This charitable institution was financed by an extensive pious endowment and offered meals to the pilgrims. Little escaped Nasiri Khusrau's attention: The international dimension of the holy places of Jerusalem is also noted. He mentions the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre by al-Hakim (1008) and the restoration of the place, following Byzantine diplomatic efforts. Another testimony about the life in Jerusalem and Palestine is supplied by the Andalusi scholar Ibn al-'Arabi, who stayed in Jerusalem between 1092 and 1095. He describes Jerusalem and its Muslim intellectual life, as well as his encounters with scholars in Ascalon and Acre. However, the patterns of life in Syria and Palestine, as described by Nasiri Khusrau and Ibn al-'Arabi, were completely shattered by the Seljukid invasion of the region and the Fatimid attempts of reconquest (1060–1090) and the wars of the Crusades.

YAACOV LEV

See also Syria; Greater Syria

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PAPER MANUFACTURE

Paper was unknown before the coming of Islam in the 600s CE to Southwest Asia and North Africa, where papyrus and parchment were used for writing documents and books. Muslims learned the technique of papermaking in the eighth century after they conquered Transoxiana, where Buddhist missionaries and merchants along the Silk Road had introduced paper from China. The Chinese had invented paper in the second or first century BCE; it was made from cellulose fibers suspended in water and then collected on a screen and dried. Chinese paper was normally made from bast fibers extracted from such semitropical plants as bamboo and paper mulberry, whereas new sources of cellulose were needed in arid Central Asia. Therefore papermakers there, as well as in the Muslim lands, used such fibers as flax and hemp, as well as waste fibers from rags and old ropes.

Paper mills were established in Baghdad soon after its founding in 762 CE, for the 'Abbasid bureaucracy centered there had an insatiable demand for materials on which to write innumerable documents and records. By the middle of the ninth century the ready availability of relatively inexpensive paper had

sparked a cultural revolution throughout 'Abbasid society, as writers on every subject—from theology to cookery—committed their thoughts to paper and began thinking about things in ways they had not done before. Nevertheless, manuscripts of the Koran were copied on parchment codices until the end of the tenth century. Baghdad remained an important center of paper manufacture until the fourteenth century, and the finest papers continued to be manufactured in Iran and India (where it had been introduced in the fourteenth century) into the 1600s.

By ca. 800, paper was available in Damascus, and Syria quickly became known for its quality product. Although papyrus was used in Egypt into the tenth century, it was steadily replaced by paper, either imported from Syria or manufactured locally, and by the end of the century the papyrus industry was dead. Although parchment remained popular for longer than elsewhere in North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula, paper was already used in al-Andalus in the tenth century, and several hundred paper mills are reported in twelfth-century Fez. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Andalusi papermakers were responsible for the transfer of the technology to regions under Christian rule, whence it eventually spread to other regions of Europe. The Byzantines used but did not manufacture it, although Istanbul became a center of paper manufacture after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453. Early Italian papermakers seem to have also learned their craft in Syria or Egypt, and by the fifteenth century, Europeans were selling cheap but low-quality papers in Southwest Asian and North African markets, initiating the decline and eventual demise of the local paper industry.

JONATHAN M. BLOOM

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PARTY KINGDOMS, IBERIAN PENINSULA

The Party Kingdoms, or *Taifa* Kingdoms, emerged out of the anarchy that followed the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate of Córdoba in 1009 CE and the ensuing period of civil war *(fitna)* that lasted until 1031. The Arabic term *muluk al-tawa'if* (factional kings) was applied to the rulers of these petty states, because their existence defied the Islamic ideal of political unity under the authority of a single caliph. The era of the Party Kingdoms, which lasted until 1110 CE, was one of great cultural florescence in al-Andalus, particularly among Muslims and Jews. It was also the period in which native Iberian Muslims lost control of their political destiny; from this time forward they would dominated by Iberian Christian and North African Muslim powers.

The Umayyad caliphate had been run, in fact, if not in name, by the 'Amirid dynasty of "chamberlains" *(hajib)* since Muhammad ibn Abi 'Amir al-Mansur (976–1002) seized power during the reign of Hisham II (976–1009/1010–1113). On his death, al-Mansur was succeeded by two sons, 'Abd al-Malik (r. 1002–1008), and 'Abd al-Rahman (or "Sanjul"), who took power in 1008. Unable to maintain the delicate and volatile balance of factions within the government and Andalusi society, or to counter popular resentment of the growing prestige of Berber groups who had been invited to al-Andalus as part of caliphal military policy, Sanjul provoked the outrage of the Umayyad aristocracy, the religious elite *('ulama')*, and the populace by pressuring the aging and childless Hisham to name him as successor in 1008. Sanjul was deposed by elements of the military, and the people of Córdoba rampaged against local Berbers. As civil war erupted in the capital, power was seized in the various provincial cities by local governors, members of the palace slave *(saqaliba)* contingent, the *'ulama'*, and Berber clans, which had come to dominate the army. The variety of political leadership reflected the divisions that had emerged in Andalusi politics and society since the time of 'Abd al-Rahman III (r. 912–961). Until the death of Hisham III in 1031, each of the rulers maintained a patina of legitimacy by styling himself as the *hajib* ruling in the name of the Umayyad caliph, while struggling against neighboring Party Kingdoms both for survival and a greater share of Andalusi territory.

By the 1040s, most of the smaller states had been swallowed up, leaving several major players, which included: Badajoz, ruled by the Aftasids, an Andalusi dynasty; Toledo, ruled by the Dhi'l-Nun, of Berber origin; Zaragoza, ruled by the Banu Hud, of Arab origin; Seville, ruled by the Andalusi 'Abbasids; Granada, ruled by the Berber Zirid clan; Valencia, ruled by 'Amirids; and Almería, ruled by a succession of factions. By this point the slave regimes were no more; lacking a broader constituency they fell victim to Andalusi and Berber cliques who had a wider popular base or a more cohesive military core. Among the great rivalries that emerged were those of Seville and Granada (which also faced the hostility of Almería), and Toledo and Zaragoza. Zaragoza was further plagued by internal divisions thanks to the

custom of Hudid rulers of dividing their patrimony among their heirs.

These rivalries were capitalized on by the Christian kingdoms of the peninsula, particularly Castile and León, which were united under the strong leadership of Fernando I of Castile (r. 1035–1065) and his successor Alfonso VI (r. 1065–1109). Fernando, who exploited Andalusi weakness by pushing far south of the Duero and taking Coímbra in 1064, initiated a policy in which military pressure was used to convert the Party Kingdoms into tributary states. As a consequence, Badajoz, Seville, Toledo, Zaragoza, and Granada were forced to pay large indemnities *(parias)* of gold and silver in exchange for military support and protection from attack. Other Christian principalities, notably Aragon and Barcelona, quickly imitated this. As a result, Christian powers became increasingly embroiled in Andalusi affairs, supporting their *taifa* clients against rival kingdoms and using them in their own internecine struggles. Hence, Castile-supported Toledo fought Aragon-supported Zaragoza, and Zaragoza faced a rebellious Lérida aided by Barcelona. It was in this context that the famous Rodrigo Diaz del Vivar, "El Cid," an exile from Castile, found himself commanding the military forces of Zaragoza against the troops of Aragon and Barcelona. Indeed, "El Cid" had earned his moniker from Sevillan troops in 1064 after he led them to victory against the forces of *taifa* Granada, when they referred to him gratefully as "my lord" *(sidi)*. Such interventions were symptomatic of a general dependence of the *taifa* kingdoms on Christian military strength, which further undermined their autonomy.

The *taifa* kingdoms were able to support the *paria* regime because of the fact that their economic infrastructure had remained largely undamaged by the unrest of the *fitna*. These were economies based on intensive agriculture and market gardening, manufacture and craft and, particularly in the case of the Mediterranean coast, trade. The trans-Saharan gold trade that had fueled the incredible prosperity of the caliphate also continued, providing the *taifa* kings with the funds they needed to meet their tributary obligations. The vibrant Andalusi economy also sustained a cultural renaissance, encouraged by the new political plurality in which rival courts vied as patrons of Arabic letters, science, and theology; the great poet Ibn Hazm (b. Córdoba, 993) is the best-known figure of this age. Jewish culture and letters, including both Arabic- and Hebrew-language literature, also throve, producing remarkable figures such as the poet Isma'il ibn Naghrilla (b. Córdoba, 991), who exercised power as effective head of state of the *taifa* of Granada from 1027 to 1056. This cultural diversity reflected the ethnoreligious composition of the kingdoms, most of which had significant Jewish and Mozarab Christian minorities, members of which not infrequently enjoyed great prestige and wielded considerable political power. For example, Isma'il ibn Naghrilla, *wazir* and military commander of Granada, was succeeded by his son Yusuf. Sisnando Davídez, a Mozarab who later served as Alfonso VI's envoy, had been an administrator in Muslim Badajoz, and a number of *dhimmis* (non-Muslim subjects) served in the government of Zaragoza.

For the most part this diversity was tolerated by the Muslim majority, including the *'ulama',* although some of the latter were outraged by the prospect that *dhimmis* should hold formal office under a Muslim regime. Their ire, however, came to be directed increasingly at the *taifa* kings themselves, many of whom were Berbers who shared no ethnocultural affiliation with the Andalusi population and who ruled as a foreign military elite. Popular dissatisfaction was aggravated by the increasing burden of taxation, which the *'ulama'* (who tended to come from the commercial class) and the common people were expected to bear as a result of the *paria* system. The *taifa* kings' imposition of uncanonical taxes and their submission as tributaries to Christian powers served as an ideological rallying point for popular revolt. The situation of the *'ulama'* was further exacerbated by the disruption of long-distance trade networks, thanks to incursions of the Normans in the Mediterranean and the Banu Hilal in Tunisia, and by the growing unrest in the Andalusi countryside, where the inter-*taifa* warfare and banditry led to general disorder. In 1085, the populace of Toledo led by the religious elite ejected the *taifa* king al-Qadir from the city. Turning to his patron, Alfonso VI, al-Qadir agreed that if reinstated he would hand the city over to the Castilian king, on the promise of later being installed as king in Valencia. Thus, in that same year, after negotiating a treaty with the local *'ulama'*, Alfonso entered Toledo as king.

This event made evident the corruption and debility of the *taifa* kings, who were derided in learned and pious Andalusi circles as decadent and effete. A well-known contemporary satirical verse mocked them: "They give themselves grandiose names like 'The Powerful,' and 'The Invincible,' but these are empty titles; they are like little pussycats who, puffing themselves up, imagine they can roar like lions." It also demonstrated to the *taifa* kings that Alfonso's aim was conquest; indeed, following up his seizure of Toledo, Alfonso laid siege to the other powerful northern *taifa*, Zaragoza (as a means of blocking the expansion on his Christian rival, the Kingdom of Aragón). By now both the *'ulama'* and the *taifa* rulers

agreed outside help was desperately required. The only group to which they could turn was the Almoravids, a dynamic Berber faction that had coalesced on the southern reaches of the African gold routes and had managed to impose their political will on the region of Morocco, having taken Marrakech in 1061 and Fez in 1069. Self-styled champions of a Sunni Islam revival (which resonated with that of the Seljuks in the East), they saw their mission not only as halting the Christian advance in al-Andalus but also of deposing the illegitimate *taifa* rulers.

In 1086, the Almoravid Yusuf ibn Tashfin led a sizeable army to al-Andalus at the invitation of al-Mu'tamid of Seville. With the half-hearted help of the Andalusi troops the Almoravid faced Alfonso VI and his loyal Muslim clients in battle at Zallaqa (or Sagrajas) and issued them a major defeat. He did not follow this up, returning instead to Morocco. For the next two years the *taifa* kings were confident enough to defy Alfonso VI, but when he began to attack them again, they were forced to call on the Almoravids for help once more. Ibn Tashfin waited until 1089 when, having obtained juridical opinions from the *'ulama'* of the East authorizing him to take power in al-Andalus, he returned and set about deposing the remaining *taifa* rulers one by one. By 1094, virtually all of the kingdoms had fallen, their rulers having been either killed or shipped off as prisoners to Almoravid Morocco.

Valencia did not fall until 1002. By 1087, "El Cid," against the opposition of Zaragoza and the various Christian kings, had determined to take the city for himself and was provided with a pretext when an *'ulama'*-led uprising deposed and executed al-Qadir in 1092. Rodrigo besieged the city, which, forsaken by the Almoravids, surrendered in 1093. Having negotiated a treaty with the Muslim population, Rodrigo ruled the city and surrounding territory until his death in 1099—a Christian *taifa* king. Three years later, unable to resist the growing pressure of the Almoravids, Rodrigo's wife and successor, Jimena, and her troops abandoned the city to its inhabitants, setting it ablaze as they left. The remaining Party Kingdom, Zaragoza, remained independent partly because the Almoravids were content to use it as a buffer state and partly because its rulers became so adept at playing off their Christian rivals against each other. As in the case of Toledo, however, the populace and the religious elite became increasingly frustrated by a leadership that was so deeply embroiled with the very Christian powers who seemed determined to defeat them. In 1110, a popular uprising banished the last Hudid king from power, and the city submitted to Almoravid rule. Zaragoza would ultimately fall to Alfonso I of Aragon in 1118, surrendering after a lengthy siege, after the surviving members of the Banu Hud struggled vainly with Alfonso VI's help to regain their patrimony.

The period of the Party Kingdoms marks a turning point in the history of medieval Iberia, when the balance of political and economic initiative shifted from the Muslim-dominated South to the Christian-dominated North. Whether as a consequence of a crisis of *'asabiyya* (group identity) on the part of the Andalusis, or as the result of larger political and economic trends, the destiny of the Muslims of Spain would henceforth be in the hands of foreigners. The politics of the *taifa* period, however, defy the notion that this process or the so-called Christian Reconquest that looms so largely in it was the result of an epic civilizational struggle between Islam and Christendom; the most striking aspect of *taifa* era al-Andalus was the relative absence of religious sectarianism and the profound enmeshment of Christian, Muslim, and Jewish individuals and political factions.

Brian A. Catlos

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PEACE AND PEACEMAKING

The relations between Islam and the non-Muslims are dealt with in several literary genres. The earliest arrangements are recorded in the biographies of the Prophet Muhammad *(al-sira al-nabawiyya)* and in chronicles that narrate the stories of the Islamic conquests *(futuhat)*. In these sources two terms attract the reader's attention: *aman* and *sulh*. In the jurisprudence manuals the international law of Islam is condensed in chapters dealing with holy war *(jihad)*. The points of departure of these legal traditions are several Qur'anic verses, sayings by the Prophet Muhammad *(hadith)*, and episodes from his *sira*. Two other terms that frequently occur are *hudna* and *fay*.

Muslim scholars adopted a dualistic vision of earth that seems to be associated with a dualistic division of mankind. Already the Qur'an contrasts the party of God *(hizb Allah)* with the party of Satan *(hizb al-shaytan),* and the opening chapter *(al-Fatiha)* of the

holy book contrasts those who follow the straight path and those who go astray.

With the codification of Islamic holy law *(shari'a)* Muslim jurists assumed a world vision that divided the earth into two realms: the Abode of Islam *(dar al-Islam)* and the land of the non-Muslim enemy (*dar al-harb*: lit., abode of war). Use of the term *dar al-Islam* is pervasive in the writings of Muslim jurists and theologians to delimit an idealistic entity. It is used to point to an abstract entity rather than to outline a political or administrative system.

Muslim jurists perceived the Abode of Islam as divided into three parts: the holy cities of Arabia *(haram)*, the northern part of the Arabian Peninsula *(Hijaz)*, and the rest of the Muslim territory. All agreed that non-Muslims are forbidden from entering the holy cities *(haram)* of Mecca and Medina. Others deduced from the deeds of 'Umar (r. 634–644) that the exclusion extends to the rest of Arabia, even though Jews were living in Yemen. However, they did not agree on the ultimate conditions for the residence of nonbelievers *(kafir, kuffar)* within the boundaries of the caliphate. Some Tabari, for example, maintained that the residence of the protected people *(ahl al-dhimma)* is dictated by necessity *(darura)*. As long as the Muslims rely on the participation of the people of the book *(ahl al-kitab)*, their stay is tolerated. Whenever the conditions change it is permissible to deport them.

The jurists delineated the relationships between *dar al-Islam* and *dar al-harb*, including the conditions for border crossing, either during a military expedition by armies of Islam *(jihad)* or by Muslims and non-Muslims for civil purposes such as commerce. They also outlined the conditions regulating the entry of non-Muslims into the Abode of Islam *(isti'man)*. The sources of their approach derived from pre-Islamic practices and the procedures that resulted from the reality at the frontiers of the caliphate.

According to the common vision prevailing among the Shafi'i jurists and theologians, the Abode of Islam is land governed by *shari'a*, where Muslims can openly and freely exercise their beliefs, practices, and communal deeds. Most salient are the public prayers on Fridays, the observance of Islamic festivals, the nomination of Muslim judges, and the collection of land tax *(kharaj)*. Consequently, the adherent of the Shafi'i school of law will not define a territory as an Islamic country unless it is ruled by a Muslim governor.

Hanafi jurists used a less restricting definition. They designated as an Islamic land any territory where a Muslim judge *(qadi)* could impose the *shari'a*, even if this land was under alien rule and a non-Muslim governor nominated the *qadi*. Yet even these jurists distinguished between *dar al-Islam* proper and Islamic enclaves within *dar al-harb*. According to them, a Muslim dwelling under a non-Muslim government should not be punished in accordance with *shari'a* regulations, because proper implementation of a *qadi*'s judgment requires authorization by a Muslim ruler.

War and peace being a common phenomenon in Arabia, the Constitution of Medina *('ahd al-umma)* includes clauses concerning hostilities and collaboration between the Believers and their enemies. This was in line with tribal practices. To shelter a person separated from his kin, pre-Islamic *(jahiliyya)* Arab tribes employed the *jiwar* institution: They integrated the refugee *(tarid; khali')* into a clan and provided him with new bonds and security. Tribes concluded agreements and constituted confederations *(khilf; 'ilaf)*.

The Prophet implemented these institutions in the new reality that emerged in Arabia. Several verses in the Qur'an address the issue of war and peace, and together with the Prophetic traditions *(hadith)* they served as a model for innovative institutions that emerged throughout the rising caliphate in order to cope with the extensive social and political changes that ensued.

With the elaboration of Islamic law, a new term was introduced to regulate the relationships between the powerful and the vulnerable. Islamic law distinguishes between two types of peace and reconciliation arrangements. The first addresses the relations among Muslims and is concerned with stopping conflict and violence among believers. The second category deals with halting hostilities between Muslims and non-Muslims.

Such arrangements are of two sorts: One, which is permanent, is with communities dwelling within the boundaries of *dar al-Islam*. On the basis of the divine orders, which were briefly mentioned earlier in this entry, jurists established the policy that the caliphate should execute regarding the non-Muslims: They should pay a head tax *(jizya)*. The chronicles of the Islamic conquest record the so-called peace arrangements *(sulh)* between the victorious Muslims and the populations of the conquered towns and cities that had surrendered without a fight. In these arrangements the Muslims promised to save the life of the conquered people and protect their property *(aman)* against the payment of taxes. The *aman/jizya* stipulations outlined one type of peace covenants. This payment by the People of the Book should guarantee them peace, as long as they stuck to the letter of the covenant of 'Umar and paid this yearly taxation.

The second type of arrangement was contracted with those residing outside the Abode of Islam. This

type of peace accord concerns inhabitants of *dar al-harb*; the accord with those who are beyond the reach of Islam is considered to be of a temporary nature.

The jurists regarded both types of settlements as a legal contract *('aqd)*. As such, the treaty had to be agreed in a legal session *(majlis)* and bear the signatures of witnesses. It should specify the minute details, including its duration and undertakings by the parties.

The creation of frontiers did not mean that the caliphate's relationship with the powers of the other side on the separation lines was hostile. Political and economic needs drove sultans and Muslim jurists to develop legal mechanisms for concluding a truce *(salm; 'ahd)* with the enemy.

Muslim jurists *(fuqaha')* used the term *thughur* for the frontier zone that separated *dar al-Islam* and *dar al-harb*. Control of territory, they maintained, was not a necessary precondition of territoriality. More important was the hegemony of Islam. This was their fundamental expression of identity; ownership of territories became secondary.

The regulations for fighting against *dar al-harb* are collected in the chapter about holy war *(bab al-jihad)*. In addition to regulations concerning such matters as payment, property, spoils of war *(ghanima)*, plunder *(khums)*, and booty *(fay)*, these chapters in the legal compendia deal with ideas about sovereignty, territory, borders, and just war. Such is the scope of these chapters they might well be considered as guidelines for Islamic international law.

Islam strictly condemns bloodshed and murder, yet the *fuqaha'* do not exclude the use of force as a coercive measure. Ibn Taymiyya (1263–1328) argues that just war or lawful war is a tool of coercion *(al-qital al-mashru' huwa al-jihad)* that should be waged against unbelievers and apostates. Being considered lawful violence, the *jihad* should not stop before reaching its goal; namely, conversion of the polytheists, the surrender of the monotheists, and the final victory of Islam. Other *fuqaha'* hold a less comprehensive view of *jihad*, viewing it as merely a defensive instrument to protect the territory of Islam.

Jihad by no means implies a permanent state of war. Muslim scholars *(ulama')* extended the noun *jihad* to cover questions concerning contracts with others. In the *jihad* chapters *shari'a* treatises outline pacts that the Muslim state has made with foreign states, because political and military needs required Muslim rulers to operate also outside the realm of Islam. Caliphs and sultans corresponded with Christian, Indian, and other rulers and dispatched and received ambassadors and delegations. These negotiations resulted in peace agreements.

The *fuqaha'* considered a provisional truce with these non-Muslim (mainly Christian) adversaries to be a reflection of Islamic weakness; the caliphate lacked the power to impose its terms and the enemy was strong enough to bargain the conditions. In contrast, the *aman/jizya* arrangements reflected the strength of the victorious Muslims: They had the authority to dictate conditions to the vanquished non-Muslim tributaries; the latter were weak and had to accept the terms dictated by the Muslims.

An early example of an arrangement between *dar al-Islam* and *dar al-Harb* is a letter sent by Egypt's governor (in AH 141/758 CE) to the ruler of Nubia encouraging him to act in accordance with the Qur'anic verse "Fulfil the compact *('ahd)* of God when you make a compact and do not break the oath *(ayman)*." The letter includes references to an agreement signed *(suliha)* between the parties and to duties (*baqt,* or pactum) that the ruler has undertaken.

A variety of this pact is the settlement between the caliphate and "the land of the covenant" *(dar al-'ahd)* adjacent to some frontier zone—that is, tributary states that submit *(taslim)* to the Muslims and conclude a truce *(yusalihu)* but are not included within the boundaries of the caliphate. The population of these districts would pay land tax *(kharaj)* but not poll tax *(jizya)*. They would not come under the jurisdiction of the imam (caliph), but they would remain governed by their indigenous rulers. They became treaty people and warfare against them was prohibited.

The truce with an enemy that is perceived as strong and powerful is called a *hudna*. Basically it is formulated as a contract that ensures the cessation of fighting between the parties during an agreed upon period, but its duration should not exceed ten years and ten months. The pact negotiated at Hudaybiyya (in 6/628) is a model of this type of assumed of contract. Here the Muslims signed a truce with the people of Mecca; the Qurayshites accepted the offer by the Prophet Muhammad to postpone *(wad')* fighting and to sign a peace accord *(salah)*.

Islamic states have concluded several *hudna* truces and signed trade and other bilateral agreements *(ta'ahhud; u'ahada)* with Christian governments and non-Muslim states. The clerks who drew up these treaties could lean on the Qur'anic verse: "Those of the polytheists with you the Muslims have a covenant." The jurists considered these pacts to be symbolic acts reflecting power relationships between the parties to the contract. In addition to its limited duration, a truce must be advantageous to the Muslims. Finally, the parties to the truce must accept the grandeur of Islam and acknowledge this in the written accord.

The *hudna* contract has to do with hegemony and income rather than with control and exclusivity. Just as the Muslims agreed to sign temporary truces, so they accepted the idea of condominium *(munasafa)*. This sort of arrangement between the Crusaders and the rulers of Syria is recorded throughout the years of the Latin presence in the East.

Documents from the Mamluk chancellery reveal the language and structure of treaties that the sultans concluded with the Crusaders and with Byzantium and other Mediterranean states. The sources shed light on the negotiations that led to the truce. The parties should assemble in contractual meeting. Although the truces were recorded in line with the Islamic tradition, the Arab clerks did not hesitate, in several provisions, to use friendly language. The *hudna* was an instrument used to regulate the arrangements between the Islamic state and non-Muslim territories *(dar al-harb)*.

In conjunct with the *hudna,* Muslim lawyers further developed the idea of safe conduct *(aman)*. The *musta'min* is a non-Muslim (mostly Christian) who enters the Abode of Islam for a brief fixed period to carry out precisely defined deeds. The Muslim authorities pledge to ensure the safety of the visitor that came from *dar al-harb* (predominantly from southern Europe). The *hudna* permitted foreign *(harbi)* merchants and ambassadors to obtain safe conduct while in Islamic territory. Abu Hanifa, for example, argued that if a non-Muslim *(ahl al-harb)* merchant crosses the border to trade within the Abode of Islam he has immunity, even if he transgresses the Islamic law *(hadd)* because he is not of the same status as the protected people *(kitabiyyun)* that are permanent residents of *dar al-Islam*. His student, Abu Yusuf, supports this position by asking: "Could you imagine that an ambassador would be punished for committing adultery?"

During the early Ottoman era the commercial treaties between Muslim rulers and Christian trading partners in the Mediterranean developed to the capitulations treaties *(imtiyaz)*.

Yehoshua Frenkel

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PEASANTS

Peasants in Muslim societies were called fallah in Arabic, ra'iyat in Persian, and reaya in Turkish. The fallahun (sing., fallah) in the Arab society were widely used, designating both landed farmers and tenants without land and seed. Particularly, the cultivators who made sharecropping (muzara') contracts with the government or landlords were called muzari'un. The fallahun, in the historical sources, were often called muzari'un and formed the majority of the villagers.

In the Arab–Muslim state formed in the seventh century, the government consented the former land holdings of the indigenous peasants who had to pay both land tax (kharaj) and poll tax (jizya). The 'ushr was levied on the Arab–Muslims who had acquired lands from the prior peasants, but in some cases the kharaj was also levied on them. Based on the Islamic principle of law, even the newly converted Muslims of the non-Arabs (mawali) could have enjoyed the same rights as the Arab Muslims. However, the mawali had to bear the discrimination of state policy in favor of the Arab Muslims, which eventually led to the fall of the Umayyad dynasty. During the following 'Abbasid period, the legal theory of fay' (conquered land belonging to the Muslim community) was established to

regulate that both Arab and non-Arab cultivators had to pay the kharaj as rent to the government, which held landownership. However, during this period there developed the privileged landownerships (qati'a and day'a) by merchants, high officials, and Turkish commanders. They enjoyed the right to pay 'ushr only, while the cultivators in qati'a or day'a had to pay their landowners high rent other than the amount for 'ushr.

When the Buyid dynasty was established in the middle of the tenth century, the iqta' system was implemented in Iraq, which expanded to Iran, Syria, and Egypt by around the middle of the twelfth century. Under the new regime, the situation of peasants in rural society has changed considerably. According to Miskawayh (d. 1030), tunna' (sing., tani) in Iraq, who owned the small amounts of land (day'a), had to either leave the village, endure injustice, or take the means of surrendering their landed property to the muqta' (iqta' holder) to escape ill treatment (Tajarib al-umam, II, 97). In Iran also, dihqans (village chiefs), who had converted to Islam promptly to retain their status in rural society, were ruined, leaving their landed property under the rule of muqta's. Consequently, dihqans in the Seljukid Iran came to designate not village chiefs, but only peasants or tenants. When Saladin (Salah al-Din) introduced the iqta' system into Egypt, the Egyptian peasants, who had paid the kharaj to the government and the rent to landowners, came to pay these levies collectively to their muqta's. B. Johansen explains that under the iqta' system the difference between tax and rent ceased to exist, and the Egyptian peasants were transformed into tenants of the *muqta*'s (Johansen 1988).

According to al-Nuwayri (d. 1333), the peasants called fallahun or muzari'un were, after irrigation by the annual flood of the Nile, customarily allocated land to be cultivated according to qabala contracts made not with the government but with their muqta' (Nihayat al-arab, VIII, 247–250). The muqta's employed their private agents (mubashir) to collect tax revenues, as well as lend seed to peasants for cultivation. After the establishment of the iqta' system, the muqta's became responsible for the maintenance of the irrigation system, using corvee (sukhra) levied on their peasants in iqta' every winter. Other than these levies the peasants under the iqta' system, when the muqata's visited their village, were obliged to provide them with tribute goods (diyafa) such as grains, fowl, goats, clover, dough, cakes, and other items. Through the conduct of the Nasiri cadastral surveys (al-Rawk al-Nasiri) in Egypt and Syria during the years 1313–1325, to the annual revenue of the iqta', which had hitherto been calculated on the basis of the kharaj, were added the diyafa and jawali (poll tax).

Al-Maqrizi relates that muqta's thus strengthened their rule over the peasantry through their iqta' holdings and brought about an important change in which the village-based peasants (fallah qarrar) came to be regarded as "serfs" ('abd qinn) subordinate to their muqta's (Khitat, I, 85). 'Abd qinn is legally a slave for life who cannot expect to be sold or emancipated. Egyptian peasants under the iqta' system, however, were not the slaves by law but were likened to 'abd qinn based on their actual situation. Such a situation of Egyptian peasants continued to be unchanged until the advent of the Ottoman rule at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Tsugitaka Sato

See also Buyids; Iqta'; Saladin

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PERFORMING ARTISTS

Jesting and mockery were forbidden in Islam, as in the case of Judaism and Christianity, yet during the long history of Arabic theater since the rise of Islam, it is possible to detect various types of performing artists. These artists were given different names and terms in different regions and centuries.

During the time of the Prophet Muhammad, there were male and female singers *(mughannun, maghani)*, musicians *(arbab al-malahi)*, dancers *(raqqasun)*, jokers and comedians *(mudhikun, muharrijun, masakhira)*, performers of hobbyhorse *(kurraj)* plays, slapstick actors *(safa'ina)*, and pantomimes and imitators of gestures, voices of people, and animals *(muhaki, hakiya)*.

During the 'Abbasid period influenced by Persian culture, performing arts flourished not only in caliphs' courts but also among common people. Caliphs and

grandees looked for boon companions *(nudama')*, male and female singers, dancers, musicians, jesters, and buffoons who would entertain them with songs, jocks, anecdotes, verses, and stories of admonition. Masked actors *(samaja),* live actors, jokers, storytellers *(hakawati)*, and ram-holders were given wages in the royal and grandees' courts. They were given different collective terms, mainly *mukhannathun* (lit. effeminate men, that is, entertainers or actors), *la'ibun, la''abun* (entertainer, musician, and actor), and *khayali* or *mukhayil* (live actor or performer of shadow plays). From the thirteenth century CE onward, the terms *muhabbaz* (itinerant or strolling actor), *musakhir* (masquerade, formerly *samaja*), *muharrij* (buffoon), and Ibn Rabiya, were coined. In the Eastern parts of the Arabic-speaking world, these new terms replaced the former terms given for performing artists.

In the *hadith* there are traditions relating that the Prophet Muhammad allowed his young wife 'A'isha to play with her dolls, and later on allowed her to watch with him the plays of the Abyssinians with spears and shields. It is also told that 'A'isha was entertained by a woman comedian who would perform pantomime dances to entertain her. In the Prophet's camp, hobbyhorse players performed games and plays. In Madina such players were considered effeminate men *(mukhannthun)* who dyed their feet and palms red with *hinna* and dressed and toyed like women. Al-Hakam b. Abi 'l-'As was called *al-haki* (imitator) because he used to imitate Muhammad's manner of walk.

During the Umayyad period, singers and buffoons used to play not only with hobbyhorses but also with animal skins and masks. Many 'Abbasid caliphs encouraged performing artists, especially comedians, musicians, singers, and even fart makers *(darratun)* to refresh, enliven, and comfort them in their hard times. Some comedians used to perform in hospitals *(maristan),* giving lunatics "psychological treatment" (Moreh 1992:70).

In the *Book of Songs (Kitab al-Aghani)*, a twenty-one-volume work by Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isfahani (d. 967), there is valuable information on poets, singers, and other types of performing artists. Al-Isfahani tells a story of a singer who recorded, during the reign of al-Amin (809–813), a satirical play mocking a haughty and arrogant judge called al-Khalanji and handed it to actors and dancers to perform. Consequently, the "judge" has to leave Baghdad out of disgrace (*Aghani*, XI, 338 f.).

The 'Abbasid and the Fatimid caliphs, mainly al-Mutawkkil (r. 847–862), celebrated the *Nawruz* with masquerading actors *(samaja).* A gallery was built for al-Mutawakkil to protect him from his enemies. Among his famous performing artists were four comedians. The first was the singer Husayn b. Sha'ra, who was also his jester. The second artist was the poet Abu 'l-'Ibar (d. ca. 865), who is called *mimase* (actor) in Syriac by Bar Hebreaus in his *Laughable Stories*. The third artist was his successor, the jester al-Kutanji, who authored many books on follies and fools. The fourth was al-Mutawakkil's boon-companion and comedian, 'Abbada 'l-Mukhannath. The latter used to ridicule 'Ali b. Abi Talib, who was hated by al-Mutawakkil. To please his patron, 'Abbada used to tie a pillow around his belly (under his clothes), take off his head-gear to expose his bald head, and dance in the presence of his patron while the singers sang: "The bald one with the paunch is coming, the caliph of the Muslims!" This performance was among the reasons which al-Muntasir, the son of al-Mutawakkil, regarded the killing of his father as lawful (Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, VII, p. 55f.).

The comedian, Abu al-Ibar, a descendant of the 'Abbasid dynasty, related about himself that when he was a boy he used to frequent professional master comedians to learn with other novice comedians the art of *hazl* (comedy). Their profession was based on dialogue of contraries and absurdity. They act by doing the opposite of what they were told to do, a kind of jest that was used also in shadow plays.

Ibn al-Haj, in his *Madkhal* (compiled in 1331), enumerates various types of entertainment during the Nile Festivals, such as the processions of Amir al-Nawruz, which were pre-Islamic festivals and celebrations by live actors *(mukhayilin)* that were considered *bida'* (heresy). These actors used to perform "The Play of the Judge" wearing his attire and uttering many rude remarks which they directed to the attire itself.

In Muslim Spain, the Umayyad terms for performing artists continued to be used, as it is possible to understand from Pedro de Alcala's *Vocabulista aravigo en lietra castillana* (Granada 1505). Umayyad theatrical terms such as *la''ab, la''ab al-khiyal, mumathil* (actors), and *mal'ab* (theater), where the props of the actors, such as sacks, gowns, trousers, head cloths, and veils, were hung on a rope. Hobbyhorses, plays by live actors, marionettes, and shadow plays were performed until the expulsion of Muslims and Jews from Spain in 1492.

In the late medieval Muslim civilization, performing artists were among the lowest stratum of Muslim society; they were classified with monkey holders, prostitutes, dancers, and acrobats. They performed indecent farces mainly in colloquial dialects to entertain common people. This was an oral popular art and rarely recorded due to the sanctity of the classical written Arabic in which the Qur'an was revealed. Performing art was a revolt against the serious

religious and sophisticated *adab* literature written in classical Arabic. It was an outlet for the depressed populace against oppressive rulers, exploiting religious and military officials, heavy taxes, corruption, and bribery. Humor was the best outlet against strict morals and customs, gender separations, and sexual suppression in despotic governments who ruled a depressed and deprived poor society that was exploited by a cruel ruling class whose main aim was collecting taxes and acquiring wealth. Modern education and close contact with European theater changed the status of the performing artists to a respectable artistic profession of high income.

Shmuel Moreh

See also Festivals and Celebrations; Humor; Music; Shadow Plays; Singing; Storytellers and Storytelling; Theater

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PERFUME

Perfumes (scent, Arabic *'itr*, pl. *'utur*) as a group constituted an important medieval commodity, used especially in personal hygiene, cuisine, and pharmacology.

The costliest perfumes originated in regions east of the Central Islamic lands; medieval authors identify China and the region around the Indian Ocean as sources of some of the most valuable perfumes—musk and ambergris, for example. Such perfumes had to be transported across great distances, whether on sea or on the land-based "silk routes" that connected China and India to Central Asia, Mesopotamia, the Mediterranean, and Europe, and were considered luxury goods associated with the highest levels of society. More common perfumes, like those derived from flower essences, might be produced locally, and thus be more readily obtainable and less costly.

Judging from references in texts (geographies and medical works, for example), in which the varieties and commercial values of fragrant substances were discussed, musk *(misk)*, ambergris *('anbar)*, and camphor *(kanfur)* were among the most valuable of the variety of perfumes available to medieval consumers. According to a saying attributed to Muhammad, musk was the best of the perfumes. Musk is a sweet-smelling gland secretion of the male musk deer *(Moschus moschiferus* L., *Cervidae)*. Along with ambergris, musk was most often associated with rulers and elites. Ambergris, a secretion found in the intestines of the sperm whale, was similar to musk in odor, burned easily and with a bright flame, and was valued similarly to musk. Camphor derived from the resin of East Asian and Indonesian trees *(Cinnamomum camphora* and *Dryobalanops aromatica)*. Marco Polo's observation that Indonesian camphor was worth its weight in gold suggests perfume's importance to medieval economies.

Literature produced for and about medieval Islamic courts reflects perfume's status as a gift fit for royalty. Likewise, a tenth-century handbook for 'Abbasid courtiers reflects the attention paid by court elites to the fragrances with which they perfumed their bodies, as well as their surroundings (through the use of incense). Some fragrances were preferred over others because of their association with specific genders and/or social classes. For example, the author of the handbook notes that the perfume made from the musk of civet cats (Arabic *zabad* or *ghaliya*) was generally associated with children and female slaves.

Perfumes also played important roles in medieval Islamic culinary culture: to cleanse cooking vessels before food preparation; as spices; or to scent or color finished dishes and drinks. Musk and other, less costly substances were used to cleanse the hands and mouth before and after eating, and to anoint guests at feasts.

Perfumes played a key role in medieval medicine, so much so that perfume or spice merchants *('attar)*

came to be synonymous with druggists and chemists. Pharmacological texts describe the effects of particular fragrances on the various parts of the body, and their efficacy in treating particular ailments. To give a few examples, ambergris and musk were believed to stimulate and strengthen the brain, the heart, and the senses, whereas camphor was used to treat the liver, oral inflammations, fevers, and headache.

GLAIRE D. ANDERSON

See also Cosmetics; Health and Hygiene; Medical Literature; Medicine, Diet and Dietetics; Personal Hygiene; Pharmacology; Rosewater

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PERSIAN

Persian belongs to the Southwest Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family. Sir William Jones, who wrote the first Persian grammar in a European language (1771), and who proposed the existence of this linguistic family, claimed it was his realization that Persian had lexical cognates in both Sanskrit and Greek, which first led him to his discovery. Medieval Persian is continuous with, and both morphologically and lexically very similar to, modern Persian: The two are known collectively as New Persian, to distinguish them from Old Persian (also called Avestan) and Middle Persian (Pahlavi).

The first texts in Old Persian are the cuneiform rock inscriptions of the Achaemenid emperors, which date from the late sixth and early fifth centuries BCE. Even though extant manuscripts of the Avesta date only to the thirteenth century CE, the most ancient parts of the Avesta (the hymns, or Gathas), indicate a more archaic stage of the language than these inscriptions and must therefore be dated to before this period (although there is considerable scholarly dispute as to just how long before). Archaeological and textual evidence indicates that Old Persian was current in an area roughly coterminous with modern Iran and much of Afghanistan, as well as in southern Central Asia, extending as far as the steppes of southern Russia and eastward to Sinkiang.

Middle Persian, or Pahlavi, a term that derives from "Parthava" meaning Parthian—the name of the dynasty that ruled Iran from the fall of the Seleucids (247 BCE) to the rise of the Sasanians (225 CE)—is mainly represented by Sasanian examples; these include rock inscriptions, inscriptions on coins, and secular and religious texts, including a considerable number of Manichean texts from Central Asia. The Middle Persian script derives from a Parthian script; the northeastern Parthian form of the language differed somewhat from the southern Sasanian form that replaced it. Documents in a related language, Sogdian, have also survived from the same period.

Up to the period of the Arab invasion of Iran in the mid-seventh century CE, Persian had developed within a virtually closed Indo-European linguistic environment, and shows no significant influence from languages outside this family. This situation changed radically with the Arab conquest of the country. As the language of its conquerors, Arabic became the dominant political and administrative language of Iran throughout the Umayyad period (651–750 CE) and during the early 'Abbasid period (750–1258 CE): As the vehicle of the religion of Islam, to which a majority of Iranians had probably converted within two or three hundred years of the conquest, it also occupied a privileged position in any discourse involving theological or philosophical topics. Persian survived as a folk/oral language, and when it reemerged as a written language in the ninth century CE, it had absorbed considerable influence from Arabic. The script was now a modified form of the Arabic script (though the earliest surviving written examples of New Persian are in Hebrew characters and date from the mid-eighth century), and much of the vocabulary, especially as it relates to abstract or "sophisticated" matters, is also Arabic. An analogous situation, familiar to English speakers, is the development of English after the eleventh-century Norman French conquest. Although English retained a core Germanic (Anglo-Saxon) vocabulary, this was overlaid with a predominantly French-derived vocabulary, and the more sophisticated the speaker, and the topic being treated, the more this vocabulary becomes evident. Similarly, the core vocabulary of Persian continued to be derived from Pahlavi, but Arabic lexical items predominated for more abstract or abstruse subjects and often replaced their Persian equivalents in polite discourse. Just as English has been modified to the extent that an untutored English speaker cannot read an Anglo-Saxon text with comprehension, an untutored Persian speaker cannot read Pahlavi with comprehension. This is compounded for Persian because of the change of script from Pahlavi to Arabic, but it would still be the case if the script were readily legible to a modern Persian speaker. However, the parallel breaks down at a certain

point: French and English are both Indo-European languages and share many cognates and much of their semantic structure, whereas Arabic and Persian belong to quite separate linguistic families (Semitic and Indo-European, respectively), have virtually no cognates except through loan words from one to the other, and have wholly differing semantic structures. Persian has, in general, confined its borrowings from Arabic to lexical items, and its morphology is relatively unaffected by the influence of Arabic, being confined to a few conventions such as the (usually optional) use of Arabic plurals for Arabic-derived words (as an English speaker may use Latin plurals for Latin loan words in English).

The grammar of New Persian is similar to that of many contemporary European languages: The case system has virtually disappeared and has been replaced largely by a system of prepositions and postpositions; normal sentence word order is subject-object-verb; gender markers are generally absent; and plurals and other modifications to words are generally made by the addition of suffixes, prefixes, or, in the case of Arabic-derived vocabulary, infixes. The theoretical availability of the whole of Arabic to Persian speakers means that the language has a very large vocabulary and is rich in synonyms, near synonyms, and fine shades of distinct meaning in a given semantic area; some Arabic loan words are used in Persian with meanings quite distinct from their meanings in Arabic. Persian is also a highly idiomatic language, and a comprehension of the literal meaning of each word in a phrase by no means guarantees comprehension of the import of the phrase as a whole. For the nonnative speaker, Persian's immense vocabulary, and the prevalence of idioms, are the chief obstacles to achieving fluency.

In the same way that the emergence of New Persian can be seen as a linguistic result of political circumstances, new political conditions ensured the language's literary survival. In the ninth and tenth centuries CE, areas of eastern Iran, under local dynasties, began to achieve de facto independence from the ‘Abbasid caliphate centered on Baghdad. The consequent loosening of Arabic cultural ties signaled a reemergence of Persian, and the first recorded poem in New Persian is a panegyric written on the occasion of the conquest of Herat by the Saffarid ruler Ya'qub Lais, in 867 CE. The main impetus for Persian's literary revival was provided by the vigorous patronage of the Samanids, who ruled Khorasan from c. 875 CE to 1005 CE, and who instigated an extensive program of translation from Arabic into Persian, as well as assiduously promoting the writing of Persian poetry. Samanid literary production in Persian clearly looks to Arabic for many of its models, both as regards its chief forms and its rhetoric but is also distinctively Persian in its idiomatic vocabulary and often more or less nationalist preoccupations. Epic poetry, drawing on pre-Islamic native tradition and revived under the Samanids, is particularly Persian in its cultural orientation and owes little or nothing to Arabic models. The success and prestige of Khorasanian New Persian literature meant that subsequent dynasties also encouraged literary production in Persian, and within two centuries or so Persian had become the major literary language of Southwest Asia. The twelfth-century CE author Ibn al-Balkhi claimed that Persian was current "from the Oxus to the Euphrates," and by this period it had also been carried into Northern India by (mainly Turkish) conquerors. By the thirteenth century the acclaim given to the Persian poetry of both Amir Khosrow in India, and Jalal addin Rumi in Asia Minor, indicates that Persian now had a significant literary presence well beyond the confines of Iran. Indeed, in Asia, from ca. the twelfth century CE to the sixteenth century CE, Persian was considered as the Islamic language of belles lettres par excellence, and it became a cliché that just as Arabic was the language of theology and law, and Turkish the language of the administration and the army, so Persian was the language of literate polite society. In the sixteenth century, and subsequently, Persian, especially Persian poetry, was cultivated at both the Ottoman courts in Turkey, and at the Moghul courts in India; in the latter environment especially, it produced a significant local literature. The diffusion of Persian beyond its heartland of Iran and western Afghanistan meant that dialectal differences gradually emerged, and this was particularly true of both the Persian spoken in Northern India and that in Central Asia, where its speakers gradually became an enclave surrounded by Turkish-speaking communities and where the local dialect began, in time, to show considerable Turkish influence. However, the canonical status of Persian literary classics as models, especially works by Ferdowsi, Sa'di, and (later) Hafez, also meant that written Persian during the middle ages differed little from one dialectal area to another.

Richard Davis

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PERSIANS

Pre-Islamic Period

The Persians were part of the Indo-Iranian Aryan migrations of the second millennium BCE, and Assyrian inscriptions talk of a "people of Parsua" based in the region of Hamadan as early as the ninth century BCE. By the seventh century BCE, the Persians had emerged as a distinct ethnolinguistic and political group based in the arid, southern climes of the Iranian Plateau among many competing Iranian and Semitic groups (Bactrian, Soghdian, Babylonian, Assyrian). Under the leadership of Cyrus the Great (580–530 BCE), the Achaemenian empire emerged from its home province of Pars—from which "Persia" is derived thanks to the Greek sources—and was extended to comprise the Iranian Plateau, the Mesopotamian river-valleys, and western Khurasan. The Persians incorporated preexisting Median notions of divine rule and various administrative practices, and there is evidence to suggest that they were henceforth exposed to early Avestan texts and Magian traditions. The internationality of the Achaemenian empire is readily apparent in their provincial satrapy system whereby regions such as Phoenicia, Lydia, Cilicia, Babylon, and Egypt remitted regular tribute to the Persians. This far-flung empire was maintained from administrative centers in Ectabana and Susa, and Darius built a majestic ceremonial capital near Persepolis in the early fifth century BCE to formally receive envoys and tribute bearers during the Persian New Year *(Nawruz)* celebrations. It was also during the Achaemenian period that the earlier teachings and prescriptions of Zarathustra (Greek, Zoroaster) contained in the Avestan scriptures gained great currency in western Asia.

A revolt of Greek colonists in Ionia against the Persian-installed governor ushered in a new era of Irano-Mediterranean geopolitics whereby the Athenian and Persian empires fought a series of devastating wars in the fifth century BCE under Darius and Xerxes. The Persian invasions of Greece, culminating with the battles of Marathon (490 BCE) and Salamis (480 BCE), were in turn followed by a lengthy phase of Greek brinkmanship in the Achaemenian empire, as it stagnated under the rule of Artaxerxes (465–425 BCE) and Artaxerxes II (404–359 BCE). This set the stage for the devastating invasions of Alexander the Great in 334–331 BCE, and the formal termination of the Achaemenian Persian empire. For the next five centuries, Hellenistic culture enjoyed considerable prominence in the Iranian world under the successor Greco-Iranian dynasties of the Seleucids and Parthians. The Persians would be able to reclaim political primacy in the third century CE, when a local notable named Ardashir, from the town of Istakhr (near Shiraz), overthrew Parthian rule in 224 and revived many of the existing Achaemenian political, religious, and cultural traditions under the new dynastic banner of the Sasanians. In addition to carving out a formidable empire that included Central Iran, Iraq, and parts of Transoxiana, this dynasty (224–642 CE) is acknowledged for its intense dedication to the notion of divine kingship and its vigorous sponsorship of Zoroastrianism as a state religion. The peak of Sasanian rule came during the reign of Anushirvan (531–579 CE), who among other things instituted a series of wide-ranging reforms designed to promote social stability, responsible administration, and efficient tax collection. A wide array of treatises on political theory and princely advice literature was produced in Middle Persian in the sixth century, a practice that would reemerge during the Persian literary renaissance of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Indeed, the legacy of the Sasanian administrative infrastructure and the continuity of Persian bureaucratic culture in Islamic times would be key to the later success of the Islamic ʻAbbasid caliphate (750–1258 CE).

Islamic Period

The Sasanian empire, with its centralized capital city-complex of Mada'in on the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, was one of the two great land-based empires (the other being Byzantium) capable of opposing the Arab Islamic invasions of the seventh century. However, paralyzing rivalries and strife within the royal Sasanian household and decades of exhausting wars with the Byzantines conspired to undermine any cohesive Persian resistance to the revolutionary movement of Islam. More telling perhaps were the somewhat bigoted policies of the Sasanians toward non-Zoroastrian groups (Christians, Jews, Sabeans, Mazdakites), which no doubt contributed to the social anarchy surrounding the Islamic invasions. Although a series of skirmishes and clashes had taken place, it was the pitched battle at al-Qadisiyya where the Sasanian main host under Yazdgird III was routed by the general of Caliph ʻUmar, Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas in 637. Military encampments at Basra and Kufa facilitated further incursions into Iran, and Muslim Arab armies pushed resistance farther north along the

Zagros Mountains into Azarbaijan. Persian communities of Zoroastrians, Christians, and Jews were by and large content to negotiate treaties of surrender with these newly arrived Arab tribal armies, and there is no reason to accept popularly held views that Iran was Islamicized at these early dates. Conversion to Islam for reasons of political expediency was not uncommon, however, and we read of prominent individual Sasanian bureaucrats and various prominent landholders *(dihqans)* who accepted Islam to either ingratiate themselves with the new political order or to escape certain canonical taxes levied on non-Muslims. By the end of the Umayyad caliphate (661–750 CE), the Persian-speaking world of the Iranian Plateau, Azarbaijan, Sistan, Khvarazm, Khurasan, and Transoxiana had been conquered.

During the seventh and eighth centuries, large numbers of Arab tribespeople began settling in these newly conquered regions, particularly in the prosperous province of Khurasan, and converted Persian elite and nobility became "clients" *(mawali)* of various Arab tribal networks. A collaborative taxation system emerged whereby *mawali* Persian administrators established and maintained registers of taxation *(diwan)* on behalf of the Arab governors and military elite in urban settlements and rural garrisons. However, the Umayyad caliphate—based in Damascus—was unsympathetic to complaints from classes of Persian *mawali* who found themselves not only shut out of elite Arab political circles but were also being forced to levy both Muslim and non-Muslim canonical taxes on the Persian population. This regional resentment made Iran, particularly Khurasan, fertile propagandistic terrain for the panoply of Muslim groups who openly challenged and berated the Umayyad rulers on the basis of venality, corruption, and irreligiousness. The most successful of these were led by Abu Muslim in the mid-eighth century, who championed a revolution against the Arab/Syrian-centric Umayyad dynasty and the establishment of a ruling household whose provenance was ideologically and genealogically more palatable. This was a revolution supported by a coalition of groups: disgruntled Arab tribesmen in the East, proto-Shiʿi groups, *mawali* Persian administrators, Persian *dihqan*s, and Khurasani peasants and troops. The subsequent establishment of the ʿAbbasids in 750, and their relocation of the capital to Baghdad—built near the former Persian Sasanian capital of Ctesiphon—was a profound development for Persian political and administrative culture during the medieval period.

The epicenter of Arabo-Islamic civilization in the ninth and tenth centuries was undoubtedly Baghdad. The greatest claim to fame of early medieval Baghdad was its sponsorship and promotion of extensive translations into Arabic of Greek, Syriac, Pahlavi, and Sanskrit treatises on philosophy, logic, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, and political philosophy. This transmission was to some extent influenced by a number of Persian scholar–bureaucrats who were able to combine their extensive training in Arabic with their Pahlavi roots to translate a number of Sasanian works that were, in fact, translations of much older Greek sources that had made their way to Iran during the sixth-century reign of Anushirvan. Concurrent with this was the rise of courtly *shu'ubiya* literature, whereby non-Arab Muslims, including many Persian literati, used formal Arabic rhetorical poetry to lionize and praise non-Arab traditions in the face of Arab cultural domination. This sense of independence often took militaristic manifestations, and we find a number of hybrid Shiʿi/Zoroastrian revolts, such as those by Sunpad in Nishapur, Babak in Azarbaijan, and Ustad Sis in Baghdis, plaguing the ʿAbbasid caliphate in the eighth to tenth centuries.

The rise of New Persian and renaissance of Persian literature in the medieval period took place well east of the original home province of Fars. A number of semiautonomous Eastern dynasties (Tahirids, Samanids, Ghaznavids) based in the Iranian-speaking oasis-settlements of Bactria, Herat, Bukhara, and Samarqand were influenced by longstanding Persian mythical and literary traditions. Thanks to the efforts of historians such as al-Bal'ami—who translated al-Tabari's monumental historical chronicle from Arabic into Persian—and poets such as Rudaki and Daqiqi, New Persian had emerged as the administrative and creative language of choice for the Samanid dynasty based in Samarqand. However, the Ghaznavid patronage of men like Abu al-Fazl Baihaqi and Abu al-Qasim Ferdowsi in the city of Ghazna would prove to be pivotal. Ferdowsi's production of the monumental *Shahnam (Shahnameh)*, an epic poem recounting the deeds and glories of Iranian kings and heroes in legend and history, accomplished much for the revival and preservation of Persian language and culture. This Iranicizing of the Eastern Islamic lands was further complemented by the Shiʿi Buyid dynasty, originally from Daylam, who had assumed custodianship of Baghdad and the ʿAbbasid caliphate in the tenth century. Although Arabic was still the dominant administrative language, Buyid rulers such as Azud al-Daula resuscitated a number of pre-Islamic Iranian practices, most notably the titulature of *shahanshah* (king of kings) and the celebration of the Persian New Year. Thus, the conveyance of the Persian revival from east to west by the Seljuk Turks after their conquest of Baghdad in 1055 was well received by networks of Iranian administrators,

poets, and literateurs who had been serving for generations under Arab rule.

The increased use of New Persian for administrative and poetic purposes during the Seljuk period reinforced the importance of Iranian bureaucracy and scholarship in the eleventh through thirteenth centuries. It would also be during the medieval period that rivalry between Persian city dwellers and Turkic nomads would intensify as a result of the large-scale arrival of Turkic tribes in the Iranian Plateau since the ninth century. Iran would undergo considerable Turkification with the arrival of the Seljuks, and the uneasy relationship between the Turkic military, tribal elite (*arbab-i saif*, or "men of the sword") and the Persian administrative/religious classes (*arbab-i qalam*, or "men of the pen") would often turn rancorous. Charged by their Seljuk Turkic overlords with the financial welfare of the state, Persian chief administrators *(vazirs)* used their status to secure power and patronize religious and cultural projects. A case in point is Nizam al-Mulk, who acted as vizier to the Seljuk rulers Arp Aslan and Malikshah during the eleventh century. In addition to promoting the spread of the *madrasa* collegial system, Nizam al-Mulk penned one of the most authoritative political advice manuals of the medieval period, the *Siyasat nama* (Book of Government). Indeed, this celebrated text constituted a revival of Sasanian political culture that demanded leadership from a "just ruler" *(al-sultan al-'adil)* akin to Anushirvan, who in turn guaranteed religious conformity and responsible taxation.

The most harrowing development for medieval Persians was the Mongol shockwave of the mid-thirteenth century. While Eastern Iranian cities such as Herat, Nishapur, and Balkh were ruthlessly sacked by Chingiz Khan in the 1220s, the remainder of Iran would be conquered thirty years later by the Great Khan's nephew, Hulegu. Approximating the demographic and economic impact of the Mongols would be challenging, but it is clear that the urban and agricultural prosperity of Iran regressed considerably after the thirteenth century. Descendants of Hulegu Khan established their own dynasty in Iran, the Il-Khans (1265–1365), and later rulers such as Oljeitu and Ghazan Khan were known for their attempts to implement a number of social and economic reforms in the hopes of rehabilitating the Iranian economy. The Persian bureaucratic elite once again stepped in to serve as intermediaries between the subject population and the Mongol overlords, and the continued adoption of New Persian as the courtly lingua franca saw the rise of a strong Persian historiographical school thanks to administrators like al-Juvaini and Rashid al-Din. The Mongol and post-Mongol eras witnessed a flourishing of Persian poetry in the province of Fars under Sa'di and Hafez, while the Timurid rulers of Transoxiana and Khurasan actively sponsored scholars producing works on poetry, philosophy, and mysticism in Persian. It was also during the post-Mongol age that we see a dilution of centralized Sunni orthodoxy and the corresponding proliferation of Shi'i and mystical Sufi activity across the Iranian world. Arguably the best example of these syncretist trends was the Persian Safavid millennarian mystical order in Azarbaijan of the fifteenth century. When Shaikh Isma'il conquered Tabriz in 1501, he assumed the ancient Persian Achaemenian title of *shah* (king) while at the same time proclaiming that Twelver Shi'ism was henceforth the state religion. From the sixteenth century onward, Turco-Mongol dominance in Iran would be increasingly repressed by transplanted Caucasus *ghulam* slave troops and an ascending Persian administrative and clerical elite.

Colin Paul Mitchell

See also Bureaucrats; Buyids; Epics, Persian; Ethics; Ghaznavids; Ilkhanids; Interfaith Relations; Mirrors for Princes; Nawruz; Persian; Poetry, Persian; Political Theory; Safavids; Samanids; Shahnama; Shi'ism; Sufism and Sufis; Timurids; Translation, Arabic to Persian; Viziers; Zoroastrianism

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PHARMACOLOGY

In contemporary medical sciences, *pharmacology* designates the clinical analysis of the action of medicines on the human body; in historical sciences, it designates the *discipline of medicines (o peri pharmakôn logos [the Discourse on Medicines])*, according to Dioscorides, *De materia medica* (praef., 5). As in antiquity and Byzantium, medicines in the Arabic world were products made of one or more natural substances (materia medica) coming from the three natural realms (vegetal, mineral, and animal).

Origins

Arabic pharmacology arose from the assimilation of previous knowledge, particularly Greek. Assimilation proceeded in a cumulative way: The first translators did not necessarily render all plant names by their exact translation, but transliterated them. Due to the possible misidentification and, consequently, the incorrect therapeutic uses of plants this process could provoke, previous translations were revised or new ones were made to replace transliterated terms with exact translations. Translation proceeded in three main phases:

1. Translations were first made into Syriac. They continued the work of Sergios of Res'ayna (sixth century CE), who translated from Greek books VI–XI from *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus (On the Mixtures and Properties of Simple Medicines*, in 11 books) by Galen (129 to after ca. 216 CE) devoted to materia medica. Hunayn ibn Ishaq (800–873 CE) revised Sergios' translation of books VI–XI and translated himself books I–V from Greek into Syriac. Hunayn also translated from Greek into Syriac Galen's other pharmacological treatises: *De compositione medicamentorum per genera (On the Composition of Medicines by Types)*, *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos* (*On the Composition of Medicines by [Affected] Places of [the Human] Body*), and *De antidotis (On Antidotes)*. He completed this corpus with the most important treatise on materia medica of antiquity, *De materia medica* by Dioscoride (first century CE) (five books, with two inauthentic treatises on venoms and poisons), and the medical encyclopedia by Oribasius (fourth century CE), which includes pharmacology.
2. Hunayn, first working alone and later on in collaboration with Istifân ibn Bâsîl and his nephew Hubaish, translated from Greek into Arabic the works previously translated into Syriac by Sergios of Res'ayna or himself: Dioscorides, *De materia medica* (including the two inauthentic treatises on toxicology); Galen, *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus*, books VI–XI, *De compositione medicamentorum per genera,* and *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*; and the medical encyclopedia of Oribasius. For *De materia medica* by Dioscorides, he translated it twice: In the first version, Istifân translated the seven books and Hunayn revised his work; in the second, Hunayn translated *De materia medica* I–IV, and Istifân the rest, including the two spurious works on poisons and venoms, and Hunayn revised the whole. Hunayn also translated the medical encyclopedia of the Byzantine physician Paul of Egina (seventh century CE).
3. Previous translations of Dioscorides were revised, or new ones were made. In the East, al-Nâtilî (tenth century CE), supposed to be Avicenna's teacher, revised Hunayn's and Istifân's second translation. During the twelfth century CE, two new translations were made from Hunayn's Syriac version. The first was commissioned by the Ortukid king of Kayfa, Fakhr ad-Din Kara Arslan (1148–1174 CE).

Since it was not considered good enough, another one was commissioned to another translator, who did it for Kara Arslan's cousin, Najm al-Din Alpi (r. 1152–1176 CE), at the court of Maridin. In the West, Hunayn and Istifân's first translation was known prior to mid-tenth century CE. 'Abd ar-Rahmân III (912–961 CE), the Emir and, further on (929), Caliph of Cordova, received in 948 CE an illustrated copy of Dioscorides' Greek text from a Byzantine emperor called Romanos, who is not exactly identified because of a contradiction in the report of the story. Local Arabic scientists working with a Byzantine monk sent to Cordova by the emperor upon the Caliph's request identified the plants of the Greek text to local species and revised Hunayn's and Istifân's Arabic text on this basis, without translating afresh the Greek text into Arabic, as has often been affirmed. This work is considered to be at the origin of the so-called Andalusian school of pharmacology.

In many manuscripts of Dioscorides' Arabic translation, the text is illustrated with color plant representations not made from direct observation of nature, but from Greek sources, which they gradually transformed, however, in three major ways, as follows:

a. Drawings of plants were stylized over time by stressing the main characteristics of the plants. Such essentialism led to a simplification that sometimes made drawings unrealistic.
b. Materia medica were represented in a context, be it their natural biota (with such elements as water, rocks, and animals) or a scene with representations of personages (harvesting of plants, preparation of medicines, and pharmacological treatment of sick patients).
c. The layout of such representations evolved from a full-page picture (with some lines of text in the upper or lower part of the page) to only a portion of the page width (on the outer side), as happened in Greek manuscripts also. This new layout did not eliminate the previous one, however, at least in deluxe Arabic manuscripts produced in Baghdad in the thirteenth century CE.

New Works, New Problems, New Medicines

Dioscorides' treatise was widely diffused in the Arabic world, as the high number of preserved manuscript copies indicates, and it deeply influenced pharmacology. As early as the late ninth century CE, scientists of different provenances wrote new and original works in Arabic. The dynamic of their production should not necessarily be attributed to the desire of their authors to be original, as has been suggested, but can result at least in part from the problems the assimilation of Dioscorides' *De materia medica* created: Its plants, typical of the Eastern Mediterranean, which were not necessarily well known by Arabic scientists, were tentatively equated with local species; their representations, which originally reproduced those of the Greek manuscripts, did not necessarily correspond to species in the Arabic world; plant classification, which relied in part on the names of the plants in Dioscorides' Greek text, became less perceptible after such names had been fully Arabized. The solution of such problems was all the more urgent because knowledge of medicinal plants coming from other cultures (Mesopotamia, Persia, India) was agglutinated in *De materia medica*.

The new syntheses on pharmacology associated data from Dioscorides (descriptions of the plants, animal and mineral products) and Galen (therapeutic properties), as did Byzantine works. The most significant contributions were by Rhazes (865–925), al-Bîrûnî (943–1078), Ibn Sînâ (980–1037), al-Gâfiqî (twelfth century CE) and Ibn al-Baitâr (ca. 1190–1248), who wrote specific works on pharmacology or devoted significant parts of larger medical encyclopedias to pharmacology. The works by al-Gâfiqî and Ibn al-Baitâr, both from the so-called Andalusian school of pharmacology, are usually considered as the most complete and achieved of the Arabic world in matters of pharmacology.

Even after such new works were produced, lexicology of materia medica remained a field of particular importance. The Andalusian, Ibn Gulgul (944–post 994), and Ibn al-Baitâr commented on Dioscorides' Arabic version in order to clarify untranslated or incorrectly translated plant names, and to accurately identify botanical species.

Medicines made of more than one ingredient (compound medicines), which started to be particularly developed in antiquity in the first century CE and reached their most achieved form with the so-called theriac (made of up to 60+ ingredients), were also used in the Arabic world where their recipes circulated in the form of collections of recipes (the so-called *aqrâbâdîn* from the Greek *grafidion* [notebook]). They raised a specific question, which was left unanswered by classical physicians, particularly Galen in his treatises *De antidotis* and *De theriaca ad Pisonem (On the Theriac, to Piso)*: What is their actual therapeutic property? Is it greater than or equal to the

sum of the individual components? The question was all the more complicated because Galen introduced the notion that every property of a drug results from the association of two opposite properties (hot and cold; dry and wet). Several answers were given to that fundamental question: al-Kindî (ca. 800–870) proceeded in a mathematical way, proposing a formula aimed at calculating the final property of compound medicines. Ibn Sînâ distinguished a primary property (that is, the excess of one quality over the other in a couple of opposites) and the specific property (that is, the property of the specific substance of a medicine). On the other hand, he estimated that the properties of medicines should be determined empirically by administering the medicines to the patients. Such empiricism was radical: Properties were considered to vary not only from one patient to another but also for the same patient from one moment to another according to possible individual physiological modifications. Ibn Rushd (1126–1298) (Averroës) criticized the Galenic concept of two opposite properties being associated in one and the same materia medica. Such reflection on the properties of medicines was further used as a paradigm for a philosophical analysis of the transformation of matter. In this way, pharmacology got the status of a heuristic tool in philosophical enquiry, as had already been the case in classical antiquity (first century CE). Such status was transmitted to the Latin Middle Ages, particularly with Robert Grosseteste (d. 1253 CE) and Roger Bacon (d. 1294).

Presentation of data, which first reproduced the discursive way of Greek pharmacological handbooks (including plant representations), was modified by Ibn Butlân (d. 1068) in the *Taqwîn as-sihha*. Data are presented in tables (one for each materium medica) and reduced to single words or short phrases. This layout was largely diffused in the Late Middle Ages with the Latin translation and adaptation of *Taqwîn as-sihha* known as *Tacuinum sanitatis*.

The development of new alimentary products and new technologies had a deep impact on pharmacology. The production of sugar and alcohol made it possible to develop new forms of medicines: syrups and the gums for sugar; extracts obtained by distillation with alcohol. The major novelty of such forms was that they guaranteed a better stability of the products and avoided rapid alteration. New Arabic treatises on pharmacology classified medicines by their pharmaceutical form. Such a prolonged life cycle of medicines might be among the causes that contributed to the development of the pharmaceutical profession in the Arabic world, which, in previous cultures, was mainly concerned with providing fresh drugs and preparing medicines, in a more limited way. Complementarily, the development of glazed ceramic transformed the technique of medicine conservation, particularly for the liquid and semiliquid ones. Earth wares with a porous surface did not guarantee a good conservation of medicines: The substance in contact with the internal wall of containers saturated it and it became oxidized when reaching the external wall by a constant process of evaporation. As a consequence, medicines contained in such pots were quickly altered. Glazed medicine containers had a special oblong shape, better known under its Italian name *albarello*, and allowed a much better conservation of their content by reducing the process of oxidation resulting from absorption of the content in the wall of the container. This kind of ceramic was transmitted from the Arabic world to the West through Sicily and Spain, and, from there, to Italy, where it was particularly developed during the Renaissance.

Alain Touwaide

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PHILOSOPHY (FALSAFA)

Falsafa is an Arabic term that renders the Greek *philosophia* and is used to describe the Greco-Arabic tradition of philosophy and the wider classical Islamic tradition. The impetus for philosophical speculation in Islam is a much debated issue. Whether one wishes to see solely Hellenic roots for philosophy in the 'Abbasid period or whether one searches as a confessional statement for philosophical inspiration in the Qur'an and the tradition of the Prophet is largely a matter of ideology. The origins of philosophy are far too complex to be reduced to a singular causality. What is clear is that in the 'Abbasid period the speculative desire to understand the nature of the Qur'an, and the relationship between believer and cosmos, was increasingly articulated in arguments of a systematic nature. The standards of argumentation, partly as a result of the need to find a neutral set of rules that could apply in disputation with non-Muslims who did not accept the validity of the Qur'anic revelation, was Aristotelian logic, especially the *Topics* (translated into Arabic in this period as the Book of Dialectic, or *al-jadal*). It has also been suggested that the 'Abbasids encouraged philosophical and scientific speculation, complemented by translations from Greek works as an expression of their imperial ideology. A translation movement developed in the capital of Baghdad, fueled by money from the court and produced mainly by Arab Christian theologians familiar with Greek and with the Syriac tradition of translating the works of Aristotle, Plato, and other Hellenic thinkers into scholarly Near Eastern vernaculars. The works were kept in the library of the chancellery in Baghdad and named *Bayt al-Hikma* (House of Wisdom). This movement intersected with a key intellectual circle associated with arguably the first Muslim philosopher, Abu Yusuf Ya'qub al-Kindi (d. 870 CE). Thus translations and arguments that joined Hellenic debates and took them into fresh avenues of inquiry were largely coeval.

Translation Movement

Important translators such as Hunayn b. Ishaq (d. 873) and Yahya b. 'Adi (d. 974) coordinated translations firstly of the Aristotelian *organon* to establish rules of disputation and standards of rational discourse, and later the metaphysical, natural philosophical, and psychological works of the Stagirite. Aristotle was the philosopher par excellence, and the Neoplatonic curriculum that Islam inherited began the study of philosophy with Aristotle. What they also inherited was the desire to harmonize the work of Plato and Aristotle. Yahya is supposed to have translated Plato's *Timaeus*, the key cosmological text of the Neoplatonic curriculum, and Porphyry's *Isogoge* or introduction to Aristotelian logic was incorporated into the study of logic. Harmonization led to the proliferation of pseudo-Aristotelian works attributed to the Stagirite that were actually of Neoplatonic provenance. Foremost among them were the Theology of Aristotle, a paraphrastic epitome of Plotinus' *Enneads* IV–VI and *Kitab fi Mahd al-Khayr (Liber de Causis),* a work that draws upon Proclus' *Stoikeiôsis Theologikê (Elements of Theology)*. Both works were at the forefront of the second translation movement beginning in twelfth-century Spain, when Arabic philosophical works were translated into Latin and influenced the development of the scholastic philosophy of the universities.

The *Theology of Aristotle* was produced by the Nestorian translator 'Abd al-Masih b. 'Abdallah b. Na'ima al-Himsi (d. 835) for the circle of al-Kindi (d. 870) in Baghdad. The *Theology* is also part of a larger corpus of *Plotiniana Arabica,* drawing upon the *Enneads* that includes fragmentary sayings attributed to the "Greek Sage" *(al-Shaykh al-Yunani)* and an *Epistle on Divine Science (Risala fi-l-'Ilm al-Ilahi).* The text purports to be a translation of a theological text of Aristotle, with the commentary of Porphyry (d. 270), and certainly is a valuable expression of the Neoplatonic heritage of classical Islamic philosophy. The misattribution appealed to the taste of early Islamic philosophy that perpetuated the late antique Neoplatonic reconciliation of the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle and filled a perceived lacuna in the system of Aristotle that the Arabs inherited, providing doctrines about the nature of God and eschatology. Nevertheless, the text was adapted to suit the needs of its audience and was always more than a translation, incorporating material akin to Aristotelianism and even drawing upon pseudo-Dionysian doctrines on the "profession of ignorance." The *Theology* is divided into ten *mayamir*

(sing., *mimar*), the Syriac Christian word for a chapter of a theological treatise. It is prefaced by a prologue that mentions the author, the translator, the editor (al-Kindi), and the patron (Ahmad, the son of the caliph al-Mu'tasim). It may have been modeled on a text of Porphyry that sets out some of the key issues to be tackled in the text concerning the nature of the soul, its descent into the world of matter, and its reversion to its principle. The *Theology* became the impetus for philosophical speculation and established some of the key features of Islamic Neoplatonism. Commentaries and glosses upon the text were written by Christian, Jewish, and Muslim philosophers, including Ibn Sina and 'Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi (d. 1231) in the classical period and Qadi Sa'id Qummi (d. 1696) in the later Safavid period.

The doctrines of the *Theology* mainly concern the nature of the soul. The soul descends, like all other beings, from a causal chain of emanation that is produced by a purely good and loving principle, the One or the Creator *(al-Bari')*. It descends from a higher intelligible world to reside within a material body that is part of the sensible world. The cosmos is thus a natural and logical consequence of the One and not a volitional result of a theistic creator. Unlike the Aristotelian doctrine, the soul is not a perfection or entelechy of the body (although in at least one instance this view is approved) but is independent of the body as an eternal, immaterial substance capable of separating itself and ascending momentarily to experience the beatitude of its intelligible origin. This possibility is expressed in the famous "doffing metaphor" of *Theology mimar* I (see *Enneads* IV.8.1). The soul alienated in this world desires to taste the freedom of its origins, transcending the material cage of this world, and wishes to revert to its principle. Philosophers such as Suhrawardi and Sufis such as Ibn 'Arabi later cited this metaphor. Other doctrines and issues broached include time and creation, the nature of God and His agency, the nature of knowledge, and the end of the soul. Because of the coverage of central issues and its ascription to Aristotle, the *Theology* became the seminal text in the classical period of Islamic philosophy.

Indian and Persian Influences

The push eastward brought Muslims in contact with Persian and Indian thought and science, and early on astronomical and medical works were translated from Pahlavi and Sanskrit. The scientist and philosopher al-Biruni (d. 1048) also had the *Yogasutra* of PatanjalÐ translated from Sanskrit, the only major work of Indian philosophy available in the classical period. Persian texts on *moralia* were transformed into a work such as *Javidan Khirad (Eternal Wisdom)* of Miskawayh (d. 1030). But the most enduring and striking legacy of the East was the physics of atomism that became a central feature of theological speculation about the nature of the cosmos, and the significance and influences of the celestial bodies upon the earth.

Theology and Philosophy

If rational discourse is a standard for judging *falsafa*, then much of the *kalam* tradition ought to be considered to be philosophical. Although the philosophical nature of much of the debate among theologians *(mutakallimun)* is indubitable (such as arguments about occasionalism, atomism, free will, and determinism), there was a tension from an early period between them and philosophers. Theology remained an apologetic defense of dogma as discerned in the Qur'an and the Prophetic tradition, whereas *falsafa* was an attempt at a rational speculation about some more abstract notions about reality. Although it did not fail to serve as the handmaiden of theology when the need arose, the Neoplatonic Aristotelianism of the philosophers *(falasifa)* was considered to be in contravention with sound belief. Ibn Sina (d. 1037) was the central figure in the formation of the new Islamic philosophy. He established key philosophical doctrines about the nature of God as a Necessary Being, described the nature of the human soul and its end in the afterlife, and provided engaging philosophical analyses of the nature of prophecy and revelation. He produced a successful and influential synthesis of theology and philosophy and it was precisely for this reason that he had been subjected to attack. The famous theologian al-Ghazali (d. 1111) in his *Tahafut al-Falasifa (Incoherence of the Philosophers)* revealed the ambivalence of theology toward philosophy. He was quite willing to co-opt Aristotelian logic as a standard for argumentation and use philosophical styles of discourse, but quite averse to the metaphysics to which they committed the practitioner. In this work, al-Ghazali condemned twenty doctrines expressed by philosophers such as Ibn Sina and held them to be incompatible with Muslim dogma, while providing rather philosophical refutations of those positions. On three specific issues, he regarded the philosophers as being guilty of heresy since belief in those doctrines was unbelief. These were the notions that the world was coeternal with God

because it was only a logical and not a temporal consequent of him, that God did not know particulars but only knew universals, and that that there was no bodily resurrection. That al-Ghazali was willing to use philosophical arguments to refute philosophy and that he wrote other works that seemed to acknowledge Avicennan cosmology did contribute to his losing the case. One must not accept condemnations of the philosophical as a universal distaste for rational discourse in Islam. The cultural history of the classical period actually suggests that philosophy was far from being a pursuit marginal to intellectual Muslim society.

Islamic Philosophy

The philosophical tradition survived al-Ghazali's assault. Ibn Rushd (d. 1198) wrote a successful refutation of it. He led a revival of an orthodox Aristotelianism in Islam and also penned a famous legal defense justifying rational speculation. However, medieval Islam had no taste for orthodox Aristotelianism. Thinkers were more concerned with perpetuating the late antique process of harmonizing metaphysics with theism and thus forms of Neoplatonism were more in vogue. Philosophy after the polemics culminating in al-Ghazali survived in a number of guises, all revealing the central role of Ibn Sina and acting as reactions to his thought. First, the real success of *falsafa* led to its naturalization within the theological tradition of *kalam*. The rise of philosophical theology meant that discourse not only commenced with philosophical logic but also with its epistemological foundations concerning the nature of knowledge and its metaphysical foundations concerning existence and its divisions. Second, following Ibn Sina, works of *falsafa* included extensive discussions about the nature of God, his attributes, and his relationship with the world and included both the *kalam* cosmological proof for his existence and the Avicennan proof of God as the Necessary Being. Avicennan *falsafa* won the day. Third, followers of Ibn ‘Arabi engaged with philosophy and produced a far more systematic metaphysical account of Sufi thought. Fourth, various traditions arose in critique of Ibn Sina, beginning with Suhrawardi (d. 1191) and his school of "illumination," and later in the Safavid period Mulla Sadra (d. 1641) attempted to reconcile Ibn Sina, Suhrawardi, and Ibn ‘Arabi. The scope of philosophy and its cultural influence has thus extended far beyond its beginnings in ‘Abbasid Baghdad.

SAJJAD H. RIZVI

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PIGEONS

Pigeons had a presence in the everyday life of medieval Muslims. As pets they were more universal and popular than game birds, such as the falcon, whose keeping was mostly reserved to the upper classes. It is apparent from Jahiz that they were reasonably priced during his time and easily attainable from the city markets, although well-trained zejil (those that were trained to fly to a destination and come back) could be costly. For example, one that had come back to Baghdad from as far as Sham could cost up to a thousand dinars. When reading passages regarding the pigeon from his *Kitab al-Hayawan,* one sees very clearly how Jahiz's zoology is really about humans. Pigeons are scrutinized in such a way as to deduce

facts about marriage, coupling, love, passion, monogamy, polygamy, homosexuality, loyalty, sacrifice, jealousy, and the like. They are a mirror of male–female relations in all possible forms.

It is known that pigeons were part of an intricate postal system established by the ‘Abbasids and developed to its highest efficiency during the Mamluk period. The Mamluk historian Qalqashandi details how pigeons were dispatched to the towers that were erected for this purpose.

Pigeons have a presence in the imagination of medieval Muslims, not just as an item of conspicuous consumption in the Souq, and as part of the postal system, but also as a strong image of sanctity and courier of wisdom. It is mentioned that the inhabitants of Mecca were witness to the fact that no pigeon has ever landed on the Ka’ba. This alone has convinced many that pigeons are superior to all birds and animals. It is well known that the conqueror of Egypt, Amr b. al-As, changed his plans of constructing the barrack town of Fustat lest he disturb the dove and its chicks that had nested in his tent.

Medieval Muslim authors frequently allude to Noah’s pigeon, which is viewed as a guide figure that carries good tidings. The pigeon is awarded by God for his loyalty and services, with the collar on his neck, making him stand out till the dawn of time. It is the pigeon’s collar (tawq) that Ibn Hazm of Andalus has named his treatise on love. The most prevalent aspect of the image of the pigeon is that it carries God’s words (ta’wil). This is similar to the imagery in the prologue of the gospel according to John, where the dove symbolizes the Holy Ghost, carrier of divine logos. Similarly, in Genesis 1:2, a dove hovering over the waters refers to the spirit of God at the time of creation. Abu Firas’s highly acclaimed poem, which epitomizes the pigeon as a bird that reminds the poet of his freedom lost also partakes from this imagery of the messenger of wisdom. The poet, who was taken captive by the Hamadanis in Mousul, sees a pigeon through the bars of his prison, a pigeon that is praying. He calls out to the bird and asks it if he understands his predicament, as if wishing the pigeon to carry away words of his agony.

ZUMRUT ALP

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PILGRIMAGE

No single word exists for pilgrimage to holy places. Unlike the canonical Pilgrimage to Mecca (Hajj), which is incumbent upon Muslims once in their lifetimes (Qur’an 3:97), the commendable ‘Umra, or lesser pilgrimage, the *ziyara* (Arab. lit. a visit, visiting), or pious visitation to tombs, shrines, and other sacred places and devotional objects, is not prescribed in the Qur’an or in the Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad.

Devotees from all walks of life, including rulers, theologians, scholars, and common people, visited tombs and shrines of holy persons, including the prophets and patriarchs, saints, Sufi shaykhs, and rulers—usually individuals who possessed exemplary learning and piety—and other holy places for a variety of reasons, including to obtain blessings, cures, and relief from adversity; to acquire knowledge about the burial places of the prophets and the earliest generations of Muslims, especially the Companions and Followers of the Prophet; and for the fulfilment of supplication.

In pre-Islamic times, pilgrimage to the tombs and shrines of the prophets and patriarchs and to Christian saints was widespread among Christians and Jews. In Islamic times, Jews and Christians visited their respective shrines, common shrines, and those of Muslims. Particularly from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the ziyara and the construction of shrines proliferated across the Islamic world due in no small part to the spread of Sufism, the ziyara assumed, at least outwardly, peculiar Islamic characteristics. Jews and Christians invoked supplications not only in such liturgical languages as Hebrew and Syriac but also in Arabic and Persian. Jews removed their shoes as they entered holy places. Moreover, cupolas like on Muslim shrines surmounted Jewish and Christian shrines.

Among the most venerated pilgrimage sites by region were: (Cairo): Husayn ibn ‘Ali (d. 680), the Prophet’s granddaughter Zaynab, the Egyptian theologian Al-Shafi‘i (d. 820); (Damascus): John the Baptist (Yahya ibn Zakariyya’), the Prophet’s granddaughter Zaynab; (Iraq): ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib

(d. 661) at Kufa and Husayn ibn ʻAli at Karbala. In Damascus, Muslims, Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians venerated the eleventh-century Muslim patron saint Shaykh Arslan, while Christians and Muslims venerated the Virgin Mary at the Christian shrine outside the city. In Iraq and Persia, Jews, Muslims, and Christians made ziyara to the regional shrines of the Prophets Daniel, Ezekiel, and Ezra.

Medieval Muslims composed guides for various regions of the Middle East, including Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, which mention those places that are especially efficacious for attaining cures from ailments and for obtaining *baraka,* or blessing. Most pilgrimage guides do not mention a prescribed order for visiting shrines, but rather highlight those shrines that are especially efficacious or blessed. The most important works by region include: ʻAli ibn Abi Bakr al-Harawi's (d. 1215) *Kitab al-Isharat ila Maʻrifat al-*Ziyarat *(Guide to Knowledge of Pilgrimage Places)*, which is the only known guide that mentions pilgrimage places throughout the Islamic world from North Africa and the Mediterranean to the borders of India, including those of Jews and Christians. Al-Harawi's guide also mentions the antiquities of ancient civilizations, talismanic objects, wells, rivers, and sacred substances such as water and soil. Egyptian guides, such as Ibn ʻUthman's (d. 1218) *Murshid al-Zuwwar (The Pilgrims' Guide)* stress the etiquette of ziyara as do later pilgrimage guides like Ibn al-Hawrani's *Al-Isharat ila Amakin al-Ziyarat (Guide to Pilgrimage Places)*. By contrast, Iraqi Shiʻi pilgrimage guides such as Ibn Qawlawayh's (d. 978/9) *Kamil al-Ziyarat (The Complete Pilgrimage Guide),* which emphasize *ziyara* to the tombs and shrines of the Prophet, his Family, and the Shiʻi imams, are more precise in that they instruct pilgrims in the rites prescribed by the fifth and sixth imams Muhammad al-Baqir and Jaʻfar al-Sadiq which they are to undertake, including purification rituals, prayers, and supplications. Common to all guides is the surrender of the devotee's self to God and reflecting on the hereafter and on the tomb or shrine's inmate.

Ziyara for the purpose of acquiring *baraka* and knowledge was also made to living saints, ascetics, and more generally, individuals renowned for their exemplary piety and learning and was a widespread practice.

Unlike the veneration of saints in the Christian context, the ziyara became controversial. The Hanbali (*see* Schools of Jurisprudence) theologian Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328) and his disciples regarded the ziyara to tombs and shrines and to living individuals as heretical innovation and polytheism, views to which the majority of Muslim theologians did not subscribe.

Ziyara was also made to copies of the Qur'an in Damascus and elsewhere, particularly those associated with the third and fourth Rightly Guided Caliphs ʻUthman ibn ʻAffan and ʻAli b. Abi Talib.

Josef W. Meri

See also Hajj; Saints and Sainthood; Christian; Umra

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PLATO, PLATONISM, AND NEOPLATONISM

Neoplatonism was a philosophical movement that primarily belonged to the Hellenist Alexandrian and Syriac schools of thought. Its founder, Plotinus (ca. 205–270 CE), an Egyptian of Greek culture, was profoundly influenced by Plato's *Republic*, *Phaedo*, and *Symposium*, as well as being inspired by Aristotelian, Stoic, and neo-Pythagorean doctrines. Plotinus' own monumental corpus, the *Enneads*, was partly drafted in response to the objections raised by Aristotle against Plato's theory of ideas. Therein, Plotinus argued that the Platonic forms subsist in what Aristotle referred to as *Nous* (intellect). Giving a metaphysical primacy to abstract ideas, the realm of the intelligible was construed as being the ground of the ultimate reality, which was radically independent from sensible beings. This ontology led to a belief in the existence of absolute values rooted in eternity. Further elaborations of Plotinus's teachings were undertaken by his disciple, Porphyry of Tyre (ca. 232–305 CE), and were

supplemented by the work of the latter's pupil, the Syrian Iamblichus (ca. 250–330 CE). However, Proclus (ca. 411–485 CE) introduced the most rigorous systematization of this tradition. The impetus of Neoplatonism in philosophy confronted many challenges following the closing of the Athenian Academy (ca. 526 CE) by the Roman Emperor Justinian. The momentum of this tradition was renewed with the philosophers of the medieval Islamic civilization who imbued it with monotheistic directives. Following Socrates, in a critique of the Sophists, Platonists believed that knowledge cannot be derived from appearances alone, and that it can only be properly attained through universal ideas. Heeding the meditations of Parmenides, they held that the realm of being was unchanging, eternal, and indestructible; while following Heraclitus, they took the sensible realm as being subject to a constant flux of transformational becoming. Establishing a distinction between truth and belief, they asserted that the intelligible was apprehended by reason and the sensible by mere opinion. With this Platonist heritage, the ethical code of goodness became a cosmological principle. Eventually, Neoplatonists held that The One, as the indeterminate perfection of absolute unity, simplicity, and goodness, imparts existence from itself due to its superabundance. This event was grasped as being a process of emanation that accentuated the primacy of Divine transcendence over creation and represented an alternate explication of generation that challenged the *creatio ex nihilo* doctrine. Endowed with vision, the One, as the First undiminished Source of existence, imparts *Nous*, the immanent changeless Intellect, as its own Image. From this effused *Nous* issues forth the World Soul, which acts as a transition between the realm of ideas and that of the senses. Refracting itself in materiality, the Soul generates all sensible composite beings, while matter represents the last station in the hierarchy of existence as the unreal substratum of the phenomenal universe. Emanation, as a processional descent, was itself to be followed by an ascent that expressed the longing of the rational soul to return to its Source and a yearning to inhabit the realm of ideas. This reversible movement acted as the basis of the moral code of the Neoplatonist system, which advocated a dualist separation of mind and body, as well as affirmed the immortality of the soul. Philosophers in medieval Islam came to know Plato through the Arabic translations of his *Laws, Sophist, Timaeus,* and *Republic*. His influence on the history of ideas in Islam is most felt in the domains of ethics and political philosophy, whereby his views offered possibilities for reconciling pagan philosophy with monotheistic religion in the quest for truth and the unveiling of the ultimate principles of reality. His *Republic* and *Laws* presented an appealing legislative model that inspired political thought in Islam, particularly the line in thinking that is attested in al-Farabi's (ca. 870–950 CE) treatise *al-Madina al-Fadila (The Virtuous City)*, which gave prominence to the role played by philosophy in setting the legal arrangements and mores of the ideal Islamic polity. The *Corpus Platonicum* also impressed humanists like Ibn Miskawayh (ca. 940–1030 CE), who, in his *Tahdhib al-akhlaq (The Cultivation of Morals)* espoused the Platonic tripartite conception of the soul, along with its ethical–political ramifications. As for the Neoplatonist doctrines, these found their way into the intellectual history of Islam through Plato's dialogues, as well as being channeled via the tracts known as *Aristotle's Theology* and *Liber de causis (Kitab al-Khayr al-Mahd)*. Although both texts were erroneously attributed to Aristotle, the former reproduced fragments from Plotinus's *Enneads*, and the latter rested on Proclus' *Elements of Theology*. This misguiding textual transmission led to imbuing Aritotelianism with Neoplatonist leitmotifs, which impacted the thinking of authorities such as al-Kindi (d. ca. 873 CE), Ikhwan al-Safa' (tenth century CE), al-Farabi (d. ca. 950 CE), and Ibn Sina (d. 1037 CE), who in their turn influenced the onto-theological systems of al-Sijistani (fl. 971 CE), al-Kirmani (d. 1020 CE), Suhrawardi (d. 1191 CE), Ibn 'Arabi (d. 1240 CE), and Mulla Sadra (d. 1640 CE).

NADER EL-BIZRI

See also Aristotle and Aristotelianism; Brethren of Purity; al-Farabi (Alfarabius or Avennasar); Ibn 'Arabi; Ibn Sina (Avicenna); Illuminationism; al-Kindi (Philosopher); al-Kirmani, Hamid al-Din; Mulla Sadra; Suhrawardi, Shihab al-Din 'Umar; Tusi, Nasir al-Din

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POETRY, ARABIC

Arabic poetry was originally an evocation of heroic aspects of pre-Islamic Bedouinity, such as fighting, hunting, tribal loyalty, and contending with the harshness of nomadic life (women poets were more or less restricted to one theme, elegy). It was composed in a cross-dialectal poetic *koine*, with a rich and difficult vocabulary, abounding with nature descriptions and extended similes, which, though concrete, are charged with ethical symbolism and are often enigmatic or riddling. The earliest pieces date from perhaps the sixth century CE, and the pre-Islamic corpus is now accepted as authentic, though probably retouched by the 'Abbasid scholars who first put it in writing. It uses a common stock of motifs and compositional devices, which recur in most of the poetry written in Arabic throughout the Middle Ages and beyond, and laid down a system of thought and allusion that permeated Arabic literary sensibility. The form in which the great pre-Islamic set pieces were composed was the polythematic *qasida*; its preeminence continued into the Islamic period. Typically, it could include two or more of the following: an opening description of the deserted encampment—an image of transience—and/or the description of a lost beloved, played against the arduous journey by which the poet asserts his manliness, his self-praise and/or praise of the patron, the whole being held in tension by the poem's function as an affirmation of shared values, of which the poet, who speaks in the first person, is the inspired mouthpiece. The prosodic features of the *qasida* are monorhythm and monorhyme, which limit its length to around a hundred lines on average. Transmuted into the ceremonial court panegyric celebrating the divine right of caliphs or a patron's victories, the Islamic *qasida* found its most dramatic exponents in Abu Tammam (d. ca. AH 232/845 CE) and al-Mutanabbi (d. 354/965). The former liked to dress as a Bedouin and the latter considered himself a man of action; but the genuine tribal warrior poet was now largely a figure of the past, and many poets writing in Arabic were not Arabs; notable exceptions were the Hamdanid prince Abu Firas (320–357/932–968), captured in battle by the Byzantines, and Usama ibn Munqidh (d. 584/1188).

Islam and empire, and above all the growth of a highly literate, urban culture centered on elite patronage, brought changes in the role of poetry and a proliferation of new genres, such as the love poem (*ghazal; see* Umar ibn Abi Rabi'a), wine poem *(khamriyya)* and verse homily *(zuhdiyya),* and the didactic poem in rhymed couplets. Formulaic but fluid macrostructures and microstructures, together with brevity and narrative minimalism, nevertheless continued to characterize most Arabic poetry. However tightly fashioned, Arabic poems were essentially open textured because they were constructed on multiple allusion. Classical Bedouin models and the brilliant conceits of "modern" poets could be evoked—indeed, to do so was inescapable—by a motif, phrase, rhythm, or a single word; so, too, could the Qur'an and hadith. Contemporary realities—concrete, topical, ideological, or intellectual—often clearly dictate the argument or frame of reference (*see* Ibn Hamdis), but the specific is not always easy to distinguish from the generic (for example, in the case of wine poems or homoerotic love poems: such poems are not necessarily autobiographical). The poet's stylistic persona might be consistent and genre-based or split into multiple facets distributed across a range of genres, and here patronage played a crucial role; for an example of how poets could shape their talents to their market, see the entry on Abu Nuwas.

Not all poets were dependent on patrons; nevertheless, there were few genres that were not geared to the elite, its ideology, and pastimes (mystical poetry is one exception; *see* Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya and Ibn 'Arabi), and it was rare to refuse to adapt one's poetry to social requirements, as did al-Ma'arri (d. 449/1058), for poetry was part of social life. There could be no *adab* without poetry, in the form both of the ability to versify elegantly and of knowledge of the classical and modern poets and of the scholarly and critical controversies surrounding them. Poetry was closely associated with music and singing; women slave entertainers were often composers and poets. Poets might be princes, such as Abu Firas, or have risen from humble origins, like Abu Tammam, and vernacular folk poetry seems to have had many themes in common with the learned poetry written in classical Arabic. In Andalus, the combined charm of music and of the vernacular gave rise to new poetic forms, the *muwashshah* and the *zajal*, which were imitated in the Islamic East. Both are strophic, with complex multiple rhythms and rhymes; the *muwashshah* culminates in an envoi *(kharja)* in a vernacular (Ar., Romance); the *zajal* is entirely in colloquial Arabic (*see* Ibn Quzman).

Poetry also held a central place in intellectual life. Grammarians, lexicographers, and commentators of the Qur'an combed the early Arabic corpus for examples and parallels. Poetic criticism (*see* Rhetoric) was

a discipline in its own right but could be slanted to dogmatic ends to demonstrate the inimitable expressivity of the Qur'an (*see* al-Jurjani). Commentaries and supercommentaries (*sharh*, pl. *shuruh*) on poetry collections *(diwans)* or proof-verses were an opportunity to draw together all the learning associated with poetry (*see* Adab, al-Baghdadi). Together with tribal genealogies, poetry and the stories attached to it provided historians with almost their sole materials for reconstructing the pre-Islamic Arab past; as the only monument surviving from that past, ancient poetry was—and "modern" poetry continued to be—the supreme Arabic art form. Yet its status was ambiguous, for its ethos was non-Islamic and sometimes counter to Islam. *Udaba'* such as al-Jahiz (d. ca. 255/869), Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889), and Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani (d. ca. 363/972*; see* Adab), argued or demonstrated that the virtues embodied in Arab poetic eloquence not only could not be jettisoned but also must be cherished by good Muslims, while some theorists sidestepped the issue by pleading that poetry, ancient and modern, belonged to the sphere of make-believe, not to that of truth or morality.

Arabic poetry remained largely impervious to outside influences but exerted a decisive influence on Hebrew poetry.

Julia Bray

See also Abu Firas; Abu Nuwas; Abu Tammam; Adab; Hebrew Poetry; Ibn Hamdis; Ibn Qutayba; Ibn Quzman; al-Jahiz; al-Jurjani; Love Poetry; al-Mutanabbi; Mystical Poetry; Rabi'a al-Ma'arri; Rhetoric; Umar ibn Abi Rabi'a; Usama ibn Munqidh

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POETRY, HEBREW

Hebrew liturgical poetry, known as the *piyyut,* which used foreign vocabulary, complex grammatical forms, and an opaque style, flourished in Byzantine Palestine prior to the Islamic conquest. By the ninth century, the center of literary activity moved from Palestine to Iraq, where a number of poets continued the *piyyut*

tradition. Some literary characteristics of the early *piyyut* persisted through the Islamic Middle Ages, although later poets such as Abraham Ibn Ezra (1092–1167) lampooned the lexicographic and grammatical irregularities of the classical style. Sa'adyah Gaon (882–942), dean of the academy of Jewish learning in Baghdad, initiated a trend toward Hebrew purity based on biblical vocabulary and grammatical forms, although he did not abandon post-biblical vocabulary entirely. Although he tried to limit the amount of poetry recited in prayer, he included original poems in the prayer book he composed. Sa'adyah authored poems for didactic and polemical (that is, nonliturgical) purposes, a point that reflects the impact of his Arabic milieu (he was preceded in this by some Karaite poets). The Arabic environment is also sensed in the philosophical content of some poems and in the cosmopolitan values espoused in his essay for poets, *Kitab usul al-ahi'r al-'ibrani (Book of Principles of Hebrew Poetry)*.

Because of intensified study of the Bible and Hebrew grammar in al-Andalus (following Muslim engagement with the Qur'an and Arabic grammar), Jews came to value composition using the biblical lexicon only and to regard the Hebrew Bible as a standard of eloquence and style. This near obsession with biblical Hebrew reflects an assertion of Jewish cultural nationalism even as it testifies to deeply ingrained Arabized values.

Menahem Ben Saruq, a mid-tenth-century Andalusian poet patronized by the courtier Hasdai Ibn Shaprut, wrote secular poems, including panegyrics and a famous greeting, written on Hasdai's behalf, to the Jewish king of Khazaria. Menahem was displaced by the rival poet Dunash Ben Labrat (d. c. 990), who revolutionized Hebrew poetry by adopting the prosodic features of Arabic verse (quantitative meter and monorhyme). Dunash thus allowed Jews to participate in one of the hallmark traditions of the age through the medium of their own historic language.

The use of Arabic meter was a subject of ambivalence among Andalusian Jews. Moses Ibn Ezra extolled Arabized Hebrew poetry in his *Kitab al-muhadara wa-l-mudhakara (Book of Conversation and Discussion)*, a Judeo-Arabic treatise on Hebrew poetics, while Judah Halevi demurred in the *Kuzari* that foreign meters sullied the purity of Hebrew verse (even though he often used Arabic meter in his own poetry). Hebrew poems also imitate the structural principles of Arabic forms such as the *qasida* and the *muwashshah*. The Hebrew *qasida* links disparate themes (such as nature and panegyric) using standard constructions of the "escape verse" *(takhallus)*. The Hebrew *muwashshah* follows the strophic pattern of its Arabic counterpart and frequently concludes with a *kharja,* either in Arabic or Hispano-Romance.

Many Hebrew poems fit neatly into Arabic thematic genres (wine poems, garden poems, poems of desire, panegyrics, invective, and so on). Recasting these themes in the language of the Bible allows for ironic and humorous effects through intertextual allusion. Arabic themes and meters also penetrate Hebrew devotional verse in al-Andalus. The pre-Islamic motif of *al-buka' 'ala al-atlal (Weeping over the Ruins)*, wherein the poet laments the effacement of the tribe's encampment, is evoked by Jewish poets lamenting the decay of the Jewish encampment *par excellence*, the Temple in Jerusalem. Although Andalusian Hebrew poetry is highly conventional, occasional poems reveal poetic individuality: Samuel Ibn Naghrela (993–1056) recounted battles of the Taifa kings; Solomon Ibn Gabirol (1021 to ca. 1055) wrote about his frustrated pursuit of philosophical wisdom; Moses Ibn Ezra (c. 1055 to after 1135) lamented his exile from al-Andalus; and Judah Halevi composed devotional poems during his pilgrimage to Palestine.

Another Arabized literary form that emerged in al-Andalus was the Hebrew rhymed prose narrative, which followed conventions of the Arabic *maqama*. In Solomon Ibn Saqbel's *Asher Son of Judah Spoke* (first half of twelfth century), the protagonist is rushed into marriage, only to have his veiled intended replaced with a bearded man. The story shares the *maqama's* penchants for trickery and denouement through recognition. This narrative was followed in Christian Iberia and in the Islamic world with a variety of rhymed prose narratives that adhere to the classical *maqama* to varying degrees. The most classical Hebrew example is Judah al-Harizi's *Tahkemoni,* which borrows plot materials from al-Hamadhani, al-Hariri, and other Arabic authors. Jews continued to compose poetry and prose in the Arabic style in North Africa, the Islamic East, and in Christian Europe for centuries to come.

JONATHAN P. DECTER

See also Judah Halevi; Judah al-Harizi; Ibn Ezra; Solomon Ibn Gabirol; Samuel Ibn Naghrela; Maqama; Poetry, Arabic; Sa'adyah Gaon

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POETRY, INDIAN

Muslims in medieval India composed poetry either in Persian or in the various Indic vernaculars, depending on their socioeconomic class and the literary traditions with which they identified.

Poetry in Persian was principally associated with the *ashraf*, the ruling class and aristocracy of Central Asian or Iranian origin, who governed many regions of the subcontinent from the tenth century onward. Although the *ashraf* occasionally used Turkish and Arabic, they espoused Persian as their principal literary language to maintain a distinct cultural and ethnic identity from the local population. Their use of Persian enabled them to participate in a wider international Turko-Persian culture that, at least until the eighteenth century, provided a shared cultural ethos between the ruling elites of a vast region that now comprises modern-day India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Central Asia, and even Turkey. The cosmopolitan nature of this culture meant that literati in Indian cities such as Delhi, Lahore, and Bijapur shared the same literary traditions as their counterparts in Heart, Bukhara, and Isfahan. It also meant that poets and artists could move freely in search of royal patronage in any part of this cultural nexus. Beginning in the sixteenth century, the Mughals enhanced the status of Persian when they declared it as the official language of their empire and used it to create a common literary ethos between heterogeneous religious and social groups. Thus, members of the Hindu administrative and ruling elite became enthusiastic participants in Persian literary culture, many of them becoming significant poets in the language.

As a result of this official patronage, during certain historical periods the total quantity of Persian literature produced in India greatly exceeded that produced in Iran proper. The vast corpus includes every major and minor Persian literary genre. Poetry was by far the most popular form of literary composition in Persian. Poets in medieval India utilized all major poetic forms, including the *qasida* (the panegyric extolling the virtues of a ruler or patron), the *ghazal* (the mystically tinged love lyric) and the *masnawi* (a "double-rhymed" epic form used particularly for narrating epics). The vast majority of Persian poets in India adhered strictly to poetic conventions as they relate to symbols and imagery as developed in Iran and Central Asia. They composed *naziras*, poems imitating the classical models of renowned Persian authors, as a way of demonstrating their literary skills. From very early on, however, there developed a unique style of Indian Persian called *sabk-i hindi* (the Indian style), which incorporated Indian elements into the world of Persian literary culture. The Indian style began modestly with early poets such as Mas'ud Sa'd Salman (d. ca. 1131) and Amir Khusrau (d. 1325), reaching maturity in the seventeenth century.

The influence of Persian extended far beyond its use as a literary medium among the elite. Persian became such an important cultural element in medieval India that Persian vocabulary features prominently in all major North Indian languages. It also strongly influenced the poetic forms, idioms, and even the writing systems of several Indic languages, such as Urdu, Sindhi, Baluchi, Pashtu, and Panjabi. Indeed, the poetic symbolism of Urdu poetry and its nuances cannot be appreciated without a background in Persian.

Pioneering the use of Indian vernaculars for composing poetry were various Sufis, or mystics. While it may be too simplistic to conceive of them as missionaries who converted substantial portions of the local population to Islam, the evidence strongly suggests that it was Sufis, composing poetry in local languages, who were responsible for the widespread dissemination of ideas among the masses. The most significant characteristic of this poetry was its folk character, drawing on indigenous traditions of folk songs, as a way of communicating with audiences who did not understand Persian or Arabic. Poets freely adopted indigenous literary structures and forms from folk poetic traditions that were predominantly oral in character and meant to be sung or recited with musical accompaniment. Often, these folk poems were incorporated in popular Sufi rituals such as the *sama'* and *qawwali* (concerts of mystical music). As this folk poetic tradition was closely tied to women's traditions, Sufi poetry in the vernaculars extensively adopts forms and symbols of songs sung by women as they performed their daily household chores such as spinning, weaving, grinding grain, and singing lullabies. As Richard Eaton illustrates in his book *Sufis of Bijapur*, Sufi poets incorporated in these songs basic teachings of Islam by drawing parallels between various household activities and Islamic practice or doctrine. The constant humming of the spinning wheel was compared to the Sufi *dhikr,* or ritual repetition of the names of God, while the upright handle of the grindstone *(chakki)* reminded one of the letter *alif* for Allah; the axle recalls the importance of Prophet Muhammad as a pivot of faith and the grain that is

being ground resembles the ego self which must be transformed.

Perhaps the most interesting Indian literary convention that Sufi poets incorporated into their poetry is representing the soul as the *virahini*, a woman who is longing for her beloved, who is symbolically God. Though the woman-soul symbol is rare in Persian and Arabic poetry, it is quite common in Indian literature. Its most renowned use is in Hindu devotional poetry addressed to Krishna to whom the *gopi*s, or milkmaids, in particular Radha, express their longing for union. Muslim poets adapted this symbol to various Islamic theological frameworks, varying the identity of the Muslim *virahini*'s beloved according to the context. In some cases the beloved could be God, or the Prophet Muhammad, or even the Sufi *shaykh*. In the *ginan*s, the devotional poems of the subcontinent's Khoja Ismaili communities, the *virahini's* beloved could even be the Shi'i Imam. Naturally, the genre of folk poetry would vary not only from one Muslim theological context to another but also from region to region. Thus, in the South Indian region of Tamilnadu, the *pillaitamil* (baby poem) which was usually addressed to a Hindu deity such as Krishna in his form as a baby, was adapted for singing the praises of the baby Prophet Muhammad.

Muslim writers in the vernaculars could also express their ideas through other literary devices. In areas of northern India, especially where Hindi dialects such as Awadhi, Braj, and Bhojpuri were spoken, they used the romantic epic as a vehicle to transmit mystical ideas. In this, they were probably inspired by the well-established Persian tradition in which romances such as Yusuf-Zulaykha are retold within a mystical framework. The use of Indian romances can be dated to 1379, when the Hindi poet Maulana Daud, disciple of a Chishti Sufi master, composed the *Chandayan,* in which he retells the romance between Lurak and Chanda as a mystical allegory. This epic was so famous that Badauni, the author of *Muntakhab al-Tawarikh*, records that a Muslim preacher used excerpts from Maulana Daud's epic during his sermon in the mosque because of its great impact on listeners. A pioneering literary work, the *Chandayan* initiated a centuries-long tradition of Islamic mystical romances in various dialects of Hindi, including masterpieces such as Kutuban's *Mrigavati* (composed in 1503), Malik Muhammad Jaisi's *Padmavat* (composed in 1540), and Manjhan's *Madhumalati* (composed in 1545).

Use of popular romances in communicating mystical ideas is also found outside the Hindi-speaking belt. In the late fourteenth century, Shah Muhammad Saghir composed in Bengali the epic of Yusuf and Zulaykha, which was based partly on the Persian tradition. This was the first of many such Islamic poetic epics in Bengali. In the Punjab, poets not only composed such epics in Punjabi, but they also regularly alluded to legendary Punjabi lovers in other poetic genres. Such was also the case in Sind, where we find Qazi Qadan (d. 1551), an early poet, alluding to Sindhi romances in his compositions. This trend was continued by later poets, the technique being perfected in the eighteenth century in the poetry of the Shah Abdul Latif in whose skillful hands the heroines of the romances are transformed into symbols for the soul longing for union with God through suffering and death.

Aside from the major thematic emphasis on portraying the human–divine relationship as one of yearning love, Muslim poetry in the vernaculars is characterized by other overarching themes: the condemnation of intellectualism and bookish learning as a means of approaching God, the main targets of criticism being the religious scholars and jurists who claimed exclusive authority to interpret matters of faith; the uselessness of blindly performed rituals; the centrality of the Prophet Muhammad as a guide, friend, and intercessor for the faithful; and the importance of the *pir* as a source of mystical guidance and instruction. On account of his special relationship as a *wali* (friend of God), and as a representative of the Prophet Muhammad, the *pir* also possesses a special numinous power *(barakah)* that can help the devotee through all sorts of difficulties, worldly or spiritual. The most controversial aspect of this poetry, at least in the eyes of the conservatives, was its expression of ideas associated with the *wahdat al-wujud* (unity of existence) mystical philosophy, traditionally associated with the school of Ibn 'Arabi (d. 1240), the Arabo-Hispanic mystic. This mystical philosophy, which had far-reaching influence in many different Muslim literary traditions, was used in India by Sufi poets to stress the fundamental unity of all that may outwardly appear multiple or different. As a consequence, Muslim poets composed verses indicating that there was no difference between Hindu and Muslim, or Ram and Rahim, or Nimrud and Abraham. Naturally, conservatives were alarmed by these expressions, which they felt blurred the distinction between Creator and creation.

ALI ASANI

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POETRY, PERSIAN

Poetry is one of the great glories of medieval Persian civilization; an enormous amount of verse in various genres, much of it of very high quality, was written throughout the medieval period and much has survived. After the Arab conquest of the seventh century "two centuries of silence" descended on the country; in the ninth century poetry in Persian began to be written again, in the quasi-independent courts of eastern Iran. Vigorous patronage by the Samanids, who ruled in Khorasan from c. 875 CE to the beginning of the eleventh century, meant that the style of the first centuries of Persian poetry's revival is named Khorasani. It is characterized by dignity, relative simplicity, and an immediacy of emotional effect. The earliest poems were panegyrics, and the rhetoric of adulation and supplication endemic to courtly praise poetry pervades virtually all Persian poetic genres, including the erotic and the mystical, with the partial exception of epic. Panegyric remained a major form throughout the medieval period, occupying a place in the court culture similar to that of the official portrait in the later court cultures of Europe.

The major genres of Persian poetry emerged in the period of the Khorasani style (tenth to early twelfth centuries). These include the short poem or epigram, generally in the four line rubai (pl. rubaiyat) form, or as a qate' (fragment, a form often used for satire or personal invective); the medium-length poem of praise (usually in the qasideh form); the lyric (ghazal), which developed from the traditionally lyrical opening of the qasideh; and the long narrative, which could be epic, romance, a didactic/mystical work, or some combination of the three. Narratives were written in couplets; all the other mentioned forms use monorhyme (stanzaic forms exist in Persian but are relatively rare). With the exception of the meter of the rubai, and that normally employed for epic, all Persian meters, of which there are a large number, are derived from meters in Arabic poetry, and like them are scanned quantitatively rather than accentually (pre-Islamic Persian meter appears to have been basically accentual: accentual meters still exist in some folk/popular compositions). The Khorasani style's masterpiece is the *Shahnameh* (c. 1010) of Ferdowsi, which recounts the pre-Islamic myths and romanticized history of Iran from the creation of the world to the Arab conquest. Sanai (d. 1131) is credited with writing the first important mystical masnavi in Persian *(Hadiqat a-Haqiqat, "The Garden of the Truth"),* and he is also one of the earliest writers of the ghazal. Epigrams (as rubaiyat) were widely written in this period; the usual ascription of many of them to Omar Khayyam is historically doubtful.

The most significant works in the majority of Persian verse genres, apart from epic and epigram, were produced in the so-called Eraqi style (mid-twelfth to fifteenth centuries), which flourished throughout Iran but is particularly associated with Shiraz in the southern heartland of the country. Eraqi style is more lush and more cerebral than Khorasani, delighting in decoration, word play, and conspicuous euphony. Many of the tropes current during the period of the Khorasani style had become conventional, and in its elaborate use of such conventions, Eraqi poetry was consciously intertextual and self-referential, presupposing a fairly high level of literary sophistication in its audiences. The influential romances of the Azerbaijani poet Nezami (1141–1209), *Khosrow o Shirin, Leili o Majnun, Haft Paykar*, may be regarded as transitional between the two styles. Nezami's contemporary, Attar (c. 1136–c. 1220), wrote mystical narratives (the best known is the *Manteq al-Tayr*, *Conference of the Birds*), a form that achieved its most celebrated success in the *Masnavi-e Ma'navi* of Rumi (1207–1273). Two natives of Shiraz, Sa'di (c. 1213–1292) and Hafez (c. 1319–c. 1390), are the acknowledged masters of the ghazal; Sa'di's are written with unrivaled elegance and euphony, while Hafez's combine erotic and mystical motifs with consummate technical sophistication. Jahan Khatun, the daughter of a ruler of Shiraz during Hafez's lifetime, is the only medieval woman poet whose divan (complete short poems) has come down to us, though she was preceded by the tenth to eleventh century Rabe'eh Qozdari, and the twelfth century Mahsati; a few poems by both these woman poets have survived.

As the Eraqi style flourished, Persian poetry was more extensively appreciated and written outside the confines of Persia itself. Poetry in Persian had been written in northern India since the Ghaznavid conquests of the eleventh century, but it is in the time of Sa'di that we find poets of the first rank (for example, Rumi in Turkey and Amir Khosrow [1253–1325] in India) writing outside of Persia. Persian verse retained great prestige in both Turkey and Moslem India, as well as in areas of Central Asia, throughout the later medieval period and beyond. In the sixteenth century the establishment of the Moghul court in northern India, and its adoption of Persian as the court language, gave rise to a distinctive Indian literature written in Persian.

Poetry in the fifteenth century is dominated by the figure of Jami (1414–1492), who set out to excel in virtually all current forms of poetry and belles-lettres and convinced many of his contemporaries that he had done so. His great fame, and the changes that overtook Iranian culture shortly after his death, mean that he is traditionally regarded as the last of the "classical" poets. In the Safavid period (1501–1736) a new style, prefigured in some of Jami's verses, the "Indian Style," emerges. There is debate as to whether the style first appeared in India or Iran, but the name is fitting since many of its best-known practitioners lived in India. This style is rhetorically complex, tends to use startling and original metaphors, and the poems often deal with abstruse subjects: It is thus broadly comparable to the Gongorist style in Europe. It remained current in Persian poetry until the mid-eighteenth century, when a return to earlier and simpler models of rhetoric was advocated.

Richard Davis

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POLICE

The police *(shurta)* as an urban force responsible for suppression of crime evolved from a military formation referred to as *shurtat al-khamis*, which apparently existed in Kufa during the rule of ʻAli (656–660). The association between the *shurta* and the military continued during the Umayyad and early ʻAbbasid period. According to Fred M. Donner, the *shurta* was a military force used to fight Muslim rebels, whereas Michael Lecker considers it an elite force. The Egyptian chronicler al-Kindi (897–961) provides a list of people who were nominated as the chiefs of Fustat *shurta* during the Umayyad and ʻAbbasid periods, but the precise nature of this force is difficult to ascertain.

In tenth-century Fustat there were two *shurta* forces known as the Upper and Lower *shurta,* and their role as an urban police responsible for the suppression of crime is clearly attested to for the Fatimid period (969–1171). The chiefs of police exercised judicial power and were responsible for the punishment of criminals. By the tenth century the chief of police monopolized the administration of criminal justice to the exclusion of the cadi. According to an administrative text from Baghdad of the early Buyid period (c. 950) the chief of police had to be familiar with the scale of punishments, but legal education was not a qualification required from him. He was advised to study texts such as the *Book of Brigands*, apparently by Jahiz (776–869), and other unspecified works such as *kutub ashab al-shurut wa-siyar al-muluk*.

In Fustat during the Fatimid period, the people nominated as chiefs of police were eunuchs of the court and officers among the Kutama Berbers. In 364/974–975, an attempt to involve jurists *(fuqaha')* in the in the process of the administration of criminal justice was unsuccessful. In 401/1010–1011, on the other hand, the chief cadi Malik ibn al-Fariqi forbade the chiefs of police to intervene in the jurisdiction exercised by the cadi according to the Muslim holy law, the *shari'a*. A certain encroachment of the chief of police on the judicial domain of the cadi is attested to by the sources. For example, cases of apostasy from Islam were dealt with by the cadi and the chief of police. According to the holy law, apostasy is a capital offense. In the Fatimid period the apostates were handed to the chief of policy for the implementation of the death penalty.

The problematic coexistence between the jurisdiction exercised by the cadi and that of the chief of police is illustrated by the appointment, in August 1011, of the military commander Muhammad ibn Nizzal as the chief of the two police forces in the Egyptian capital. His letter of appointment stated that it is his duty to implement the Qur'anic dictum "to command right and to forbid wrong" and, in practical terms, he was entrusted with the implementation of a comprehensive ban on the sale and production of wine. The reference to this Qur'anic dictum as describing the function of the chief of police can be understood as an attempt to Islamize the extra *shari'a* jurisdiction enforced by the chief of police. To what degree there was any congruency between the holy law and the criminal justice administrated by the chief of police is a vexing question. A further complication arises when one takes into account the involvement of the rulers themselves in the administration of criminal justice. In AH 257/870–871 CE, in Baghdad, a serial killer, ʻAli the strangler, was flogged to death on the order of the caliph and, in 321/933–934, a band of highway robbers was punished at the presence of the caliph. Their chief was flogged and executed while the others were punished by having their hands and legs cut off. Public punishment, including execution, of criminals was typical of premodern societies and aimed to deter offenders and restore the moral order. The royal patronage of such events served to manifest the ruler's commitment to uphold the moral order

and rule of law. These points are neatly demonstrated by a letter addressed by Fatimid ruler al-'Aziz to his vizier, Ya'qub ibn Killis. In 373/983–984, a foreign merchant was murdered and robbed at a covered market *(qaysariyya)* in Fustat. Rashiq, the slave of the chief of police, made several arrests, but people accused him as being behind the murder and claimed that he had arrested innocent people. A petition to that effect was submitted to al-'Aziz, who wrote to the vizier instructing him "to cleanse this disgrace from our dynasty and the grief it had caused to it." indeed, the chief of the police was temporarily removed from his post. Justice was considered as an Islamic virtue and rulers declared their commitment to the rule of justice. Thus, the involvement of Muslim rulers with the administration of criminal justice is perfectly understood, but it raises the question whether the holy law was strictly implemented in those cases or the emphasis was more on summary justice.

It seems that in the twelfth century the status of the chief of police was on the decline. During the 1120s in Fatimid state receptions and ceremonies, the chiefs of the two police forces in the capital were at the bottom of the list of state functionaries, preceding only the heads of the non-Muslim communities and non-Muslim secretaries. During the thirteenth century the terms *police* and *chief of police* disappeared from the sources, and new appellations *wali* (meaning the chief of police forces in Fustat and Cairo) and *ma'una* (meaning police) became common. The police as an urban institution completely degenerated during the Mamluk period. This development is in line with Ira M. Lapidus' observation that "The Mamluks governed not by administration, but by holding all of the vital social threads in their hands". Thus, many aspects of urban life were left to the discretion of the Mamluk emirs, and the distinction between administrative responsibilities and police functions was blurred. The same process is attested to for Damascus and Aleppo. The existence of a police force *(shurta)* in Damascus during the second half of the tenth century is well attested to by the sources. However, during the twelfth century the term *shurta* disappeared from the sources and was replaced by a new urban official: the *shihna*, who combined in his hands the authority of an urban prefect and a military governor. This new institution was also very prominent in thirteenth-century Aleppo.

YAACOV LEV

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POLITICAL THEORY

The title "Islamic political theory" should be understood as a euphemism only for the sake of convenience and as a shorthand description to signify diverse strains of political thought in medieval Islamic history.

Political theories emerged as responses to various challenges including the debate over the legitimacy of the caliphate, providing advice to sovereigns, guiding the political institution in certain directions, and elaborating an ideal political regime. All strains of thought followed a course of evolution in direct contact with the sociopolitical realities of their surroundings, and therefore not only rationalized the conceptualization of the political process but also contributed with novel particularities to political thought in response to specific challenges. In this necessarily brief survey, only the broad outlines of three traditions will be given: legal paradigm, *siyasa* (practical governance), and political philosophy. Apart from references for the purposes of comparison, political thought of the Shi'is and Mu'tazilites has not been examined here. Also, this treatment cannot offer a comprehensive survey of the diversity and nature of Islamic political theories. Any detailed examination must treat the discussion of reason and revelation as applied in political theory to dispel the mistaken

impression that Islamic political thought has been fully and overtly religious, with no room for human morality and rationality. Appropriate attention must also be given to the Mu'tazilites, Shi'is, and Philosophers whose political views surfaced and resurfaced in the ideological and intellectual compromises of the post-Mongolian political milieu.

Qur'an

Most frequently cited Qur'anic terms that are used to construct political views in medieval Islamic history are to possess or to dominate, m-l-k; to judge or to rule over, h-k-m; to succeed, kh-l-f; and finally, to lead, a-m-m, although they occur in the Qur'an in unrelated or only slightly relevant contexts. Although the Qur'an itself does not offer a vision that can be defined as political, it certainly encourages the believers to pursue an organized social and distinctly urban life. The revelations in the Qur'an brought a new sense of community and mission to the faithful, which probably encouraged political organization. Some suggestive broad political maxims in the Qur'an make reference to kingship and even traditional tribal leadership. A number of verses refer to the Egyptian Pharaohs as kings in the context of the stories of Moses and Joseph (al-Zukhruf 51; Yusuf 43, 50, 54, 72). Israelites ask Moses for a king to lead them in warfare (al-Baqara 246); David is given a kingdom (al-Baqara 251); and Israelites were made kings over other nations (al-Maida 20). Except for one verse (al-Naml 34: "When kings enter a country, they despoil it, and make the noblest of its people its meanest; thus do they behave"), the outlook of the Qur'an to kingship may be defined as mirroring a historical institution without a particular stance for or against it. Also significant is the Qur'anic sympathy for city life, especially vis-à-vis nomadic *modus vivendi,* for which the Qur'an displays a clear disdain (al-Quraysh; al-Tawba 101, 120). It is conceivable that the Qur'anic references to city life, to politically organized societies, and to kingship in neutral and even positive terms preconditioned, without pointing out any details and direction, the Muslim community to appreciate and even seek a political framework beyond the nomadic–tribal social organization of North Arabia.

Caliphate

The establishment of the caliphate in 632 was certainly a groundbreaking achievement politically and intellectually in medieval Islamic history. Muhammad was above all a messenger transmitting God's revelations to his community. He was also the leader of his community, in charge of its political organization in Medina. His position in Medina had therefore created a context to which his followers responded in his absence. Indeed, his death prompted a controversy among his followers in respect to his political legacy on two fundamental issues: the form of his political community and the nature of his religious prerogatives—whether transferable to a successor, real or corporeal. The birth of the caliphate (khalifa, or deputy, from khalafa, meaning "to succeed") immediately after his death in 632 was a response to both challenges. This new institution secured the political unity of the community against centrifugal tendencies partially responsible for the first civil war and its aftermath and set the political organization on a path of centralized government. The second matter, however, proved to be a contentious issue for at least the first two centuries in the history of the caliphate. As such, how the early Muslim community understood the meaning and nature of the caliphate remains disputed among scholars. Nonetheless, by the tenth century the caliphate seems to have been stripped of its pretensions to religious prerogatives in a long contestation with religious scholars, although the caliph was privileged with an aura of holiness. One must, however, modify that assertion by at least one condition that it was still possible for the caliph to claim, like his counterpart rulers in the Latin West, religious authority by invoking messianic expectations, which did happen in a number of cases. However, this was more of an exception rather than the rule. As an institution, the caliphate evolved in constant reciprocal relation with its political realities, tribal and sedentary Arabic political traditions, local customs, and Islamic values taking shape within the society. The conventions of appointment and succession, nature of authority, qualifications of the caliph owed much to this multifaceted relationship and affected the content of political thought. The historical political institution for and against which political views were articulated reflected certain features. First of all, the caliphate was confined to the members of Quraysh. Secondly, the method of appointment and succession to rule was not uniform; it ranged from election (shura) to appointment (ahd), to even military cue/usurpation (ghlaba). The caliph was appointed *ad vitam* until his death or removal from office by force. The nature and limits of his authority were not defined and was, in fact, contested by tribal centrifugalism, opposition of religiopolitical movements, and later by military commanders and more significantly sultans. Competing caliphates in Egypt (the Shi'i Fatimids) and Spain (Umayyads) in the tenth century

put to the test the unity of the caliphate in both practice and theory. When the Buyids and later the Seljuks occupied Baghdad and turned the caliph into a secondary and increasing shadow figure in the eleventh century, onward they brought with them the discussion of the position of the sultan vis-à-vis the caliph. Seljuk migration from Central Asia in the eleventh century and particularly the Mongol conquests in the thirteeneth century brought about a new type of sovereigns who derived their legitimacy not from jurisprudential delegation of authority (although the Seljuks did benefit from such provisions) but from their dynastic birthright. With such dynasties came also new sources of law based on secular nomadic customs rendering impossible to limit the discussion on politics to caliphate. As the succession to the caliphate and policies of caliphs were matters of controversy in an age of rapid expansion and organization, the issue of legitimacy and competition for the office led not only to civil wars but also to ideological disputes within the Muslim community. Right from the beginning, the controversy over the caliphate involved the identity of the rightful candidate for the office. The first civil war during the reigns of Uthman and Ali (656–661) led to the separation of the Kharijites from the rank of Ali, while the second civil war (683–692) helped the crystallization of Shi'i, Umayyad, and anti-Umayyad opposition, squeezing out in the process the initial political discussions around the qualification of the caliph and the legitimacy of his rule. With the consolidation of the conquests, the growth of urban centers and urban classes, the establishment of the 'Abbasid caliphate in 750 onward, and more significantly the religiopolitical developments among the Mu'tazilites, the Shi'is (Imami and Zaydi varieties), and proto-Sunnites (and later Sunnites) supplied new debates and new ideas into political thought on subjects ranging from necessity of the imamate to identity and qualifications of the imam. One must add to this the spread of political ideologies of state bureaucrats, mostly promoting initially Sasanian, but later Turkic and Hellenistic political practices, and of Greek political philosophies, which were elaborated through translations and writings of Muslim philosophers. It was against this rich background that political theories were formulated and reformulated.

Pioneering Debates

One might be surprised to read that the debate over the free will and predestination or the position of the sinner in faith had anything to do with political thought. Yet a position on each one of these questions had ramifications for recognizing or denying the legitimacy of the Umayyad caliphs. As the Umayyads believed their rule to be something ordained by God, they promoted predestinarian views, whereas some of their opposition supported the idea of free will and held Umayyads accountable for their actions. Likewise, if the Umayyads could be described as sinners for a number of reasons (least of which killing and religious laxity), were they still a part of the community of faithful and therefore legitimate caliphs despite their sins? Another front where political views were articulated was the comparative merit or excellence of the first four caliphs. In the seventh and eighth centuries the order of excellence was not yet stable. Whereas the non-Shi'is seem to draw a line between the reign of the first two caliphs (Abu Bakr and Umar) and later ones (Uthman and Ali), the former being the most excellent, and displayed conflicting views about the latter, the Shi'is questioned the legitimacy of the historical caliphate *in toto* as they were in the process of developing the idea of a divinely appointed imam. A corollary debate involved the distinction between the reign of the first four caliphs and later caliphates (caliphate vs. kingship). One of the most important debates among the opposition to the Umayyads concerned the succession to rule, particularly the call for *shura* and election against Umayyad practices of family succession. During 'Abbasid times, however, the call for *shura* remained a distant echo in the Kharijite opposition and, in few instances, in dynastic competition. The Shi'i opposition during the Umayyad caliphate promoted a Hashimite right to the caliphate. However, as the 'Abbasids excluded the Alids from their dynastic lineage the Shi'i opposition became increasingly focused on Alid lineage, eventually settling on a particular imam among the Alids. Since much of the debate about politics in early Islamic centuries involved legitimacy of the caliph and qualification of an ideal candidate for the office, political thought became increasingly focused on the personality of the candidate. The rise of powerful sultanates in the eleventh century onward provided the necessary historical background for an elaborate discussion of the theories of the sultanate, which proliferated especially in the wake of the Mongol conquests. Such developments gradually rendered the classical theory centered on the caliph obsolete and provoked rational responses among religious scholars to modify their views. The modification came as shifting the focus of discussion onto the conduct of the holders of coercive power in the House of Islam, the Amirs and Sultans, who were finally vested after the Mongol conquest with legal political authority instead of the caliph. After the Mongol conquests the discussion of politics

no longer involved in any serious measure the caliphate rather the proliferating sultanates. One may examine medieval Islamic political thought in three main groups, which are not necessarily aligned with sectarian divisions: First is the theory formulated by legal scholars and theologians, which we may call legal theory because it was based to a large extent on jurisprudential reasoning. Second is siyasa, which represented the views promoted by bureaucrats or secretaries and which evolved into the genre of mirror for princes and incorporated ethics (akhlaq) into political thought. The third is political philosophy advanced by Muslim philosophers.

Legal Theory

Legal theories of politics were put forth by the proto-Sunni and Sunni religious scholars in an atmosphere of debate and interaction with three major fronts: alternative religiopolitical currents, including the Shiʿis, Kharijites, and Mu'tazilites; secretaries; and finally, the caliphate itself. Overall tenor of the legal theories may be described as defending the historical caliphate against its political and sectarian opposition as legal scholars saw the caliphate as the source of unity and welfare of the Muslim community. Yet at the same time political views came about as a conscious attempt to place the caliphate on a trajectory more agreeable to the legal framework already in formation and less amenable to the intellectual legacy of Sasanian imperial tradition—ideological and intellectual background of ʿAbbasid secretaries. It is in this delicate balance between recognizing the legitimacy of the historical caliphate and steering it in the direction of the ideal imamate that we find the distinction the legal scholars made between the rightful imamate and kingship. Legal theory holds that appointing an imam is necessary—even a religious obligation for the community—contrary to many Mu'tazilites who thought that the imamate was neither necessary nor religiously obligatory. It is also required that the caliph be Muslim from the tribe of Quraysh, a view that again many Mu'tazilites and Kharijites did not require or even accept. The Shiʿis, on the other hand, limited the imamate to the descendants of Ali, at best the politically active members of Banu Hashim (Zaydites). Legal theory emphasized that the imam should be elected. The terms of election were rational enough to accommodate practical necessities. The election could be either through a selection of one well-qualified individual or a group of qualified electors *(ahl al-hall wa al-aqd)*. It could also, as stipulated by al-Ghazali (1111) in the age of Sultanates, be through the selection of *ahl al-shawka,* or holders of coercive power, that is, sultans. The imam could also be appointed by his predecessor or win himself the seat through a successful military cue (ghlaba). While the emphasis on election was clearly a response to the Shiʿi view of the divinely appointed imam *(nass)*, its ramifications cannot be confined to sectarian competition. The provision that the imam must be the most excellent of the community was generally reserved by the tenth century for the first four caliphs and involved to a large extent the debate over the legitimacy and the comparative merit of the Rightly Guided Caliphs (Rashidun), although it certainly was also intended for improving the historical conditions of the caliphate, which was not always in line with religious scholars' expectations. Zaydites advocated the imamate of the most excellent among the family of the Prophet, whereas the Mu'tazilites allowed the imamate of the less qualified for practical reasons and to prevent dissension. There can be only one imam at a time, although al-Baghdadi (1037) stipulated that it was acceptable to have more than one imam if two regions were separated from each other by a significant barrier such as a large body of water. Legal theory as elaborated by al-Mawardi (1058) and later scholars identified some qualifications for the caliph: knowledge of laws, legal probity, and physical and mental fitness to carry his political and military duties. The duties of the caliph, on the other hand, simply comprised the governance of the caliphate, leading armies in warfare, protecting the community against military threats, assuring the implementation of laws, distribution of justice, and appointing lesser administrators who represented the caliph in their respective responsibilities. (By the time of al-Mawardi, this included the *de facto* rulers as well). Because legal theory held the unity of the community to be one of the foremost aims of the caliphate, it frowned upon dissension and advocated obedience to the ruling caliph as long as the laws of Shari'a were not violated, in which case obedience becomes not only unnecessary but also prohibited—a condition that allowed, significantly, legitimate dissent to keep the power of the ruler in check. Nevertheless, legal political theory does not, in general, stipulate a regulation for deposing the caliph apart from apostasy, loss of freedom, and of sanity. Political theory of legal scholars was first initiated to some extent in the jurisprudential corpus (such as Abu Yusuf's *Kitab al-Kharaj*), which was mostly based on Hadiths attributed to the Prophet and the practice of the first four caliphs. It was elaborated in Hadith works of the ninth century and given a prominent place in the works of theology (Kalam), beginning with al-Ash'ari.

Siyasa or Mirror for Princes

Already during the late Umayyad period, but increasingly with the establishment of the ‘Abbasid caliphate, the genre of political advice (produced in a range of literary styles from fables to poetry and for the consumption of rulers and educated lay) occupied a substantial place in medieval Islamic political imagination. Expressed and elaborated in treatises of advice to governors, caliphs, princes, and secretaries this genre began largely with transmitting Sasanian imperial practice as exemplified in the activities of Ibn al-Muqaffa (757). However, it gradually became a genre incorporating aspects of practical ethics *(akhlaq)*, jurisprudence, and Greek political philosophy, thus forming an influential political ideology that Amirs and Sultans of the late ‘Abbasid period aspired to follow. This genre proliferated in the post-Mongol political and cultural environment and was primarily addressed to rulers for the purpose of improving governance by discussing the necessary moral qualifications of the ruler and of advising him on manners to help in practical politics. Despite all of its practical purposes, it also promoted and advocated a distinct vision of politics and governance. Foremost is the promotion of kingship and king, who must be obeyed at all costs, as the central theme of its political theory. It was the duty of the king to protect his domains against any enemy who committed to disturb the sociopolitical equilibrium. Contrary to paradigmatic legal theory, which saw the caliphate embedded in religious law, siyasa saw royal authority and religion as twins whose survival depends on the welfare of the other. Such concern with balancing religion and kingship for the survival of royal authority is also reflected in the emphasis on social equilibrium, which is accomplished only by keeping every class in its respective place. It is no other than justice, a notion that was largely inherited from Near Eastern imperial traditions and supplanted by experiences from actual practice in Islamic context, that can maintain this equilibrium. The famous circle of justice aptly demonstrates the centrality of the king, the pragmatic organization of social order, the function of each class in society, and the necessary medium to keep this order in balance for the prosperity of all: No royal authority is possible without military; military needs finance and finance depends on taxes levied on subjects; subjects can be maintained only by justice and justice is provided by royal authority. Remarkably, the references to religious law (Shari’a) do not figure prominently in this genre. Shari’a law was certainly taken into account as social conduct and moral attitude derived much from it, but royal authority and justice were not dependent on Shari’a law, as was the case with legal theory. To the extent that the Shari’a law was a part of the society, the ruler and his subjects were obliged to respect its stipulations for maintaining political and social harmony; religion was, after all, one of the twins. First of all, the siyasa was much more interested in practical governance and the ways by which this should be accomplished. Secondly, the reality was that dynastic laws were based on extrareligious traditions and customs and did not derive their legitimacy from religious laws. In fact, siyasa flourished better and was more meaningful and effective in situations where political legitimacy rested on inherited dynastic right or divine mandate, as was the case with Turkic, Persian, and Mongolic sultanates in Central Asia and the Middle East.

Political Philosophy

It would be futile to cramp down the views expressed in political philosophy into highly condensed lines, because political theories vary widely from Philosopher King of al-Farabi to Governance of the Solitary of Ibn Bajja. Rather, a broad sketch of common aspects of political philosophy will be given. Among the work translated from Greek heritage into Arabic, political philosophy formed a portion. Swinging between advice (Epistles of Salim) and theoretical exposition of political authority, political philosophy emerged finally as a creative merger of ancient philosophical heritage, late antique royal legacy, and new Islamic experience. Similar to the legal theory and siyasa, the elaboration of political philosophy needed courtly patronage, yet unlike the genre of siyasa, it did not concern itself primarily with advising the ruler; it did not address them either. Political philosophy offered a theoretical exposition of politics under the rubric of tripartite practical philosophy. Furthermore, contrary to the legal theory and siyasa, political philosophy dealt extensively with raison d’etre and origins of political authority, which gave it, together with philosophy’s general orientation, a distinct humanistic and rational dimension. Whereas legal theory and siyasa approached political organization as a given, philosophical exposition started from scratch with the assumption that political authority arose from human’s need to organize themselves into peaceful communities. Stage by stage, from household management headed by the male member of the family, human beings organized their respective domains of authority, leading their subordinates closer toward perfection and happiness. Similarly the king/imam, by his personal virtues and intellectual capacity, leads his subjects according to their intellectual and moral capacities to moral and intellectual perfection and

happiness. In the body of political philosophy the king figures as central to the whole system: He rests at the top of the social hierarchy and represents the highest moral and intellectual level. Similar to the genre of mirror for princes, political philosophy, too sidestepped Shari'a as a basis for political community. Shari'a laws were certainly incorporated into the legal system required for any political organization since not all of the subjects were of the same social, moral, and intellectual capacity and level. Inspired by the Greek sages, Plato and Aristotle, Muslim philosophers created a political vision that took into account Muslim political experience but did not respond to it directly. Rather, unlike legal theory and mirror for princes, the vision set forth the conditions for the ideal rule.

HAYRETTIN YUCESOY

See also Ibn Khaldun

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POPULAR LITERATURE

Definitions

The contours of what is "popular" and "polite" literature differ from culture to culture, and the aesthetic assumptions implicit in this binary division have often been questioned. Most scholarly works on the literary history of medieval Islamic literature in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish have followed the already existing format of literary histories of Western languages and cultures, adopting their divisions and terminology without taking into consideration different social structures, priorities, and aesthetic contours, and without allowing for the fact that our knowledge of economic and social life in many parts of the early medieval Islamic world remains extremely patchy and hence prone to wild conjectures. The essential constituents of the study of popular literature—the methods of composition, the performance and location of performance, as well as the different ways of production and memorization, the range of participating audience and solitary readership, and the changes in the content and diction in time and place—have on the whole not received the attention they deserve. With the exception of *The Arabian Nights,* which since the growth of interest in magical realism as a universal genre has become a staple diet of academic courses on comparative literature, popular texts in Arabic and other languages of medieval Islamic culture have been used mostly as quarries for motif-indices without much attention to other contextual, literary, and historical implications. For example, one of the last examples of traditional popular Persian prose narratives, *The Adventures of Amir Arsalan*, was first recited at the Qajar court in Iran in the second half of the nineteenth century and contains many themes of much earlier medieval popular narratives, including incidents illustrating the wiles of women, a favorite and recurrent theme in medieval literature, perennial clashes between good and evil viziers, and that hallmark of most popular adventures from Hellenistic romances to Victorian bodice rippers: the ongoing though constantly interrupted amorous escapade. This and other similar examples encourage us to reexamine the use of terms such as *courtly* and *medieval* as working definitions and labels of demarcation. Moreover, the occurrence of many of the themes of popular literature, such as the "wiles of women," or the importance of the shrewd tutor or governess as an eminence grise in manuals of advice and other less strictly popular genres, shows again how blurred the contours can be in a culture in which the notions of entertainment and instruction, popular piety, and sectarian beliefs were often indistinguishable and yet firmly insisted upon and vociferously stated.

Rise of Islam

These connections and tensions appear from the first centuries of Islamic history and are reflected in the early commentaries on the Qur'an. Two denunciations of "Tales of the ancients" *(asatir al-awwalin)* in the Qur'an (VIII, 31; LXXXIII, 13) provide early exegetes with an opportunity to explain and expand

these terse verses in terms of a clash of intentions and worldviews. Nadhr b. al-Harith, a rich merchant from the Quraysh and a staunch foe of the Prophet, is depicted in these commentaries as a purveyor not only of singing slave girls but also of imported stories from Persia, regaling the public with tales of the adventures of the Iranian heroes Rostam and Esfandiyar. This propaganda war against the Prophet, implying that the Qur'anic stories were merely lackluster products of the same genre, came to a bloody end when the hapless impresario was beheaded by no less a figure than 'Ali b. Abi Talib, who himself was to become the archetypal Moslem hero in later popular literature and appear as a latter-day Rostam in many an adventure.

Impact of the Qur'an and its Commentaries

As implied and illustrated earlier in this entry, the impact of Islam on popular literature can be seen through several different perspectives. The contribution of the Qur'an itself was pivotal. Again, as in the case of the "Tales of the Ancients," not only its extended accounts of previous times and past nations, but also its more condensed allusions, became building blocks for many a full-blown vita of ancient prophets and their stories *(Qissas al-anbiya; Isra'i-liyyat)*, which began to appear in Arabic and Persian, and later Uighur and Turkish, commentaries of the Qur'an and soon attracted such attention that they began to feature in more and more popular expanded versions with relatively simple diction and syntax, ideal as part of a preacher's baggage of exempla. One exceptionally extended and self-contained account, the entire Sura XII of the Qur'an, the story of the prophet Joseph, which was referred to in the Qur'an itself as "the best of stories," was retold more than any other and praised by the exegetes for its miraculous encapsulation of all the ingredients of an ideal story, although some thought that its masterly evocation of female sexuality was too potent for the weaker sex and advised its perusal to be limited to men only. On the other hand, the far more nebulous figure of Du'l-Qarnayn, "the two-horned" figure in Sura XVIII, has also had an equally profound but more complex impact on popular stories, through his identification with Alexander the Great and through the fusion of the Qur'anic allusion and its extended explication by commentators with material culled from the Alexander romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes. The mixture of the different strands, Islamic and Hellenic in this particular popular story, and the way its figures and motifs reflect preoccupations and anxieties of different peoples of different regions of the Islamic world, from Egypt and Ethiopia to the farthest corners of Islamic penetration into Southeast Asia, require a multidisciplinary approach and a knowledge of several indigenous cultural histories. The mystical figure of Khizr, for example—never mentioned directly by name in the Qur'an itself—shares many associations with the Green Man or Knight of European medieval literature, as well as the angelic figure of Soroush in pre-Islamic Zoroastrian Iran and later Persian poetic imagery and literature in general, including popular stories. Khizr is not only a major figure in the Alexander legend but also appears in other popular tales in his capacity as an intermediary from above and a helper of the tale's hero at the bleakest hour.

Religious Biographies and Campaigns

Along with the Qur'an, the life of the Prophet himself *(al-sira al-nabawiyya),* and the martial feats of the Prophet and his Companions *(ansar)* against the heathen *(al-maghazi),* the early history of Islam provided much material for popular culture in its different forms, including popular spectacles, religious drama, and popular epics, and always with some reference to already existing traditions. In addition to the already mentioned heroic depiction of 'Ali, the martyrdom of his younger son Hosayn at the battle of Kerbala is reminiscent of the fate of the young princes Iradj and Siyavosh in the Persian *Book of Kings,* who opt for justice and the right conduct while fully prescient of the fatal consequences awaiting them. Another figure from the Prophet's immediate family whose tales of adventure form a considerable corpus of their own is Hamza, Muhammad's paternal uncle, transformed into an indefatigable fighter who surpasses Alexander in the range of his itinerary. Hamza traveled not only in the heartland of the Islamic world but also to such outposts as Central Asia, Greece, and Tangiers, often meeting the legendary prophet Khizr in his capacity as the guide and helper of pious and God-fearing travelers. The sumptuously illustrated manuscript of his adventures, the *Hamza-nama*, commissioned by the Indian Mughal emperor Akbar, which has been the centerpiece of several exhibitions in the West, is yet another reminder of the close interaction between Islamic courts and popular literature.

Caliphs, Sufis, Monarchs, and 'Ayyars

Already in the depiction of Hamza, one detects a distinctly heroic but not necessarily strictly Islamic

characterization, a factor that perhaps contributed to the great range of its translations and adaptations, including one into Georgian. This tendency is intensified in the depiction of such later familiar figures in the world of popular literature as Harun al-Rashid, the ʻAbbasid caliph who for all intents and purposes appears indistinguishable from other worldly rulers who also frequent popular tales, such as Mahmud of Ghazna or the Safavid Shah Abbas. They are usually depicted as stern but generous and manly figures whose courts provide convenient backdrops to a host of popular episodic anecdotes. The ʻAyyars, those cunning yet chivalrous characters of nearly all Islamic literatures who gave their name as an epithet to the hero of the earliest Persian popular prose narratives, *Samak-e Ayyar*, or even those founding fathers of Sufi sects whose popular hagiographies form a substantial corpus of popular literature, particularly in Persian, are celebrated from different perspectives. Samak, like Rostam in the *Book of Kings*, often appears as Jeeves to his feckless sovereign's Bertie Wooster, while Ahmad-e Jam, a celebrated Persian Sufi with a much-visited shrine and a robust vita, is eulogized for his physical prowess and saintly deeds. His gallant self-control in his dotage, when he refrained from copulating with his nubile peasant bride more than once in the space of a single night out of concern for her well-being, is remarked upon with admiration in his vita.

Language and Style

The nomenclature used in titles of popular stories illustrates both the connections and regional differences in the popular literature of the medieval Islamic world. In Persian for example, the *Book of Kings (Shahnama)* of Pre-Islamic monarchs and heroes became an inexhaustible source of imitation and borrowing and generated secondary verse epics that usually selected a relatively minor character from its rich repertoire, and made him into the main protagonist with the help of new episodes and adventures. The same process was in force in popular prose literature in works such as the *Firuz Shah Nameh* that appears both in Persian and in Arabic versions. The two languages also share the term *Qissat* (Per. *Qessa*) as a designation for a narrative story, as in the famous Arabic *Qissat Abu Zaid al-Hilali wa-l-Naʻisa,* though in Persian the word was given different nuances and applied mostly to shorter tales. The Arabic stories, however, also describe themselves as *sira*s; and in modern critical terminology the entire genre comes under the heading of *sira shaʻbiyya* or popular *sira*. These include such famous stories as *Sira ʻAntar*, *Sirat al-Zahir Baybars*, *Sirat Bani Hilal al-Kubra*, *Sirat Saif b. Dhi Yazan*, and others. The Arabic stories are composed in rhyme prose with frequent insertions of poetry, whereas the Persian stories tend to be in simple prose, with some containing occasional lines of poetry. However, in their case, too, the simple prose is at times replaced by interludes of ornate descriptive passages on such literary topics as sunrises and sunsets, or depiction of beautiful women. This has led some editors and commentators to detect the influence of copyists or scribes at the final stage when this basically oral composition was turned into a written format. But the two styles could have well coexisted from the outset; in the case of the popular storyteller, as in the case of his rival the popular preacher, occasional flights of rhetoric and a purple passage or two depicting a well-established topic would have been a way of parading one's skills as a performer. The more racy and simple diction could be reserved for the main part of the narrative where the action demanded all the attention. The same mixture of styles occurs in Turkish folk epics such as *Köroghlu,* except that here regional variations contain different proportions of poetry and prose. *The Book of Dede Korkut*, on the other hand, is entirely in prose but contains passages where rhyming and transliteration occur.

Narration and Wonder

The uneasy dichotomy between "popular" and polite has already been referred to at the outset. But it must be borne in mind that "literature" also has had an eventful semantic history, with both "literature" and "text" as metaphors assuming ever more widening range and connotations. This revision of taxonomies can itself suggest new ways of studying medieval popular literature in terms of its own dynamics and internal structure. Thus in spite of using material culled from different times and cultures—the reign of the Kayanids or Sasanids, glancing back at the heroic age of the Oghuz Turks, or drawing upon the *Days of the Arabs (Ayyam al-Arab)*—the underlying narrative techniques of the episodes and their ways of focalization can be constructively studied together. The supernatural, for example, in its different manifestations, in characterization as magicians and sorcerers, or in location, in exotic lands populated by strange men and beasts, was a frequent feature of most tales, and it was this abandonment of verisimilitude that has given the term *popular* its laudatory and pejorative connotations from the outset. The

eleventh-century Persian historian Bayahqi, for example, in a short diatribe against stories in which an old sorceress can turn a man into an ass, while another aged hag can rub an ointment into his ears and turn him back into a human being, dismisses the entire genre as mere superstitions that induce sleep to the ignorant when they are read to them at night. Yet it is this very defiance of verisimilitude and the destabilizing effect of the magical hall of mirrors conjured up at times by these narratives that have found them new audiences in our own time.

Olga M. Davidson

See also Alexander; Biography and Biographical Works; Dreams and Dream Interpretation; Epic Poetry; Epics, Arabic; Epics, Persian; Epics, Turkish; Folk Literature, Arabic; Folk Literature; Persian; Folk Literature, Turkish; Magic; Maqama; Miracles; Mirrors for Princes; One Thousand and One Nights; Performing Artists; Popular Religion; Saints and Sainthood; Safavids; Sasanians, Islamic Traditions; *Shahnama*; Sira, Stories and Storytelling; Sufism and Sufis; Supernatural Beings; Theatre; Women Warriors

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POST, OR BARID

Post, or *Barid,* was the official system of swift overland communication employed by rulers in the premodern Islamic world. The origins of both the term *Barid* and the institution that it represents have been debated by scholars, although it is clear that Byzantine and Sasanian models, which were known to pre-Islamic Arabians through the imperial penetration of the Arabian Peninsula, influenced the creation and early development of the Islamic *Barid*. Elaborate postal systems were in existence in the Near East since ancient times, and the natural and topographical conditions that dictated the creation and maintenance of these systems remained unchanged over millennia. Thus caliphs such as Mu'awiya (r. 661–680 CE) and 'Abd al-Malik (r. 685–705 CE), who are credited with having established the *Barid* throughout Umayyad lands, had only to continue the basic structure of the routes and postal stations that dotted the caliphal landscape.

In general terms, the *Barid* allowed caliphs to communicate swiftly and securely with the remotest provinces of their rule. Messengers to and from the provinces would, upon the presentation of the necessary documentation, be entitled to the use of fresh mounts, lodgings, and other provisions that were available at stations along defined routes. These stations were ideally situated six to twelve miles apart (the former distance applying to eastern regions, the latter to western ones), but local conditions such as the existence (or lack) of water, mountains, deserts, or towns often affected the course of the routes and the location of postal stations. From the early 'Abbasid period, itineraries of the imperial routes and stations were collected for official use, and these influenced the composition of Arabic geographical works.

The *Barid* served rulers in a variety of capacities: messengers transmitted official correspondence—mostly reports and decrees; governors were escorted to their posts; foreign emissaries were transported to the capital; and mounts and soldiers were dispatched to the scenes of battle. Messengers using the *Barid* could cover enormous distances with great speed, thereby allowing rulers to act with efficiency on the reports sent from afar. Thus the *Barid* was a crucial

tool of centralization for rulers of far-flung empires such as those of the Umayyads, ʻAbbasids, Mamluks, and Ottomans, whose power depended on their ability to control and react to events throughout their lands.

Regional postal administrators coordinated the local activities of the *Barid* and regularly relayed reports to a central postal chief based in the capital. The regional administrators were responsible for the upkeep and management of the local postal stations. Depending on the region and period, funding for the system was derived either from the central treasury or by an arrangement according to which towns and villages that maintained the local postal infrastructure were compensated through a commensurate reduction in taxes levied. However, when manned postal stations were unavailable, couriers would usually requisition mounts and provisions from locals who were barred from using the system. This often led to a general feeling of popular resentment toward the official couriers, and there is a detailed record of the postal reforms instituted by Near Eastern rulers, from Roman to Ottoman times, aimed at curbing the excesses of couriers and the oppression that they are known to have visited upon the towns and villages through which they passed.

Under the Umayyads, the *Barid* was organized on a rudimentary basis, with local (Sasanian or Byzantine) traditions prevailing in different parts of the caliphate. The ʻAbbasids rationalized the system and increasingly used it in the context of gathering and relaying information; hence, during this period the *Barid* came to be closely associated with internal surveillance. With the gradual fragmentation of the caliphate in the late ninth and early tenth centuries CE, the need for an empire-wide system of communication diminished, as did the ability of the Baghdad-based rulers to control the postal infrastructure in distant provinces. The central *Barid* declined accordingly, with independent dynasties such as the Fatimids and Ghaznavids maintaining their own postal systems until the Mamluk sultan Baybars I (r. 1260–1277 CE) revived the *Barid,* albeit on a smaller scale. Earlier, in 1234, the second Great Mongol, Khan Ogedei (r. 1229–1241 CE), established the impressive *Yam* postal system, drawing on Chinese precedents and connecting internally the most extensive land-based empire in history. A decree of the Ottoman sultan Mustafah II (r. 1664–1703 CE) ordered that the imperial courier system *(Ulaq)* be privatized, thereby altering the very nature of premodern postal systems of the Near East.

From the tenth century CE, homing pigeons were increasingly used in the Islamic world for transmitting urgent news, particularly during the Mamluk period, although they were not, strictly speaking, part of the *Barid*'s infrastructure.

ADAM SILVERSTEIN

See also Diplomacy; Espionage; Ibn Khurradadhbih; Pigeons; Road Networks

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POVERTY, ISLAMIC

As is the case in a number of premodern cultures, medieval Islamic society viewed poverty both as a social problem and as a form of religious piety. Understanding the attitudes of medieval Muslims toward poverty and the poor, therefore, turns on the distinction between the poor as an identifiable group or groups in society and the adoption of poverty as a spiritual value by elite groups of pious men and women.

Poverty represented a social problem from the very beginnings of the Muslim community. The Qur'an lists the poor *(al-fuqara' wa al-masakin)* among the recipients of the alms-tax *(zakah)*. Later, legal scholars argued about the respective meanings of these two terms, but it was agreed that both referred to persons who possessed too little property to pay zakah themselves. This discussion provides us with the first attempt at a definition of poverty from the point of view of Islamic law. In time, Sufis argued that the first pious, poor Muslims in history were those companions of the Prophet who left their possessions behind when they emigrated from Mecca to Medina, and who took up residence on the portico of the Prophet's mosque. These *ahl-suffa* (people of the portico) provided a model for later ascetics and Sufis, as well as serving as a link that would connect Sufi poverty to the earliest Muslim community under the leadership of the Prophet himself.

The Islamic conquests likely had the effect of enriching many early Muslims, but this was temporary. Over time, the community grew to include people of

all social classes and ethnic origins. By the time of the civil war between Harun al-Rashid's sons, al-Ma'mun and al-Amin (809–813 CE), the poor people of Baghdad were sufficiently numerous to enter Muslim political history for the first time. They defended the city and supported al-Amin against his brother. Thereafter, the existence of poor persons among the Muslim community was accepted as a fact of life, and the poor appear to us in the sources in a number of guises. Among these are the *harafish*, who are described as day laborers, beggars, and sometime Sufis. In Mamluk Cairo, the *harafish* were led by a *shaykh* or *sultan* who was responsible to the sultan. The sultans and amirs frequently employed them to build buildings or dig canals.

In one famous classification of the groups making up medieval Islamic society, that of the fifteenth-century Egyptian chronicler al-Maqrizi, the poor appear as the lowest of seven social classes and are classified as "beggars who beg from people and live at their expense." The sixth class, made up of those who work for a wage, includes "wage laborers, porters, servants, stablemen, weavers, masons, construction workers, workmen, and the like." All of these groups belonged to the *'amma* (common people), as opposed to the *khassa* (elite). The chroniclers, as the children of privilege, often express disgust at the rowdy behavior of the lower classes, and fear of their propensity for violence in times of hunger or during epidemics. The chroniclers routinely record the occurrence of bread riots, especially in the troubled years of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Also of concern to the wealthy were the activities of young men organized in *futuwwa* groups in the major Muslim cities. Although originally intended as protectors of their urban neighborhoods, the groups sometimes invaded the spaces occupied by the wealthy and engaged in robbery and looting.

In contrast to the negative light in which the chroniclers present the poor, all classes of society seem to have held Muslim ascetics and Sufis in high regard, at least so long as these holy poor did not violate the norms of Muslim law or adopt heretical religious ideas. In the early centuries of Islam, it was ascetics—people who renounced material comfort in order to pursue a life devoted to worship, study, or holy war—who filled this role. As Sufism began to emerge as an independent movement at the end of the ninth century, however, it began to absorb many of the ideas and practices associated with the earlier ascetic movement. There is some dispute as to what degree Sufism opposed the conventional piety and political order, but the Sufis quickly emerged as a spiritual elite, one of whose chief distinguishing characteristics was the practice of pious poverty. Although the Sufis would have rejected the term for theological reasons, one might describe this type of poverty as voluntary poverty, as opposed to the involuntary poverty of the lower classes. Indeed, the Sufi hagiographies make a point of emphasizing the elite origins of many Sufis, and present their disavowal of wealth as a sign of their rejection of the material world and embrace of spiritual devotion.

As time went on, the Sufi became an easily recognizable figure, with his begging bowl and patched cloak. Sufis began to attract the attention of the rulers of Muslim states and to attract their patronage. From the tenth century onward, Muslim rulers built convents to house Sufis, many of whom were itinerant. Perhaps the best known of these institutions was the *khanqah*, a Sufi convent that was usually built by the ruler as a waqf. Other terms for Sufi institutions included *ribat* and *zawiya*, many of them founded by private persons to benefit their teacher or a particular Sufi order. Indeed, late medieval Sufism was increasingly organized around Sufi orders founded by charismatic teachers, who claimed to pass down teachings originating with the Prophet.

This institutionalization of Sufism had a negative effect on the reputation of the holy poor. Scholars critical of Sufism, such as Ibn al-Jawzi (d. 1200), suggested that the Sufis were living off of the hard work of their fellow Muslims, and thus were undeserving of veneration by ordinary believers. Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328) rejected assigning any special status to holy poverty, arguing that wealthy persons who spent their money on pious purposes, such as supporting *jihad*, were no less worthy of respect. These neo-Hanbali scholars denied the holy poor any special status and argued that the best Muslims were those who were socially and politically engaged, not those who isolated themselves from society to devote themselves to worship. Indeed, the increased dependence of the Sufis on elite patronage was used to call their motives into question. Some Sufis, known as *Malamati*s, responded to popular veneration by intentionally violating Islamic law in order to attract criticism.

In general, however, the piety of the holy poor continued to inspire the respect of all classes of Muslim society. Even the ordinary beggar received alms with a prayer for his benefactor, and the idea that the poor were especially close to God continued to be persuasive to most Muslims. Many founders of pious endowments, for example, stipulated that those employed by the endowment regularly pray for the souls of the founder and his or her descendants. In this way, the holy poor helped ensure the salvation of their social superiors.

Adam Sabra

See also 'Abbasids; Burial Customs; Charity; Ethics; Funerary Practices, Muslim; Gifts and Gift Giving; Hospitality; Ibn al-Jawzi; Ibn Taymiyya; Mamluks; al-Maqrizi; Mecca; Medina; Mosques; Public Works; Syria; Sufism and Sufis; Waqf

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POVERTY, JEWISH

For most medieval and even early modern societies, we know about poverty mainly from the point of view of those looking at the poor from the outside—those who thought and wrote about poverty and those who gave relief to the poor. For the Jewish world of the Islamic Middle Ages, letters preserved in the Cairo Geniza (covering mainly the period 1000–1250 CE) illustrate also the point of view of the poor themselves, as their voice is heard in letters of appeal, or indirectly in requests written on their behalf. Some of the letters of appeal, especially those of indigent women, were written by professional letter writers. Nonetheless, they realistically reflect poverty as a lived experience, as well as Judaism's belief that poverty is a misfortune no matter whom it afflicts.

Written in Hebrew or in Judeo-Arabic, most of the letters of appeal were addressed to would-be benefactors in Fustat (Old Cairo). Some wrote from far away (as far away as Europe or distant Islamic lands) and some from nearby. When their correspondence no longer served a function, for instance, after a would-be benefactor responded with a gift, it was discarded in the Geniza chamber of the synagogue, unexpectedly to be discovered centuries later and studied by modern scholars.

The letters reveal strategies of the poor. Biblical epigraphs to letters, perched like conspicuous inscriptions on buildings; introductions composed of biblical verses; and scriptural fragments quoted within the bodies of letters—many of which had received prominence in rabbinic literature in connection with charity—exhort would-be givers to follow the charitable advice of holy writ. Prominent are verses including the word *tzedaqa*, which in the Bible usually means "righteousness" but was understood by Geniza people in its post-biblical meaning of "charity." Favorite biblical quotations include the verses "Happy is he who is thoughtful of the wretched; in bad times may (the Lord) keep him from harm" (Psalm 41:2; see Palestinian Talmud Pe'a 8:8, 21b and elsewhere) and "Charity saves from death" (Proverbs 10:2, 11:4; see Babylonian Talmud, Bava Batra 10a). The Judeo-Arabic refrain, "may God make you always one of the besought rather than a beseecher," and the Hebrew adage based on a midrash, "be one of the givers, not of the takers," both of them pronounced in many a Geniza letter of appeal, similarly play on the belief that one can avert indigence by being charitable.

Mindful of the etiquette of female privacy, women wrote only to communal officials or to the community as a whole. Widows relied especially on a rabbinic dictum that "the court (and by extension, the Jewish community) is the father of orphans and the judge of widows." Men appealed to individuals as well, even ones they did not know or who did not know them.

These people were not beggars (information about actual begging, defined as house-to-house solicitation and frowned upon in Judaism, is nearly nil, though of course it existed). Often making use of the literary form of the Arabic petition, these suppliants for charity wished to avoid both begging and public charity (*see* Charity, Jewish). Their letters reflect a relationship between the petitioner and the petitioned, very much like the ancient and gentlemanly system of patronage pervading Near Eastern society. That relationship was characterized by bonding between the benefactor and the recipient of his protection, who in this case prayed to God on behalf of his or her patron in gratitude for a gift bestowed (or anticipated) and would praise him publicly for his generosity.

Most of the indigents writing these letters belonged to the "working poor," though some came from the more well-to-do, that is, the "good families." Together they made up what modern scholars call the "conjunctural poor." Conjunctural poverty (juxtaposed to "structural"or chronic poverty) results

from a particular convergence of circumstances that change a person's economic situation for the worse. This sudden impoverishment, however temporary, is a source of shame. The "shamefaced poor," as they are called in medieval and early modern European texts, resist turning to others for help, let alone resorting to the embarrassment of the public dole or of beggary. Conjunctural poverty was already recognized in early rabbinic Judaism, where the midrash speaks about the "person from a prominent family *(ben gedolim)* who fell from his wealth *(yarad minekhasav)* and was too ashamed to take (alms)." In the Geniza world the category of the shame-faced poor extended downward to include the working poor who, most of the time, lived in self-sufficiency, just above the poverty line.

One of the most interesting concepts of poverty revealed by the Geniza letters is the twin notion of *mastūr* and *kashf al-wajh*. *Mastūr* means, literally, "concealed." *Kashf al-wajh* means "uncovering the face." They are metaphors. *Mastūr* in the medieval Judeo-Arabic context (the word is also found in classical Arabic texts and in modern Arabic dialects) represents the two groups already mentioned, those who are normally well off and those of the working poor. When the *mastūr* or *mastūra* fell temporarily into poverty, he or she was forced to "uncover his/her face" and seek help. In order to limit their shame, to avoid having to resort to public charity by collecting alms at the synagogue compound, along with the chronic poor, these people wrote letters petitioning for private charity. Just how salient the distinction between chronic and conjunctural poverty (with its attendant shame) was in Jewish thinking during the Geniza period can also be judged from the more inert and "silent" evidence of the alms lists, where occasionally a beneficiary is listed as "mastūr," indicating that he or she is normally self-sufficient and not in need of a public handout.

If we want to discuss further the different kinds of victims of poverty, we may begin with the large body of foreign poor coming to Egypt from abroad, or to the capital from the Egyptian countryside. They crop up in letters of appeal written after they arrived and on scores of alms lists, collecting bread, wheat, clothing, or cash through the community's public relief system. The Egyptian countryside abounded in needy foreigners, too.

Wayfarers—strangers from the outside—are among the classic poor in all societies. Typically they moved on after a short stay. Foreigners who sojourned for a long time, or who settled permanently, posed a more serious problem. Until they found good work, they continued to fill the ranks of the poor. Many of the educated foreigners wending their way to Egypt had to settle for work as elementary school teachers or in other characteristically low-paying professions in the community. As such, they still needed alms.

By nature unknown to the community, foreigners faced the problem of proving they belonged to the "deserving poor." Their right to charity was challenged also by an ancient halakha (Jewish law) that states: "The poor of your household have priority over the poor of your town, and the poor of your town have priority over the poor of another town." Means were devised to determine the deservedness of these outsiders. Foreigners whose eligibility had been established—for instance, when a local resident vouched for their need—appear on lists of the poor receiving alms.

Related to the category of the foreign poor were the captives, Jews kidnapped by pirates or by soldiers during war and presented for ransom to the Jewish community. Usually far from home, stripped of their possessions, and lacking the support of family, they remained poor for a long time after their release and needed to be fed, clothed, and sheltered. Similarly deprived, refugees from war or persecution often found sanctuary in Egypt. Military disruptions and violence in Asia Minor in the late eleventh century brought an influx of refugees (called "Rum") into the Egyptian capital, where they show up prominently on alms lists from the turn of the twelfth century.

Also frequently penniless were refugee proselytes. These were mainly people of European origin (Latin lands or Byzantium) who converted to Judaism and later fled to places such as Egypt to escape abuse in hostile Christian surroundings. In Islamic lands they received refuge and protection as poll-tax-paying non-Muslims and charity from the Jewish community. A remarkable case of an impoverished proselyte who was also a refugee is the widow from southern France who made her way through northern Spain to Egypt, fleeing from her harassing Christian family. People named "son of the proselyte" and "son of the captive" also appear on the dole. It is evident that they inherited their parents' poverty.

Just as women—especially widows, divorcées, and abandoned wives—suffered from poverty, so did orphans (fatherless children). The community had no orphanage. Orphans typically lived with widowed mothers, with other family relations, or in some cases with families who had taken them in in a kind of foster-care arrangement. Monies left by fathers in their estates (if there was any) was allotted to their children's guardians (often their widowed mothers) to support these youngsters.

Debt was a typical cause of poverty, including the annual poll tax debt to the government, from which the poor were not exempt during the Geniza period. For them it constituted a heavy burden. The community raised monies to subsidize the poll tax of the indigent. Complaints of people in debt, sometimes fleeing their creditors, are common. Debtors were liable to imprisonment and so their charitable relief was often equated with ransoming of captives. Hunger, dearth of clothing, and illness—three cross-cultural symptoms of poverty—loom large in the Geniza. Many letters complain about hunger, lack of clothing, or illness. Petitioners complain of having large families, often giving the number of mouths to be fed. When an item of clothing is missing, the poor ask for a replacement. The kinds of illness suffered by the poor feature eye disease, particularly ophthalmia. Others who were chronically poor because of illness or infirmity include people suffering from paralysis, the tremors, and those with loss of limb. Finally, old age represents another, typically cross-cultural cause of indigence in this period. What was the percentage of the Jewish poor? On the basis of alms lists and economic data contained in about four hundred engagement and marriage contracts—the amounts of the marriage gift of the groom and of the dowry of the bride—Goitein estimated that 25% of the Jewish community of Fustat during the eleventh and twelfth centuries were destitute. Things got worse in the thirteenth century as general economic conditions in Egypt declined. This is reflected in pleas for help for the poor from the head of the Jews, the Nagid Joshua (1310–1355), the great-great-grandson of Maimonides.

What kinds of occupations often meant living in poverty? Members of the underclass included such poorly paid people as doorkeepers, messengers, water carriers, shoemakers, washers of the dead, gravediggers, porters, night watchmen, and kashrut supervisors. Many people were occasionally poor, rather than chronically. Their appearance sometimes on alms lists and sometimes on donor lists means that they floated back and forth between subsistence (greater or lesser) when they were working, which kept them out of "deep" poverty—to borrow Paul Slack's term in his study of poverty in early modern England—and impoverishment, which led them to the dole. Typical of persons in this category were cantors, tanners, errand boys, ghulams (young men, slaves or freedmen, serving as apprentices or factotums), carpenters, teachers, olive makers or sellers, milkmen, glassmakers, tailors, journeymen, dyers, and money changers.

MARK R. COHEN

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PRAYER

Muslims consider prayer as one of the cornerstones of their religion. The following five practices fall under the rubric of prayer in Islam: (1) formal prayer *(salat),* (2) informal prayer *(du'a)*, (3) invocation *(dhikr)*, (4) litanies *(awrad, ahzab)*, and (5) the bestowal of blessings upon the Prophet Muhammad *(tasliya)*.

1. Formal prayer *(salat)*. The Prophet Muhammad said, according to the two most authentic hadith collections, that the greatest human act is the performance of the formal prayers at their proper times. Both Sunni and Shi'i Muslims agree that the five times at which all sane adult Muslims are obligated to perform the formal prayers are daybreak *(fajr)*, midday *(zuhr)*, afternoon *('asr)*, sunset *(maghrib)*, and nightfall *('isha')*. They agree that the daybreak prayer consists of two units *(rak'as),* the sunset prayer consists of three units, and the remaining three prayers each consists of four units. There is also consensus that each unit of prayer consists of an initial declaration of "God is greatest" *(Allahu akbar),* the recitation of the first Sura of the Qur'an followed, in the first two units of every prayer, by a passage of choice from the Qur'an, as well as a single bow, two prostrations, and that every two units of prayer are separated by a period of time seated during which one mentions the twin professions of Islam: There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the messenger and

servant of God *(tashahhud)*. This consensus is striking because the Qur'an articulates neither the precise times, nor the number of units, nor the precise actions of the formal prayers, despite the large number of verses exhorting Muslims to perform their prayers properly. This high degree of consensus across sectarian lines suggests an early date for the establishment of the formal prayer, which traditional Muslim sources link to the pre-Hijra Ascension *(mi'raj)* of the Prophet Muhammad.

Muslims who execute the formal prayer must be in a state of purity *(tahara)*, which can be achieved by either ablutions *(wudu')* or, in the cases of major ritual impurity arising from intercourse or menstruation, a bath *(ghusl)*, and must face Mecca. Although Muslims may perform the formal prayers individually, the Prophet reportedly promised significantly greater rewards for those who pray in a group. Group prayer may take place anywhere that is clean, although the preferred location is the mosque, or *masjid* (place of prostration). The call to prayer *(adhan)* is issued for each obligatory prayer at the mosque, and group prayer must be led by an Imam who, ideally, is the man who has the greatest knowledge of the Qur'an.

There are also nonobligatory formal prayers, usually performed individually, that scholars recommend prior to the five obligatory *(fard)* formal prayers and after the midday, sunset, and nightfall prayers. Other formal prayers include the Friday congregational prayer *(jum'a)*, which substitutes two sermons *(khutba)* for two of the units of the midday prayer and, for Sunnis, extra evening prayers during the month of Ramadan *(tarawih)*. Other formal prayers detailed in legal and hadith books that consist of slightly modified units of prayer include the two Feast prayers *('id)*, funeral prayer *(janaza)*, supplication for rain prayer *(istisqa')*, eclipse prayer *(kusuf)*, and the prayer for guidance while facing a difficult choice *(istikhara)*.

2. Informal prayer *(du'a)*. God informs Believers in the Qur'an that "I reply to the call of every supplicant when he calls me" (2:186), and hadith books contain numerous supplications that are attributed to the Prophet Muhammad and his Companions. Informal prayer may be performed at any time, in any language, by anyone.
3. Invocation *(dhikr)*. While the Qur'anic concept of *dhikr* means "remembrance (of God)," as in "Remember me, and I will remember you" (2:152), Sufis from an early date identified three levels of invocation, namely of the tongue, the heart, and the innermost self (*sirr*, lit. "secret"). Each Sufi order developed its own methods of invocation, the purpose of which was to draw closer to God. The major hadith collections also recommend specific invocations attributed to the Prophet Muhammad after the formal prayers and other times of day.
4. Litanies *(awrad, ahzab)* are distinguished from invocation by their greater complexity, set times, and the fact that they are performed only by Sufis who have been inculcated properly in an order, whereas many invocations can be performed by non-Sufis.
5. Blessings on the Prophet Muhammad *(tasliya)*. The Qur'an states "God and His angels send blessings *(sallu)* on the Prophet: O you who believe, send blessings on him and salute him with all respect" (33:56). Muslims understand this verse as a command to say "May God bless and salute him" immediately following any mention of the Prophet Muhammad; note that the Shi'i and some Sunnis add "and his family" to this statement.

Scott C. Lucas

See also Funerary Practices; Imam; Mosques; Mysticism, Islamic; Popular Religion; Purity, Ritual; Sufism and Sufis

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PRECEDENCE

The term *sabiqa* (or *sabq*), meaning "precedence" in general and, more specifically, "precedence in submission and service to Islam," was a key concept in the early sociopolitical history of Islam, invoked to "rank" the faithful according to their excellence. In addition to early conversion, precedence in emigrating

for the sake of Islam (both to Abyssinia and to Medina) and in participation in the early battles of Islam also conferred great merit. The two concepts of precedences *(sawabiq)* and "merits" or "excellences" *(fada'il)* became conjoined to create a paradigm of the most excellent leadership. Such a paradigm finds scriptural sanction in Qur'anic verses such as "God is satisfied with those who preceded foremost *(al-sabiqun al-awwalun)* from among the Muhajirun and the Ansar and those who followed them in charity and they are pleased with Him, and He has prepared for them gardens below which flow rivers where they will dwell forever; that is the great victory;" "Those who precede(d) are the ones who precede *(al-sabiqun al-sabiqun)*; they are those who will be brought near [to God] in the gardens of bliss" (*Surat al-Waqi'a*, 56:10–12), and "Those among you who spent and fought before the victory are not of the same rank [as others] but greater in rank than those who spent and fought afterwards" (*Surat al-Hadid*, 57:10).

Sunni sources uniformly assign the highest precedence to the Prophet's Companions from among the Muhajirun and the Ansar, and even among them recognize a certain order of precedence. Among Sunni exegetes, al-Tabari reports that the phrase "*al-Muhajirun al-awwalun*" or "*al-sabiqun al-awwalun*" in verse 9:100 was understood to refer to those Muslims in particular who took the pledge of al-Ridwan (a reference to the treaty of al-Hudaybiyya in AH 6/628 CE), or more generally to all those who had prayed toward the two *qibla*s. The *manaqib* or *fada'il al-sahaba* sections of standard Sunni *hadith* compilations also emphasize the *sabiqa* of the Companions as the criterion for assigning greater excellence to them in general from among the community of the faithful.

It is well known that when the official *diwan* or register of pensions was first established by 'Umar in circa AH 15, the *sabiqa* of each Muslim became an important criterion in determining the amount of stipend he or she would be awarded. Those who were among the earliest converts to Islam and had fought in the early battles of Islam, thus, mainly from among the Muhajirun, were given larger stipends. Although the *diwan* was organized according to tribal affiliation, it was the principle of *sabiqa* that determined its overall function, pointing to the centrality of this concept in the early period.

Asma Afsaruddin

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PREDESTINATION

The doctrine of predestination *(qadar)* is one of the cardinal creeds of Sunni religious orthodoxy. Its core teachings are referenced to the scriptural sources of the Islamic tradition, namely the Qur'an and the Prophetic traditions *(hadith)*. The issue of predestination proved to be a controversial area of discussion in early Islam, featuring prominently in the schisms that appeared in the formative years of this tradition. The circumspect review of topics of this nature propelled the advancement of scholastic theology employed for the consolidation and synthesis of the doctrines of Sunni orthodoxy. The Sunni conception of predestination advocates that God is the omnipotent creator of all that exists. He created the universe, determining precisely not only its fundamental nature but also the form and function of all that exists in it. As a result, everything that comes into existence or has existed is incontrovertibly subject to God's foreknowledge and His sovereign will. The temporal events of the past, present, and future are likewise encompassed by God's eternal knowledge. Indeed, one Prophetic tradition states that these events have been descriptively written on a preserved tablet before the inception of creation. Details of a person's life span, sustenance, and very acts, including whether individuals would be prosperous or dejected, are recorded on this tablet. In the words of the Qur'an, "And all things we created with divine portion" (Q 54:49). However, the profound question for theologians related to whether God's determination of events and their contingencies extended to an individual's inclination to faith and acts of obedience and disobedience.

Notwithstanding the fact that there were theological sects outside of orthodoxy that presented disparate explanations of the doctrine of predestination, there also existed within Sunni orthodoxy a number of fine distinctions regarding the conceptual compass of the creed of *qadar*. Sunni theologians were agreed that God was the sole creator of all that existed, irrespective of whether it is inherently good or evil; there was also consensus regarding God's power over all creation and the fact that His foreknowledge and sovereign will governed all man's acts. They accepted that God determined a person's life span and that individuals could neither exceed their appointed time nor could they curtail it; and a similar set of strictures applied to provisions decreed by God. However, disagreement occurred concerning whether God bestowed individuals with an innate capacity and will of their own, allowing them to perform acts for which they merited either reward or punishment; this would have implications for their capacity to choose

between belief and disbelief. The deliberations on this subject were intricate as theologians grappled with the theoretical complexities of this issue. However, from a practical perspective scholars maintained that the doctrine of predestination should not be construed as a pretext for disobedience, laxity, or recklessness. Moral responsibility and accountability were not to be relinquished in the wake of this doctrine, which was essentially a declaration of God's absolute omnipotence.

Early Discussions on Predestination

During the rule of the Umayyad caliphs (661–750 CE), the subject of predestination assumed political importance. The Umayyads emerged as leaders of the Islamic world following years of political upheaval. They established a state with its capital in Damascus, Syria, vigorously pursuing its political and economic advancement. The legitimacy of this ruling dynasty was questioned by a number of scholars due to the unpopularity of its policies. The Umayyads and their supporters invoked the doctrines of *qadar* to defend their position as caliphs. They argued that God had willed that they should be rulers, implying that opposition to their leadership constituted defiance of God's decree. This situation led prominent individuals to qualify the specific scope of the accepted doctrine of predestination, asserting that it did not excuse injustices carried out during Umayyad rule. These issues are discussed in an epistle attributed to the ascetic figure, Hasan al-Basri (d. 728 CE). It was supposedly part of a dialogue on predestination with the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (r. 685–705 CE). There are no Prophetic traditions in this epistle, which has led Montgomery Watt to argue that such traditions were not in wide circulation at the time and that the subsequent profusion of traditions endorsing a fatalistic espousal of predestination reflected an attempt to buttress a developed doctrine. However, such traditions were always general in character, while the disputable points relating to the subtleties of predestination were of a more specific kind. Scholars who compiled collections of traditions much later often included a separate chapter on predestination.

The Arabic term *qadar* literally connotes measurement or estimation; it is often paired with the word *qada'*, which denotes God's general decree. The term *qadar* is used in its derived sense to refer to predestination; however, individuals who opposed key aspects of the doctrine of predestination were paradoxically referred to as *Ahl al-Qadar* or *Qadariyya*, namely, proponents of free will. A further term featuring in the discourse on the subject is the word *jabr*, which signifies compulsion. Those individuals who subscribed to a rigid understanding of predestination were referred to as the *Jabariyya* and even classified as an active sect. Medieval writers on heresy identified Jahm ibn Safwan (d. 746 CE) as being the leader of the *Jabariyya*. He argued that man acted under absolute compulsion, claiming that individuals possessed neither the will nor the capacity to act. Jahm professed that attributes such as "creator" that are used to describe God could not be applied to man, deducing that God alone was the true creator of all that exists, including the very acts of man. The analogy of a feather in the wind was employed by Jahm to exemplify the relationship of man to his acts. He even contended that reward and punishment are predetermined.

The proponents of free will were represented by a curious selection of individuals. Medieval writers recognized Ma'bad al-Juhani (d. 705 CE) as one of the first figures to rationalize the doctrine of *qadar*, referring to the free will of individuals, although his contribution was politically inspired; indeed, he was executed for his insurrectionist activities. A second figure of importance is Ghaylan al-Dimashqi (d. 743 CE). He debated the subject of predestination in the presence of two caliphs, recalling in one instance that God does not will the commission of sins. Ghaylan was also put to death for political insurgency. Predestination featured among the issues critically examined by an emerging faction of Basran scholars who were connected with Hasan al-Basri. This group served as precursors to a significant theological movement outside of Sunni orthodoxy, the Mu'tazilites. The Mu'tazilites were renowned for their rational approach to the teachings of the Islamic tradition, employing modes of thought and argumentation imported from the Greek philosophical tradition. They emphatically rejected key aspects of predestination, claiming that the traditional concept of this doctrine, whereby God is acknowledged as the author of man's deeds, undermined the immutable principle of God's divine justice. Mu'tazilites asserted that God acted in accordance with the dictates of reason. They argued that it would be unfair of God to determine or decree an individual's acts and then subsequently punish or reward that person. God's justice predicated that humans must be free agents and able to choose between belief and disbelief. However, it is essential to bear in mind that the antithesis between orthodoxy and Mu'tazilism on the issue of predestination rested on who was the true creator of man's acts. The Mu'tazilites claimed that God neither created the acts of man nor were these acts subject to His sovereign will; more crucial was their assertion that God had no

power over these acts, indicating that His knowledge therein was consequential.

The consequence of such abstraction was that it impinged on the orthodox doctrine of the omnipotence of God, provoking detailed rebuttals. Intriguingly, Sunni theologians and proponents of Mu'tazilism adduced verses from the Qur'an to support their stances. The Qur'an includes verses that are deterministic in tenor, in addition to verses intimating human free will. It states that "No misfortune can take place either in this world or in the life of an individual, except that it had been set down in writing before its passing. Indeed, that is for God so simple" (Q 57:22); it also mentions: "Say, it is the truth from your Lord. So let him who desires to believe do so; and let him who desires to disbelieve do so" (Q 18:29). The Qur'an also comprises verses that speak of God's power to guide and lead astray individuals and His sealing the hearts of disbelievers. The Mu'tazilites argued that such verses were redolent of description, not prescription. Sunni orthodoxy accentuated the contextual strictures that governed the import of these verses, referring to God's foreknowledge and absolute prerogative in such contexts. The Mu'tazilites attained great influence among the 'Abbasid caliphs, particularly during the eighth and ninth centuries CE. The doctrines they defined were approved by the state, despite orthodox opposition. Their stance on predestination, stressing specific aspects of the free will of individuals, is also found in Shi'i expressions of Islam.

Later Developments

A former leading Mu'tazilite by the name of Abu'l-Hasan al-Ash'ari (d. 935 CE) devoted his intellectual energies to refuting Mu'tazilite dogmas, especially their understanding of human free will. His argument was based on the premise that there were limits to the utility of human reason. It was not able to fathom the true nature of God's actions, which, in turn, were not subject to a rationale. The extant literature composed by Ash'ari serves as testimony to the sustained nature of his critique of the Mu'tazilites. He inspired many of his peers and successors to the extent that he became the eponym of a school of theology aptly known as the Ash'arite school. Later adherents of this tradition developed many features of his theological teachings. However, in stressing the absolute sovereign will of God and his omnipotence, Ash'ari and his followers had argued that God was not only the creator of all acts but also that the capacity to carry out an act did not exist prior to the execution of that act; moreover, it is created by God at the exact time of carrying out that act and not before. Yet, although man may possess limited capacity as provided by God, this capacity has no effective efficacy over the object of its power. This explanation is defined as the concept of *kasb* (acquisition); it postulated that through this process of acquisition, humans merited reward and punishment.

Despite the fact that the concept of *kasb* was significantly revised by later Ash'arite theologians, it was seen as excessively deterministic in substance. Indeed, some scholars associated with the Zahirite and Hanbalite traditions of orthodoxy equated it with the harsh determinism of the *Jabariyya*. Scholars of these orthodox traditions, including Ibn Hazm (d. 1064 CE) and Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328 CE), rebuked the Ash'arites for their formulation of the doctrine of *kasb*, composing diatribes on this and other Ash'arite theological concepts. They stated that God was certainly the creator of all that exists in the world. However, he had furnished man with the capacity to choose, although His sovereign will governed all acts. A second theological school of Sunni orthodoxy is associated with a figure from Samarqand named al-Maturidi (d. 944 CE). The theology espoused by this scholar attached great importance to reason in the synthesis of doctrine. His definition of predestination presented the notion that God was the creator of man's acts, although man possessed his own capacity and will to act. Man was therefore the true author of his acts and, although they were subject to God's will, in the case of evil acts, they did not occur with the pleasure of God. Over ensuing centuries, Sunni theologians continued to elucidate the doctrine of predestination, authenticating the creed as a distinction of orthodoxy. However, even those groups perceived as being outside the circles of orthodoxy used the basic construct of predestination as an analogue for their own understanding of its significance. The dynamics of the issue left an indelible mark on the discourse of Islamic theology.

MUSTAFA SHAH

See also 'Abbasids; Ash'aris; Caliphate and Imamate; Ethics; Hadith; Al-Hasan al-Basri; Heresy and Heretics; Freethinkers; Ibadis; Ibn Sina; Ibn Taymiyya; Islam; Kharijis; Mu'tazilites; Polemics and Disputation; Qur'an; Al-Razi, Fakhr al-Din; Shi'ism; Theology; Theologians; Umayyads; Zaydis

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PRIMARY SCHOOLS, OR *KUTTAB*

Found from remote villages to large urban neighborhoods, the *kuttab* was a type of voluntary educational institution designed to furnish Muslim children with a basic education in religious matters. Important centers for the socialization of recent converts, the earliest primary schools seem to have been organized locally during the Umayyad period and by the ninth century CE were widespread throughout the Islamic world. Typically, the curriculum of a *kuttab* revolved around the memorization of the Qur'an, coupled with practical instruction in basic religious duties, although this was often supplemented with elementary instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Depending on the wishes of a pupil's family and the availability of qualified instructors, subjects such as history, grammar, and poetry could be taught as well. Usually located in a single room within the precincts of a neighborhood mosque or similar building, *kuttab* education was characterized by a strict system of rote learning: students sitting on the floor around their teacher *(mu'allim)* in a semicircle writing their lessons on a tablet *(lawh)* and then repeating it back for correction. Typically, teachers were paid by the pupil's family; poorer students would simply run errands on their behalf. Although there was no precise age for enrollment, students generally began attending around age four and would spend between two and five years studying, normally at their own pace, alongside students of different levels. Generally speaking, boys constituted the overwhelming majority of *kuttab* students, whereas girls were educated, if at all, in separate facilities or by private tutors.

Erik S. Ohlander

See also Children and Childhood; Education; Madrasa

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PRISONS

Prisons were known to the pre-Islamic Arabs, and some settled communities in Arabia had them. 'Adi b. Zayd (d. about 600 CE) composed poetry on his incarceration by the Lakhmid king, al-Nu'man III (d. 602). Nomads took captives in raids; imprisonment itself was impractical. Imprisonment was neither an official punishment in Roman law nor in Near Eastern provincial laws. It was used instead for pretrial detention. However, debtors and serious criminals such as thieves and murderers were increasingly incarcerated in late antiquity, as were political prisoners. Imprisonment was also among the punishments used in Sasanian Iran.

In the Qur'an the only mention of prison (Ar., sijn) is in the story of Joseph (Q 12:32ff and Q 26:29). House arrest was the punishment for women guilty of fornication, before it was replaced by flogging (Q 4:15 and Q 24:2). The reference to banishment as a punishment for highway robbery was sometimes interpreted as imprisonment (Q 5:33).

Punitive imprisonment had a very limited role in the hudud (punishments by divine ordinance). The main purposes for prisons in the legal literature were pretrial detention and coercion of debtors. An apostate could be imprisoned for three days to allow him to repent and escape execution. However, it was occasionally a punishment (such as for certain categories of murderer and recidivist thieves). These parallels with pre-Islamic laws in the Near East raise unresolved genetic questions about Islamic law. A judge could also impose punitive imprisonment for matters outside the hudud through his power of ta'zir (discretionary punishment). To maintain order, rulers could imprison whomever they wished.

Nearly all cities had prisons. In 762, when al-Mansur (d. 775) founded his new capital at Baghdad, he constructed the Matbaq prison within the Round City, and another, The Prison of the Syrian Gate, outside the walls. Al-Tabari (d. 923) mentions men's and women's prisons in ninth-century Baghdad. Al-Maqrizi (d. 1442) describes seven prisons from different periods of Cairo's history. He says those

for criminals, thieves, and highway robbers were cramped and foul-smelling places of torment.

Such terrible conditions were common in robbers' prisons. The historical evidence suggests that robbers' prisons were widespread, although they are rarely mentioned in legal texts. The extent of such incarceration remains uninvestigated. The conditions in debtors' prisons and those in which suspects were held seem to have been less harsh. The adab al-qadi (the conduct of the judge) literature sets out prisoners' rights: people should not be detained without a complainant; guests and even conjugal relations might be permitted; and mistreatment, such as beatings and forced labor, was prohibited. How often these strictures were actually observed is less clear.

Historical sources provide numerous accounts of political prisoners and prisoners of war. Palaces and other such buildings could be reused to hold them, such as the Palace of the Tree in which ʻAbbasid princes were detained in Baghdad and the Treasury of the Banners in Cairo, where senior officials were incarcerated until it became a prison for Frankish captives during the Crusades. Many political prisoners and prisoners of war had a worse fate: Castles and citadels often had a jubb (pit); others were held in robbers' prisons; and many were tortured or executed.

Andrew Marsham

See also Courts; Crime and Punishment; Judges; Law and Jurisprudence; Shariʻa; Thieves and Brigands; Treason (Hiraba)

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PROCESSIONS, MILITARY

Processions (Ar. *mawkib*; *mawakib*) played an important role in representing the military and, more broadly, the political power of medieval Islamic states and officials. Since the distinction between military and political functions can be ambiguous, what follows will emphasize those examples wherein the representation of power is primary. No doubt the use of processions was common to all medieval Islamic polities; nevertheless, documentation is rather uneven. Sufficient evidence from a number of historical contexts does exist, however, to provide some insight into the political and cultural potency of these occasions.

Processions displayed publicly the symbols and instruments of power. Islamic symbols of sovereignty included such items as the *taj* (crown, but an elaborate and adorned turban), the parasol, sword, mace, inkstand, and others. The Seljuks, displaying their nomadic roots in the Asian steppes, introduced the elaborately decorated saddle-cover *(ghashiyya)* that was carried in front of the parading sultan, and which was also used, along with those other aforementioned symbols, by subsequent rulers, including the Mamluk sultans of both Cairo and Delhi. There is little evidence about processions of the ʻAbbasid caliphate, the ceremonial of which seems to have been largely fixed to the court itself; indeed, the term *mawkib* also came to mean audience. However, ʻAbbasid officials, along with their enormous entourages, did mount elaborate processions, the conduct of which was governed by strict protocol. According to Hilal al-Sabi', one should ride behind one's superior so as not to subject him to the dust stirred up by one's mount; however, while conversing with the superior one should ride just ahead of him so as not to require him to turn his head. Processions of the Fatimid state are perhaps the most thoroughly documented. The Fatimids used processions regularly to project their power into the cultural and urban fabric of Cairo and Fustat. The most famous occasion was the New Year's procession involving hundreds of officials and thousands of soldiers, which itself became a field of competing power for the participants.

Military power was displayed on occasions when armies departed on campaign or returned from battle. In Mamluk Cairo these often involved the entire political and social establishment. In their last campaign, when they met defeat at the hands of the Ottomans in 1516, the parading army was accompanied by members of the state bureaucracy, Sufi orders, artisan guilds, and various other urban groups. Victory parades offered the opportunity to demean enemies of the state. Victorious soldiers carried severed heads on pikes, violated captured banners, broke war drums, and shackled prisoners, including vanquished rulers. Public processions could also provide popular access to the sultan. When the Mamluk sultan passed through Cairo with his entourage, whether on official business or for pleasure, the masses had the opportunity to voice their concerns to the sultan as he passed

by or to express their opprobrium by pelting the royal party with rubbish.

In addition to the representation of power, processions also signaled former enemies' submission to the state and their incorporation into its apparatus. The Spanish Umayyad caliphate staged elaborate processions, requiring days of travel, in which North African supplicants would submit to their authority. After transport across the Mediterranean, the party would be well received and furnished with gifts of horses and equipment necessary for the journey to Cordoba, including litters for women in the group. The party would then undertake the long journey to Cordoba, where they would camp outside the city in preparation for a parade through the city, followed by a formal procession the day after to the caliphate's suburban capital at Madinat al-Zahra' for an audience. The latter parade in particular seems to have been especially spectacular, involving thousands of armed men who lined the route, state officials, and soldiers in ceremonial dress, all of whom required preparations through the preceding night.

The cultural variety inherent in the Islamic world is evident in processional displays of martial power. Ibn Khaldun observed in the North African Marinid state the custom of the Zanata Berber warriors, in which poets and musicians inspired the troops as they marched to battle. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, whose Afghanistan-based empire extended into the Punjab, conducted a martial review in which he employed a formation consisting of forty caparisoned elephants standing in front of seven hundred war elephants, all of which would probably have been adorned with protective metal faceplates and headpieces decorated with dangling elements that when clanged would intimidate the enemy. Martial processions were the focal point of independent cultural practices. Ghaznavid expansion into the Gangetic Plain was commemorated, and described by Ibn Battuta in the fourteenth century, in the hero-cult procession of the lance of Sayyid Salar Mas'ud, the legendary warrior and nephew of Sultan Mahmud. The martial displays of the Mamluks, in the context of the Rajab procession of the Mahmal (*see* Processions, Religious and Festivals and Celebrations) Pop in fifteenth-century Cairo, were parodied by carnivalesque clowns.

John L. Meloy

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PROCESSIONS, RELIGIOUS

Religious processions played an important role in daily life across the medieval Islamic world. These ranged from formal to informal, and from those required by religious law to those that reflected local practice. The pilgrimage to Mecca includes procession-like rituals (circumambulation of the Ka'ba, the passage between Safa and Marwa, and the passage to Mina and the Plain of 'Arafa), which are the only ones explicitly sanctioned by religious law and are more fundamentally acts of prayer and worship. Many other processions, although not necessarily sanctioned by the law, nevertheless related explicitly to religious life and are a vivid reminder, along with those of a more profane character, of the Islamic world's cultural variety and vitality.

Political authorities throughout the Islamic lands organized processions on special occasions, which served to associate the regime with significant moments in the religious and cultural calendar. Rulers ranging from the sultans of Delhi to the Umayyad caliphs of Andalusia staged elaborate processions on the Feasts of the Fast-Breaking and Sacrifice, as well other days of religious significance. In the later medieval period, the Meccan sharifs organized processions to commemorate the birthday of the Prophet (Mawlid al-Nabi), which entailed a parade with candles and lanterns from the Ka'ba to the birthplace of the Prophet within the town and processions, one festive with musicians and warriors, during the month of Rajab.

The Fatimid caliphs went to great lengths to associate themselves with the cultural traditions of Egypt. Not only did the Fatimids celebrate occasions of a distinctly Shi'i origin, such as the Festival of Ghadir Khumm commemorating the Prophet's acknowledgement of the legitimate succession of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib

and his descendents, but they also staged parades of wider appeal to the largely Sunni population of Egypt during the month of Ramadan, on the occasion of the Islamic New Year, or on the aforementioned feasts. In addition, the Fatimid rulers, as well as their Ayyubid and Mamluk successors, celebrated what were most likely indigenous Egyptian holidays for the Inundation of the Nile (Wafa' al-Nil) with a procession and the ceremonial Opening of the Canal (Kasr al-Khalij), in which the ruler himself often participated.

Processions of the *mahmal* palanquins, dispatched to accompany the pilgrimage caravans from locations such as Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Yemen, represented the piety and protection of the sponsoring ruler. The most thoroughly documented of these was the mahmal sent by the Mamluk sultans in Cairo, a tradition finally stopped in the twentieth century. The mahmal was paraded through Cairo on three occasions each year: in Shawwal upon its departure for Mecca, in Muharram upon its return, and in Rajab, which included the procession of members of the religious establishment, the Sufi orders, and the soldiers who often performed tricks displaying their equestrian and martial skills. The Rajab procession illustrates vividly the cultural potency of spectacle in any parade; it was especially carnivalesque, particularly in the fifteenth century. Even as a state-sponsored event, the occasion generated such enthusiastic participation on the part of the Cairene crowd that it owed its power more directly to the exuberance of its spectators.

Other groups staged processions as well, although these occasions are less well known. For example, processions occurred in the context of marriages, funerals, circumcisions, and the ritual prayer for rain. The ʿAshura' procession of the symbolic bier of al-Husayn, as practiced in India, may well have a medieval precursor. The Festival of Ghadir Khumm was evidently started as a popular celebration by the residents of Fustat and the North African troops in the Fatimid Army. But then it was appropriated by the state, eventually losing much of its distinctly Shiʿi or Ismaʿili content and becoming an occasion that attracted the attention of all Muslims in Egypt. The Sufis of Cairo's Salahiyya Khanqah silently paraded every Friday to pray at the Mosque of al-Hakim, led by their shaykh and attendants bearing a Qur'an chest, an occasion that attracted spectators seeking the blessings of the event. The pious visitation *(ziyarat)* of tombs and shrines (pilgrimage) also entailed the use of processions, although this feature was not characteristic of this cultural practice. As is so common in popular religious practice, many of these popular processions blurred confessional boundaries. The procession of Amir Nawruz, as a spring festival in Iran or as a renewal festival in Egypt, included the practice of charivari and ritual status reversals. Local festivals entailed processions, particularly in Egypt, to celebrate the days *(mawlid)* devoted to the commemoration of venerated individuals in the Muslim, Jewish, or Christian faiths, who were celebrated by members of all three religions.

John Turner

See also Festivals and Celebrations; Hajj; Nawruz; Pilgrimage; Saints' Days

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PROPHETS, TALES OF THE

The "Tales of the Prophets" *(Qisas al-anbiya')* refers to a beloved literature in Islam containing legends and folktales that shed light on the ancient, pre-Islamic prophets and the events and stories of their age. These tales serve not only as exegesis on the Qur'an but also indirectly as Islamic exegesis on the Hebrew Bible and New Testament, since they often relate to biblical narratives and personages that are not referenced in the Qur'an. The "Tales of the Prophets" (TOP) literature also includes material on prophets and peoples that are not known from the Bible.

The singular form of the term *tale* is *qissa*, which is derived from the verb *qassa,* meaning "to narrate" or "tell a story." This verb is found in the Qur'an in the sense of narrating stories of messengers *(rusul)* or prophets *(anbiya')*, specifically including such Islamic prophets as Noah, Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob, the tribes, Jesus, Job, David, and Solomon: "We have narrated *(qasasna)* to you about the messengers..." (4:164), as well as prophets and heroes unknown to the Bible, such as Shuʿayb (and the destroyed townships *al-qura*) (Q 7:101, 11:100, 120, and so on).

From the first generation following the Prophet Muhammad, preachers known as *qass* (pl. *qussas*, "storytellers") commented on the Qur'anic narratives concerning biblical characters and the fates of extinct peoples. They were among the first exegetes or commentators on the Qur'an, and their literary products remained an oral endeavor for generations as they told their stories in the market or preached in the mosques. These were popular preachers, and they were beloved among the masses. Religious and legal scholars were sometimes annoyed when they were unable to compete for the crowds and appeal generated by the entertaining style of the storytellers and the folkloristic content of their tales. Their material came from a combination of sources ranging from pre-Islamic Arabian folklore to Jewish *midrash*, and they produced different types and combinations of material, including moral preaching, political satire, fractious propaganda, and their own interpretive, marvelous tales. Their role varied from pious Qur'anic exegete and sermonizer to teller of tales and even buffoon, telling comical and inappropriate stories. Because of their unpredictable nature and potential threat to religious and political elites, they were eventually discouraged and even outlawed by the authorities.

Modern academic studies of oral literatures have attested to the complex individual, creative process of passing along tradition, wherein the faithful transmitter naturally clarifies, develops, expands or narrows, and otherwise contributes personally to the product that moves among and between generations. While faithful, the process is nevertheless not one of literal or unembellished transmission, and the collections that have been preserved include material that reflects Jewish, Christian, Zoroastrian, Gnostic, and other religious realia. Because the content of the prophetic tales was constructed from traditions about the beloved and sacred prophets of ancient times, there was always danger of the tellers or the tales moving populations away from established and approved principles and categories of belief. As a result, a kind of censoring process rose with the emergence of Islamic orthodoxies that removed some materials from the mass of oral tales and organized others into a variety of categories that were more or were less acceptable. Some were eventually branded unacceptable, such as the infamous *isra'iliyyat*, the Israelite tales deriving from what were considered Jewish distortions of divine and prophetic traditions and marked as inappropriate for Islam.

As in all Islamic literatures, the TOP existed in oral form for generations before they were reduced to writing. The earliest compositions have been lost to us, but fragments of some have been found while others can be partially reconstructed from references to them in later works. Among the earliest are the works of Wahb b. Munabbih (d. ca. 732), a Yemenite who is said to have been of at least partial Jewish origin.

The *genre* that is known today as TOP does not find a place among the most noble categories of Islamic literature, such as *hadith*, *tafsir* (Qur'an commentary), and *fiqh* (law), but the actual *content* of the TOP is not infrequently found in *hadith* and *tafsir.* Collections of history *(ta'rikh)* more unabashedly contain TOP, especially the universal histories such as Tabari's *History of Prophets and Kings* (translated into English as *The History of al-Tabari*) that begin with creation and include many tales with biblical or midrashic parallels, but that are unknown from Islamic scripture. Tabari also wrote a massive commentary on the Qur'an, and he carefully sifted through the huge collection of (originally) oral narrative at his disposal, allowing many more prophetic tales in his *History* than in his *Commentary*. He nevertheless includes a great many TOP as appropriate elucidation of Qur'anic verses, phrases, and individual words in his *Tafsir*. The hadith collections also contain TOP in many chapters, and the most highly regarded collection of al-Bukhari contains an entire section called "The Book of the Prophets." More than four centuries after Tabari, Ibn Kathir (d. 1373) follows the organization of universal histories, beginning with Creation in his own history, *Al-Bidaya wal-nihaya*, but he omits much material found in Tabari that, by Ibn Kathir's day, was considered to be unacceptable *isra'iliyat*. The first two volumes of *Al-Bidaya* are sometimes published separately today under the title *Qisas al-anbiya'*.

The two most popular collections of traditional TOP are those of al-Kisa'i *(Qisas al-anbiya')* and al-Tha'labi *('Ara'is al-majalis)*, both of which have been translated into English (see bibliography). Other TOP material may be found within the published histories of al-Azraqi (d. 858), Ibn Qutayba (d. 889), al-Ya'qubi (d. 892), al-Mas'udi (d. 956), and Ibn al-Athir (d. 1232), to name only a few. TOP have been revived in the Islamic world during the twentieth century, perhaps reflecting the resurgence of Islamic religiosity during this period. Two of the most popular Arabic collections are those of 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Najjar (d. 1941), *TOP,* published in the 1930s, and 'Afif 'Abd al-Fattah Tabbarah, *Ma'a al-anbiya' fi-l-Qur'an al-karim (With the Prophets in the Glorious Qur'an)*, published in the 1970s. TOP collections have also been published in many other languages in the Islamic world, including Farsi, Urdu, Turkish, and Malay.

REUVEN FIRESTONE

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PROSTITUTION

Prostitution remained a major social phenomenon in the Islamic world throughout the medieval period. Evidence of the widespread nature of this illicit practice comes from a variety of sources: travel literature, Islamic legal opinions, law codes, and books on judicial theory and by the sixteenth century, even local court records.

Unsurprisingly, this evidence almost entirely focuses on prostitution within an urban context, particularly major metropolitan areas, such as twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Baghdad, fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Cairo, and Istanbul during its rapid urban development after 1500. Most of these accounts are very scant on detail, naming a number of guilty parties but rarely giving a detailed description. One can only assert that this crime was often so discreet that it eluded documentary scrutiny. We know, for instance, from recent work done on prostitution within the Ottoman era that many female prostitutes worked out of their own private homes. Others worked collectively under pimps or madams, in particular in non-Muslim quarters where the authorities were likely to be far more relaxed about enforcing legal restrictions against prostitution. Other sites included bathhouses and taverns, which also catered to non-Muslims and Muslims alike. By the seventeenth century, male prostitution would often be solicited in coffeehouses; "dancing boys" would offer themselves, along with the opium, tobacco, and coffee that would also be for sale.

Islamic legal discussion of prostitution revolved around the concept of *zina*, or adultery. A male would commit *zina* if he had had sexual relations outside of marriage or his concubine. A female would commit *zina* if she had sex with anyone besides her husband. Although prostitutes could certainly be prosecuted for committing *zina*, a number of legal fictions would be developed in order to leave the institution untouched. For instance, at least one scholar from the *hanefi mezheb* would argue that the sale of a woman to a male client was not a form of *zina*, since the exchange of a fee for sexual favors

approximated the dowry a bridegroom would pay for a wife. The male's payment of a prostitute's fee, a dowry, or for that matter the purchase amount for a female slave constituted a right of ownership of the female, which allowed him to have sex at will.

The general attitude of tolerating prostitution as a necessary social evil can be seen throughout the centuries of Islamic history. As early as the caliphates, prostitution was occasionally taxed, a de facto acknowledgment that they had the right to exist. Al-Makrizi makes a similar assertion about Fatimid and Persian tolerance of the illicit sexual trade. Evliya Çelebi, the great Ottoman traveler of the seventeenth century, commented that prostitutes had long formed their own guilds and as such were an accepted part of Ottoman legal structure.

However, one needs also to remember that there were at least two other legal categories that at times approximated prostitution. First is the institution of *mutah*, or temporary marriage, which was contracted between a male who paid a *mahr* to the female party in exchange for sexual relations. The duration of *mutah* was indeed flexible, lasting as short as a day to several months or even years. Yet, *mutah* resembled a marriage contract except for the ability of the woman, as well as the man, to break the contract, the requirement that the female not be a virgin, the female's waiting period before remarriage was considerably less, the wife had no right of inheritance, and her offspring only had such rights if the father consented. *Mutah* had existed prior to Muhammad as a means to regulate the transient tribal relations of the times. Some have argued that the *mutah* originated in pre-Islamic matrilineal Arabic society, as evidenced by the female's equal right to break the marriage contract. While the Prophet Muhammad did not clearly condemn the institution, the Caliph Omar did. From that time onward, *mutah* was only practiced by Twelver Shi'i Muslims, who believed that *mutah* allowed men to vent their biological needs.

Finally, scholars have often pointed to concubinage as a frequent recourse to marital relations. Muslim males had the right to have sexual relations with female slaves at will, and could end them at will, exclusive of whether or not they were married to third parties. This practice can be seen as early as the initial Arab conquest but was particularly popular among the Mamluks and the Ottomans. The purchase of such slaves, most frequently under the Mamluks and Ottomans, tended to be expensive, and the children from such relations became dependents. For those who could not afford concubines, regular prostitutes remained the more attractive option.

Birsen Bulmuş

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PTOLEMY

Claudius Ptolemy (Ar. Batlamiyus) was active in Alexandria circa 150 CE. He belongs, together with Aristotle, Euclid, and Galen, to the four most well-known scholars of antiquity in the Arabic and Islamic intellectual world. Above all he was a scholar in astronomy, astrology, and geography.

In astronomy, *Almagest* is the Arabic name *(al-Majisti)* for *Megale syntaxis*, *Syntaxis mathematica (The Mathematical Compilation*, *The Great Compilation)*. This great treatise of theoretical astronomy, in thirteen books, was written circa 150. It is often presented as being exclusively a work of "mathematical" astronomy. Indeed, it exposed all that is necessary to size quantitatively the movement of stars. But it also contains elements of "physical" astronomy. Early on, it was translated into Arabic by al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf b. Matar (210/826), and revised with the Christian Sarjis b. Hiliya (Serjios/Serjius Eliae) in 214/829. It was translated again by the physician Ishaq b. Hunayn (d. 298/910) in 279/892, a translation that was revised by the mathematician Harran Thabit b. Qurra (d. 288/901), whose maternal language was Syriac and who knew Greek very well, and also wrote a commentary and other books on it. Gerard of Cremona (d. 1187) found in Toledo an Arabic manuscript of it, which was a mix of the versions of al-Hajjaj and Ishaq b. Hunayn, and translated it into Latin.

The *Book of Planetary Hypotheses (Hypothesis ton planomenon)*, comprising two treatises, was composed after *Almagest*. Its purpose is to present an organization of the universe in material spheres. Only the first treatise is extant in Greek. The history of the modern knowledge of this book is complicated, and we must content ourselves in saying here that the two treatises are extant in Arabic: *al-Iqtisas (The*

Exposition). Al-Biruni gives: *Kitab al-Manshurat*: *Sections* [of the spheres]).

The *Book of Phaseis (Phaseis aplanon aspheron)* is brief, dealing with the visibility of the fixed stars. It consists in two treatises, the first of which is not extant in Greek. The Arabic translation of the whole in the AH third/ninth CE century is lost, but a passage of al-Biruni purports to have, partly, the content of the first treatise.

Ptolemy's last astronomical work is the *Easy Tables (Procheiroi kanones)*, a better title than the usual English one: *Handy Tables*, which is known in Arabic as *al-Zij al-muyassar*, or *Zij Batlamiyus (Ptolemy's Tables, Tabulae manuales)*. They are quoted in Arabic since the third/ninth century, having been transmitted in Greek in the version established by Theon of Alexandria (d. end of fourth century), and not Theon (the Old) of Smyrna, as it is often unfortunately said.

In his astrological work *Tetrabiblos*, Ptolemy deals only with general astrology that relates to whole races, countries, and cities, and genealogy, which concerns the individual. It was translated into Syriac, then into Arabic *(Kitab al-Arba'a; Quadipartitum)*. According to al-Nadim, it was translated by Ibrahim b. al-Salt and revised by Hunayn b. Ishaq.

The *Geography (Geographike hypegesis)* of Ptolemy had a great influence on the geographical opinions of the Muslims, but his question as to how the Arabs came into possession of their Ptolemaic information is a crucial one. They give much information on the authority of Ptolemy, which clearly does not come fairly directly from his *Geographia*, and yet there is not extant in Arabic any work that may be described as a translation of it. Therefore no such translation is extant, and it is not clear that it ever existed.

Claude Gilliot

See also Astrology; Astronomy; Biruni; Geography

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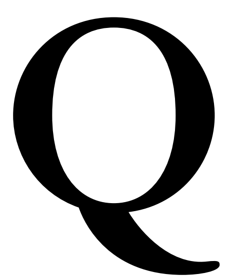
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QADI

See Judges

QAYRAWAN

Qayrawan was one of the most important cities of medieval North Africa and still retains a high status as one of the first Muslim cities to be founded in the region. The city is located on an arid plain in the center of modern-day Tunisia (medieval Ifriqiyya). Its location away from the coast has meant that its economy has mostly been based on agriculture and inland trade. Today the city still has a large number of traditional crafts, including leatherworking and textile production.

History

Although Qayrawan is generally regarded as a Muslim foundation, there is considerable evidence of a Byzantine city or town on or nearby the site of the present city. The pre-Islamic town was known as Kuniya or Kamuniya, and remains of an ancient church and a temple have been identified in the vicinity of the modern town. During the Muslim conquests, the area was frequently used as a military camp (kayrawan) for the Arab armies. The area was considered safe for the Arab armies because of its location away from the coast, where it could be attacked by Byzantine sea power, and away from the mountains, which contained troops resisting the invasion. On three occasions in the mid-seventh century (654–655, 661–662, and 665), the Muslim general Mu'awiya Ibn Hudayj set up a military camp in the area near a rocky outcrop known as al-Karn (this may be identified with the hill today known as Batn al-Karn that is twelve kilometers northwest of the city). Some early Arabic chroniclers (Ibn 'Idhari and Ibn Naji) even state that Ibn Hudayj built some permanent structures at the site.

Despite the plentiful evidence of earlier occupation of the site, it is clear that the city of al-Qayrawan was founded by Mu'awiya Ibn Hudayj's successor 'Ukba Ibn Nafi', who was appointed governor of Ifriqiyya in 670. 'Ukba was not satisfied with the location of the military camp and capital at al Karn, and he chose a new site on the flat plain nearby. The first buildings constructed were the Dar al-'Imara (governor's palace) and the Friday mosque, which took more than five years to complete. However, 'Ukba's successor was not satisfied with the location of the town, and he tried to establish a new town three kilometers away; this was to be known as Takirwan. This action did not meet with the approval of the Umayyads, who sent 'Ukba to return the settlement to its original site.

The town suffered a further setback in 684, when 'Ukba and his forces were defeated by the Berber rebel Kusayla. For five years, the Berbers used Qayrawan as their capital until it was recaptured by Umayyad forces in 689. The town remained free of armed conflict until the 740s when it was once again fought over by Berbers

and various schismatic religious groups. Central control was restored by the ‘Abbasids in 761, when they sent Muhammad ibn al-Ash‘ath to be governor of the region. The new governor built a wall around the city to protect it from further attacks, although this did not prevent it from being sacked by the Berbers in 771. Although the town remained nominally under ‘Abbasid control, effective rule passed to a local dynasty known as the Aghlabids. Under the Aghlabids, Qayrawan developed as an intellectual, mercantile, and religious center. The Aghlabid conquest of Sicily brought further wealth and prestige to the city.

During the tenth century, Qayrawan was incorporated into the growing domain of the Shi’i Fatimids. However, the inhabitants of the city remained Sunni, which caused constant friction with the Fatimid rulers. Eventually the position of Qayrawan within the Fatimid realm became untenable. First, the city was burnt and pillaged by Fatimid troops; later (1054), the city was subjected to a sacking by the Banu Hilal (from which it has never fully recovered). During the twelfth century, the town was peripheral to the main events in the region, although its prominence increased during the late thirteenth century (1270) when Ifriqiyya was invaded by the Crusaders under Louis IX. The Hafsid ruler considered moving the capital back to Qayrawan.

During the early sixteenth century, the city—along with the rest of Ifriqiyya—became part of a Spanish protectorate under the nominal rule of Mawlay Hassan. Qayrawan was probably of little interest to the Spanish, although they did establish a garrison in the city. In 1575, formal Muslim control of the region was restored when the Ottomans ejected the Spanish. Under Ottoman rule, Qayrawan was neglected, and, in 1701, its citizens suffered the indignity of being forced to destroy their own town. Although the town was rebuilt three years later, it continued to be in a very poor condition until the 1750s, when its citizens were granted tax exemptions and it was supplied with a new city wall. In 1881, the city was incorporated into the French protectorate of Tunisia.

The population of the city varied considerably throughout its history, from an estimated fifty thousand during the seventh century to well over one hundred thousand during the ninth century. Although the majority of the population were Sunni Muslims, there were also significant numbers of Jews and Christians.

Topography

The old city of Qayrawan is located to the north of the French colonial quarter and is enclosed by a circuit of walls built of fired brick that stretch for more than three kilometers. To the east and northeast of the walled town are the ancient suburbs of Guebelia, Jebelia, and Zlass. The Great Mosque is located at the extreme west end of the Old City (Medina), although it probably stood somewhere near the center of the original city as laid out by ‘Ukba ibn Nafi‘.

The layout and dimensions of the original city are not known, although it is probable that it was roughly square, and, according to al-Bakri, each side measured approximately four kilometers. For the first century of its existence, the city did not have walls, although it was probably enclosed by a ditch and rampart (as were other early Islamic cities such as Basra and Kufa). The interior was divided according to tribal allotments. Although the precise tribal allocations are not known, it is known that the Fihr tribe (a branch of the Quraysh) had an area to the north of the Great Mosque. The chief building material was reused stone taken from the Roman Byzantine buildings in the vicinity, although baked brick was also extensively used.

The high point of the city came with the period of Aghlabid rule, when it benefited from both the links with the high culture of ‘Abbasid Baghdad and from the conquest of Byzantine Sicily. The Aghlabids initiated a series of improvements, the most significant of which was the rebuilding of the Great Mosque and its minaret (see Monuments below). In addition to these buildings, they also constructed two fortified palaces in the vicinity of the city: al-‘Abbasiyya and al-Rakkada.

A consequence of the phenomenal growth of Qayrawan during the ninth century was that the city’s water supply was inadequate for its growing population. It is known, for example, that the city had forty-eight hammams (bathhouses), each of which needed a considerable amount of water. During the Umayyad period, the rulers had relied on a water source (Mams) that was thirty-three kilometers away; water was carried to the city by an aqueduct and distribution system that had been built by the Romans. The Aghlabids renovated this system and increased capacity by building a number of large circular cisterns, the most famous of which stands near the Tunis gate and was built by Abu Ibrahim Ahmed between 856 and 863.

Monuments

The principal monument of Qayrawan—and the only surviving building whose origins can be traced back to the seventh century—is the Great Mosque. This is

a large rectangular enclosure (approximately one hundred and twenty by seventy meters) that is aligned southeast by northwest with a prayer hall occupying one-third of the area at the southeast end. At the northwest end of the enclosure, there is a massive square minaret built of fired brick on a stone base. Unfortunately, nothing remains (above ground) of the first mosque built by ʿUqba in 670, and the mosque in its present form dates mostly from the time of the Aghlabids (ninth century). The only early features that remain visible are a mihrab, now functioning as a doorway for the imam, and a cistern, both of which belong to the mosque as rebuilt by Yazid ibn Hatim in 772 CE. The present mihrab dates to the ninth century and comprises a deep concave recess covered by a pointed, horseshoe-shaped arch. Surrounding the mihrab, there are a series of 139 polychrome-luster tiles imported from Baghdad. To the right of the mihrab is the minbar, which is the oldest surviving example of this fixture.

The Mosque of Three Doors is famous for its façade, which is made up of three doorways covered with horseshoe-shaped arches resting on marble columns. Above the arches there is a monumental kufic inscription attributing the construction of the mosque to Muhammad ibn Khayrun al-Maʿarifi in 866. The mosque was substantially altered in 1440, when a minaret was added and the interior remodeled.

Qayrawan also has a large number of religious buildings dating to the later middle ages, including the fourteenth-century Zawiya of Sidi ʿAbid al-Gharyani and the Zawiya of Sidi Sahib.

Andrew Petersen

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QAZWĪNĪ, AL-, ZAKARĪYA B. MUḤAMMAD B. MAḤMŪD (D. 1283)

Qazwīnī's name appears in various forms in different sources (Wüstenfeld, *al-Qazwīnī,* 1849). He was the author of two well-known works: a cosmography, *The Wonders of Created Things and the Oddities of Existing Things (ʿAjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt wa-Gharāʾib al-Mawjūdāt),* and a geography with two variant titles, *The Wonders of the Lands (ʿAjāʾib al-Buldān)* or *The Monuments of the Lands and the Annals of [God's] Servants (Āthār al-Bilād wa-Akhbār al-ʿIbād).* Judging from the broad dissemination of extant manuscript copies, these two works were the most widely read examples of a medieval Islamic literary genre about wonders (ʿajāʾib) (*EI2,* "ʿAdjāʾib"; *Encyclopedia Iranica,* "Adjāʾeb al-Maklūqāt"). It was a genre that drew on Neoplatonic ideas about creation as emanation and on classical traditions regarding the oddities of distant lands. Qazwīnī was a qāḍī (judge) (Ibn Taghrībirdī; von Hees) and also a professor at al-Madrasa al-Sharābīyya in Wasit (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī; von Hees).

Recent work shows that the established version of Qazwīnī's biography as presented in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition,* requires revision. It has long been held (a) that Qazwīnī was a qāḍī at Wasit and Hilla before the Mongol Conquest, (b) that he left this post at the time of the conquest and subsequently turned to scholarship, and (c) that his literary patron was ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭā Malik Juwaynī.

Of these three propositions, only proposition (a) continues to stand unchallenged. It has been based on the clear statement of the biographer Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 1470), who wrote the following: "He was a judge in Wasit and Hilla in the days of the Caliphate. He was a learned *imām*, a *faqīh,* and he wrote useful compositions including 'The Book of the Wonders of Creation.' He died on the seventh day of Muḥarram in the year 682 [1283 CE]. "

Proposition (b), by contrast, can now be shown to be false. It has been based on logical but speculative assumptions concerning the interpretation of a statement in the preface to *The Wonders of Creation.* There, Qazwīnī himself wrote, "When I was tested to go far from home and homeland, and be separated from family and from those who lived nearby, I set myself to studying in accordance with the saying, 'In time, a book is an excellent companion.'" Scholars have assumed that the home referred to here is Wasit, that the reason for Qazwīnī's separation from it is the conquest, and that the reference to studying suggests the writing of books as opposed to the practice of law. However, Syrinx von Hees has recently brought to light new evidence that contradicts these assumptions. The author of *al-Ḥawādith al-Jāmiʿa,* who is thought to be Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, mentioned Qazwīnī among the notable personages of Mongol Iraq who died in AH 682. He wrote the following: "He composed a book called *The Wonders of Creation*.... He took on the judgeship of Hilla in the year (AH) [6]50, and then transferred to the judgeship of Wasit in the year (AH) [6]52, and was assigned to teach in the Sharābī Madrasa, which he continued to do until his death." Therefore, it now seems that if Qazwīnī's statement in his preface was meant literally, he was referring to

his departure from a previous home and that, both before and after the conquest, his life of study in Wasit included the study, practice, and teaching of law as well as the composition of books.

As for proposition (c), it is questionable, but it cannot be summarily dismissed. It is based on a passage extolling Juwaynī that appears in some—but not all—of the surviving manuscripts of *The Wonders of Creation.* The passage does not appear in the only surviving manuscript that was made in Wasit while Qazwīnī lived there (Munich, cod. arab 464). This fact is notable, but it does not prove that Juwaynī could not have been the patron of the text, because there are several comparable instances in which patronage for a text was only secured after the text was completed. The passage does appear in an undated manuscript that was probably produced about twenty years after both Qazwīnī and Juwaynī died (London, Or. 14140). Some subsequent manuscripts include the passage, whereas others do not. On the basis of the available evidence, it is impossible to settle the question. Even so, much can be learned much about the history of the reception of the text if we can identify patterns among those manuscripts that do include the eulogy to Juwaynī and among those that do not.

Qazwīnī's geography has not traditionally been used as a source for his biography, but von Hees has recently approached it as such. By collecting the first-person references in the geography, von Hees makes a strong case that Qazwīnī spent his youth in Qazwin, studied in Mosul, and then pursued his career in Baghdad, Hilla, and Wasit. One might initially be cautious about these conclusions given that the use of the first person in geographic writing is often a stylistic convention rather than a means for the presentation of autobiographical data. However, as a stylistic convention, the use of the first person in geographical writing often serves to validate otherwise questionable passages concerning distant lands. It is striking that Qazwīnī, by contrast, actually uses the first person for passages concerning areas in which he is otherwise known to have lived or in which he may quite conceivably have lived given what is otherwise known of his life. It therefore seems that the first-person references in the geography can indeed be used for the reconstruction of his biography.

Qazwīnī's two works are *The Wonders of Created Things and the Oddities of Existing Things (ʿAjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt wa-Gharāʾib al-Mawjūdāt)* and *The Wonders of the Lands (ʿAjāʾib al-Buldān)*, of which a variant edition is called *The Monuments of the Lands and the Annals of [God's] Servants (Āthār al-Bilād wa-Akhbār al-ʿIbād).* Both works were widely disseminated, as demonstrated by numerous surviving manuscripts not only in the original Arabic but also in Persian and Turkish translations and summaries. Both were encyclopedic compendia in which Qazwīnī organized information gathered from numerous previous authorities into an overarching framework. Manuscripts of the cosmography often contain hundreds of illustrations. Before describing the two works further, it is necessary to explain their modern publication histories.

Both texts were first published by Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, whose editions remain the most widely available versions to scholars. As has long been recognized, Wüstenfeld's choice of manuscript sources for these editions renders them problematic. Recent scholarship based on Qazwīnī's own manuscript of the cosmography is beginning to reveal how Wüstenfeld's problematic edition of that text has led to misunderstandings of it in the secondary scholarship. However, parallel scholarship on the early manuscripts of the geography has not yet been undertaken, so it is still unclear what the effects of Wüstenfeld's edition of that book have been.

In the case of the cosmography, Wüstenfeld mixed sections from manuscripts dated from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the contents of which actually vary considerably. Ruska attempted to quantify this variation by determining exactly how many Arabic editions existed, but his method for classifying the editions was problematic, for two reasons. First, he attempted to count "lost" versions that he presumed must have existed along with surviving versions. Second, he only checked for correspondences and differences at a select few points in the text, and thus falsely identified manuscripts that diverge at other points in the text as belonging to the same edition (von Hees, 91–6). It is not yet possible to say exactly how many manuscript versions there are, but there are clearly many more than the four that Ruska enumerated. However many versions there may be, the general observation can nonetheless be made that the earlier manuscripts place comparatively greater emphasis on natural history, whereas the later ones place comparatively greater emphasis on oddities. Thus, Wüstenfeld's decision to include many passages from later manuscripts in his published version has resulted in an edition that has a much greater emphasis on oddities than Qazwīnī's original cosmography. This has unfortunately led to widespread misunderstandings about the emphases of the original book, since much of the secondary scholarship on it is based on Wüstenfeld's version. There are also less widely available editions published in the Arab world, but none that the present author has found to portray the text as it appears in any single early manuscript. Therefore, it is desirable to study Qazwīnī's cosmography as much as possible from early manuscripts.

It has long been recognized that the manuscript on which an authoritative published version should be based is Munich cod. arab. 464. Dated 1280, it is the only dated manuscript to survive from Qazwīnī's lifetime. The appearance of his name and titles in the opening rosette indicate that it was his personal copy, and it is almost complete. The present author suggests that the missing passages should be filled in by reference to a newly found manuscript dated 1322, Süleymaniye Yeni Cami 813, which is also almost complete (Berlekamp, *Proceedings from the Arab Painting Conference,* ed. Contadini, forthcoming). Folio-by-folio comparison of the texts in the two manuscripts shows that they contain the same version of the text.

On the basis of these two manuscripts, the original outline of the cosmography is as follows. It begins with a preface that contains separate expositions of the key terms of the title, which are also the overarching themes of the book: wonder *(al-'ajab)*, created things *(al-makhlūqāt)*, odd things *(al-gharīb)*, and existing things *(al-mawjūdāt)*. In accordance with this, the bulk of the book consists of encyclopedia entries about separate created wonders that are presented according to the classifications of creation to which they belong, which in turn are organized according to a cosmographic hierarchy. The first part deals with "things above," whereas the second deals with "things below." The "things above" are organized into chapters about the planets, the fixed stars of the northern and southern hemispheres, the lunar mansions, the angels, and time. The "things below" are divided into sections about the four elements of fire, air, water, and earth. The fire section is the shortest and contains no subchapters. The air section treats such phenomena as winds, thunder, lightning, the aureole of the sun, and the rainbow. The water section starts with a preliminary chapter about the surrounding ocean and then continues with additional chapters about other seas (the China Sea, the Indian Ocean, the Persian Sea, the Red Sea, the Sea of Zanzibar, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Caspian Sea), with subsections about the islands and characteristic inhabitants of each; it concludes with a section about sea creatures in general. The earth section includes subchapters addressing differing opinions as to how the earth is laid out, the regions and climes of the earth, earthquakes and the sinking in of the ground, mountains, rivers, springs, and wells. These subchapters are followed by those about beings born of mothers. The first such discuss metals and stones (which were understood to have been born of the earth). These are followed by plants: first trees and then small plants. These in turn are followed by animals, classified as follows: people; riding animals; livestock; predatory animals; birds; creepers (such as insects and rodents); and, finally, a concluding section about strangely formed breeds. In Munich cod. arab. 464, a passage about jinn written on later paper and in a later hand is inserted between those about people and riding animals. In Süleymaniye Yeni Cami 813, the text is continuous from people to riding animals, demonstrating that the passage about jinn was a later addition to the text of Munich cod. arab. 464 rather than a replacement for a lost original folio.

The illustrations found in different manuscripts of the cosmography vary considerably. Their significance varies from one manuscript to the next, shifting with changes in the history of the text and with changes in audience. However, taken together, they do challenge two assertions that are often made about manuscript painting in Islamic societies: that it appears in secular contexts and that its audiences were limited to the princely courts. In its original context and version, the cosmography was a deeply religious text, with each wonder presented as a sign pointing to the greatness of its Creator; illustrations of these created wonders appear throughout Qazwīnī's own copy of this text, although Qazwīnī himself was a judge and professor of Islamic law and was not associated with any princely court. Although the overall character of the text shifts in its later history, subsequent illustrated copies vary widely in their quality, suggesting that they were made for audiences at a variety of social levels.

As for the geography, Wüstenfeld's edition of it is also considered problematic, and rightly so. The version entitled *The Wonders of the Lands ('Ajā'ib al-Buldān)* is recognized as an older version than that entitled *The Monuments of the Lands and the Annals of [God's] Servants (Āthār al-Bilād wa-Akhbār al-'Ibād),* but Wüstenfeld's edition is based on various manuscripts of *The Monuments of the Lands and the Annals of [God's] Servants.* It will not be known what the implications of Wüstenfeld's problematic choice of manuscript sources have been for secondary scholarship on the geography until intensive study of the early manuscripts is undertaken. Meanwhile, the geography as it occurs in Wüstenfeld's edition can be described as follows. It is organized according to the earth's seven climes, with descriptions of the cities, countries, mountains, and rivers of each. Included in the descriptions of the cities and countries are short biographies of the famous luminaries who came from them.

PERSIS BERLEKAMP

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QUR'AN

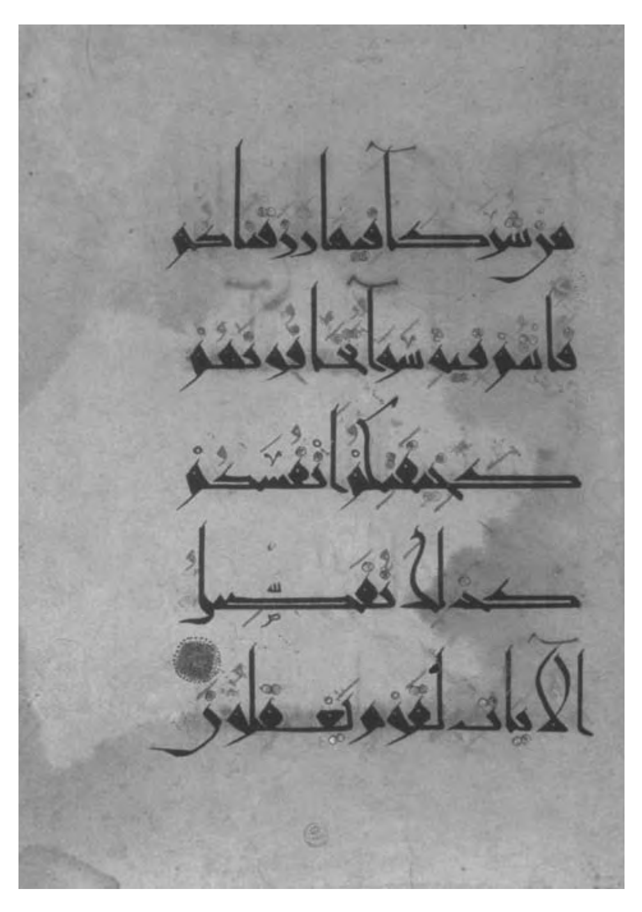
The Qur'an is sacred scriptural text of all forms of Islam, a compilation of the revelations given to the Prophet Muhammad. The term *Qur'an* probably means "reading" or "recitation," and it is etymologically linked both to the Syriac *qeryana* (scripture reading) and the Hebrew *miqra'* (recitation, scripture).

The Qur'an is made up of 114 surahs (chapters), which range in length from three short verses to 286 or 287 relatively long verses (depending upon how those verses are counted). The chapters are arranged roughly in order of decreasing length. Because the length of Muhammad's revelations tended to increase with the passage of time, this means that the later chapters, in terms of the moment of their reception by the Prophet, occur toward the front of the standard editions of the book, whereas the earliest revelations are found toward the back.

The Historical Origins of the Qur'an

According to traditional accounts, the divine messenger of revelation (subsequently identified as the archangel Gabriel) first appeared to Muhammad when the Prophet was approximately forty years old (in or near 610 CE). It is generally agreed that this appearance constitutes Muhammad's call as a messenger of God, and that Qur'an verse 96: 1–5 represents the first portion of the Qur'an revealed to the Prophet. Thereafter, revelation came in various ways. The earliest chroniclers report that Muhammad would enter a trancelike state during which he would receive his divine communications. Sometimes he saw visions, but, overwhelmingly, his revelatory experiences were auditory. One well-known account, for instance, describes a sound like the ringing of bells, which conveyed to him the words that he would dictate and that would eventually be written down.

Establishing the precise chronology of Qur'anic revelations is a very difficult matter. The chapters of the Qur'an have traditionally been divided into those received at Mecca (i.e., prior to Muhammad's hijra in



Page from the Koran. Surah al-Rum (XXX, The Romans), verses 24 and 25:. . .after it (the earth) is dead: verily in that are signs for those who are wise. And among His signs is this, that heaven and earth stand at his command. Then when he calls you by a single call from the earth. . .Kiric writing. Persian, eleventh century CE. (CT 7886). Credit: Victoria & Albert Museum, London/Art Resource, NY. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Great Britain.

622 CE) and those received during his exile at Medina. Western scholarship, in turn, has distinguished between early, middle, and late Meccan revelations, but many questions remain and are perhaps insoluble. The process of revelation indisputably ended with Muhammad's death in 632 CE, which closed the Qur'anic canon.

There is some controversy about how early Muhammad's revelations began to be committed to writing. Traditional accounts depict his early followers as memorizing his revelations—memorizing the Qur'an in its entirety remains a highly honored achievement even today—but also portray them as recording the revelations in whatever medium they were able to locate in seventh-century central Arabia (e.g., on the shoulder blades of camel skeletons, on palm fronds). However long the period of principally oral transmission, however (assuming that one occurred), it was effectively ended by very early efforts to collect and standardize the Qur'anic revelations. These culminated in the promulgation of an official text within approximately two decades of Muhammad's death, under the third caliph, 'Uthman (r. 644–656 CE). With, for the most part, only relatively minor adjustments of versification and orthography, the 'Uthmanic recension has had the field to itself since the mid-seventh century—partially, no doubt, because competing versions were destroyed for the sake of maintaining unity within the rapidly expanding and diversifying Muslim community.

The Theological Status of the Qur'an in Islam

In Muslim belief, the historical earthly Qur'an is a transcript from the umm al-kitab (the "mother of the Book"), the celestial archetype from which the original scriptures of the other "peoples of the Book" (e.g., the Torah of Moses and the Gospel of Jesus) were also derived. (Those original Jewish and Christian scriptures have since become corrupted.) The Qur'an is seen as complementing and completing earlier divine revelations. It is a reaffirmation (musaddiq) of what went before (5:44–8) and a reminder (dhikr) to those who pay heed.

Muslims also believe the Qur'an to be the literal word of God in the highest possible sense, the divine utterance that has existed for all eternity. Accordingly, it is inerrant, and even the physical book that contains the text is holy, to be approached only in purity and with some degree of awe, and to be disposed of, when that is required, with proper reverence. Indeed, given the importance of the Qur'an as the word of the transcendent God made manifest in this world, some have suggested that its analogue in Christian theology is not so much the Bible but rather the divinely incarnate Word (Christ, the Johannine Logos) itself.

Among the central themes of the Qur'an are the divine tawhid (unity, rigorously pure monotheism), demands for ethical behavior and social justice, the coming universal physical resurrection, the inescapable final judgment, and the final rewards of both the faithful and the unfaithful. The Meccan revelations tend to be terse and apocalyptic, frequently drawing notice to the signs of God's awesome power in nature; the Medinan revelations, as befitted Muhammad's new political role in that settlement, tend to greater discursiveness and give greater attention to political and legal topics. The Qur'an is neither a narrative or historical chronicle nor an anthology of the Prophet's meditations but rather a collection of relatively

free-standing revelations in which God, speaking in the first-person plural, addresses Muhammad and, through him, the community of the faithful and ultimately the entire world. It is, however, replete with narratives (and, even more commonly, with allusive references to narratives with which the audience is presumed to be familiar) of God's actions in history, the exemplary missions of earlier prophets, and the earthly fates of those who failed to obey.

The Place of the Qur'an in the Muslim Community

Whereas the Jewish people created and shaped the Hebrew Bible and the Christian church created and shaped the New Testament, in a very real sense the Qur'an created and shaped the Muslim community. It played an essential role in the transformation of Arabic culture from orality to a deeply literate civilization, not only because it emphasizes books, pens (as witnessed by that first revealed text, 96:1–5), and writing, but because it established a written text—itself—at the foundation of the Arab/Islamic tradition. Moreover, such disciplines as rhetoric, grammar, and lexicography, which are often referred to as the "Islamic sciences," arose among Muslims first and foremost as tools for a precise understanding of the revealed book of God, a task perhaps made more urgent by the rapid conversion of peoples for whom Arabic was an acquired tongue.

Most fundamentally, however, the Qur'an is and, since the passing of the living prophetic voice from Islam that occurred with the death of Muhammad, has always been the ultimate religious authority within the Muslim community, the principal source for theology, and the unquestioned basis of Islamic law. As might be expected, its oracular statements and allusive references have generated a vast commentary literature as well as large numbers of other books about various aspects of its text and teachings. One notable genre is that of the "tales of the prophets," in which quasi-midrashic accounts of earlier messengers of God (drawn, for the most part, from the Jewish and Christian neighbors of their compilers) are supplied, no doubt—to some extent at least—in an attempt to flesh out the many stories to which the Qur'an alludes but does not fully recount.

Because it is literally the word of God, every individual word and every sound of the Qur'an is sacred to believing Muslims. (The Arabic word *ayah* [pl. *ayat*], which occurs several hundred times within the Qur'an itself, is frequently translated as "verse." Significantly, however, its essential meaning is "sign" or "miracle.") For the same reason, speaking legally and theologically, the Qur'an is truly the Qur'an only in its original Arabic. In this form, however, it is considered not only inerrant but literarily unapproachable. (This is the doctrine known as the *i'jaz al-Qur'an* [inimitability of the Qur'an].) Thus, like their Arab co-believers, non-Arabic-speaking Muslims around the world study the reading of the Qur'an in its original language to be able to pronounce it correctly, even if their grasp of Arabic vocabulary and grammar remains weak. To recite the Qur'an well is a meritorious act—an entire discipline, called *'ilm al-tajwid,* has been developed to foster and regulate such recitation—and professional Qur'an reciters can and do become popular celebrities. Such recitation carries considerable emotional power for believers, and it is said to have brought more than a few nonbelievers (notable among them is 'Umar, the second of the orthodox caliphs) into Islam.

The Qur'an is used liturgically: in prayer, for recitation at funerals, during the holy fasting month of Ramadan, at the beginning of social and official functions, and, in modern times, at the beginning and end of broadcast days on both radio and television. Beautiful calligraphic renditions of Qur'anic passages adorn mosques and public monuments, and, because careful copying of the Qur'anic text on paper and other media is also recognized as a meritorious act, form one of the more important of the "minor" arts in Islamic civilization. The Qur'an is and has always been virtually omnipresent wherever Muslims live and work.

Daniel C. Peterson

See also Muhammad, the Prophet; Qur'an and Arabic Literature; Qur'an and Christians; Qur'an, Manuscripts; Qur'an, Reciters and Recitation; 'Uthman ibn 'Affan

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QUR'AN AND ARABIC LITERATURE

As God's revelation to the Prophet Muhammad, the Qur'an has a central place not only in piety and religious life but in language, education, and culture generally. It is considered the most exemplary model of the Arabic language, and it is not surprising that the influence of both its form and its content is felt throughout Arabic writing.

Medieval Arabic literature consisted mainly of poetry and belles-lettres. The former was well developed and highly regarded among the Arabs during pre-Islamic times and thus continued largely unchanged, enjoying pride of place in literary culture. Although there was little of what could be called fiction, prose genres also flourished, from short narrative anecdotes to highly ornate epistles. In all of these, one may discern Qur'anic phrases, motifs, and symbols, the scripture serving as a major component of the Arab/Islamic literary universe.

Poetry

The Qur'an appears to speak disparagingly of poets in 2:224–7: "And the poets! Attending them are those who lead astray/Have you not seen how they wander distraught in every valley/And they say that which they do not do/Except those who have believed and have done good works and remembered God frequently...." The Qur'an insists on its distinction from human or jinn-inspired poetry and soothsaying, but the above verses seem to acknowledge the permissibility of poetry, and most Qur'anic exegetes found ways of explaining these verses without condemning the art.

The main form of influence is iqtibas (borrowing). Although some legal objections to this practice are recorded, it was acceptable as long as the poet was not trying to imitate or compete with the revelation. The borrowing may consist of an entire Qur'anic verse or a part thereof or a word or phrase that conjures up, in the mind of one well acquainted with the scripture, a specific Qur'anic passage. Of course, the Arab writer could and did "borrow" equally from poetry, history, proverbs, and any other genre in the same fashion, but, as the Word of God, the Qur'an was at once the most familiar and the most prestigious and authoritative.

The basic form of Arabic poetry, the qasida (ode), was established before the rise of Islam and remained largely unchanged, and thus Qur'anic borrowing in poetry was subject to limitations imposed by thematic convention and poetic meter, often requiring alteration of wording or syntax. Nonetheless, from the earliest stages, there are numerous examples of poets employing Qur'anic phrases in their own verse. Sometimes these would be consistent with the themes of the revelation, especially in religious poetry or political polemic, but often it would simply provide a useful simile for the topic at hand. For example, from verse 54:7, "They shall come forth from the tombs as if they were scattered locusts," al-Hutay'a (d. c. 661) transferred the imagery from the eschatological to the military:

> And there we were, when the horses came, as if they were scattered locusts, the wind behind them.

Sometimes the usage is tangential—if not antithetical—to the original context. Di'bal al-Khuza'i (d. 860) satirized the eighth 'Abbasid Caliph al-Mu'tasim by referring to the story of the People of the Cave, of whom the Qur'an (18:22) says, "They say, They were seven, and the eighth their dog."

> In the books, the kings of the House of Abbas are seven, of an eighth no record has come. Likewise the people of the Cave were seven excellent men, and the eighth was [their] dog.

The "borrowing" could serve a thematic purpose on the level of meaning, or it could handily demonstrate the author's erudition as well as his skill in transforming the form or the context of the quotation, be it from poetry into prose or vice versa. Arab writers employed various kinds of rhetorical devices such as alliteration, antithesis, puns, and various figures of speech, and it was common to employ Qur'anic references for this purpose. For example, when a Kharijite poet says of his comrades, "Most faithful to their obligations when they make them; most abstemious in hardship *('usr)* and in ease *(yusr)*," he is evoking Qur'an verse 94:5–6: "Indeed, after hardship comes ease." However, because the Qur'anic pair of words are rhyming antonyms, he also uses the common devices of antithesis and alliteration. The original context of the verse is lost, but the symbolic resonance and rhetorical qualities of the Qur'anic terms are carried over to the poet's verse.

However, there were two poetic genres in which thematic aspects were especially important: ascetic poems (zuhdiyyat) and wine poems (khamriyyat). The former borrows heavily from those Qur'anic verses that speak of renunciation of worldly things but also extol fear of God and an awareness of mortality. The most famous of the ascetic poets was Abu l-'Atahiya (d. 826), and the following example shows his evocation (but not direct citation) of verse 31:34, "No soul knows in what land it shall die":

> Would that I knew, for I know not which day will be the last of my life, Nor in which country my spirit will be taken, nor in which my tomb will be dug.

The ascetic poem flourished during the eighth and ninth centuries, after which Sufi and mystical themes were the main vehicles for piety in poetry. In these, Qur'anic references were also common although perhaps more subject to esoteric transformations.

Wine poetry is best represented by Abu Nuwas (d. c. 814), whose bacchanalian verse might seem an unlikely venue for Qur'anic influence. However, his frequent scriptural references can have thematic significance: his mischievous celebrations of hedonism and his defiance of religious morality are heightened by the irony of Qur'anic allusion.

Prose

The rising importance of Arabic as the language of the state meant that the new class of scribes in the empire's administration had to learn to write and express themselves according to nascent standards of eloquence. The Qur'an became one of—if not *the*—most important source of style, diction, motifs, and themes. The borrowing of scriptural references was especially prominent in the writings of 'Abd al-Hamid (d. 750), secretary of the Umayyad chancery, and his techniques of citing and elaborating Qur'anic passages set a precedent for much of subsequent Arabic prose. Without the restrictions of poetic meter and convention, Arabic prose writers enjoyed greater freedom in their adaptations of Qur'anic phrases, and they found much more room in various epistles and sermons for adopting themes of the Qur'an, such as the power of God, eschatology, ethical and theological topics, and prophetic history. Oratory lacking Qur'anic references could be deemed defective.

The popular "Tales of the Prophets" genre (qisas al-anbiya') consisted of narrative expansions and digressions that were based on the Qur'anic references to the biblical and Arabian prophets who preceded Muhammad. In other narratives, the Qur'an may be quoted as part of some witty repartee, as an expression of wisdom or piety, or as something apparently in between, such as in *The Book of Misers* of al-Jahiz (d. 869), where the Light Verse (24:35) serves as a kind of coda to a lesson about the efficient use of lamps and oil.

In terms of form, the maqamat genre (picaresque tales in complex rhymed prose) recalls the Qur'an not only in rhythm and measured movements but also in the myriad (and ambiguous) thematic and lexical allusions. Finally, Abu l-'Ala al-Ma□arri (d. 1057) and Ibn Shuhayd (d. 1035) deserve mention for works; their style, imagery, and homiletic vision are based squarely on the Qur'an, blending scriptural eschatology with elegant wit.

Literary Theory

The early or "ancient" poetry was held in high regard as an art in itself and, because it represented the pure and uncorrupted Arabic of the Bedouins, it was thought necessary for understanding Qur'anic language, among other things. However, the relationship between Qur'an and poetry became more complex as poetic styles changed and critics sought new ways to evaluate them. With the appearance of "modern" (muhdath) poetry during the latter part of the eighth century, some sought justification for new uses of tropes and figures (e.g., types of metaphor, paronomasia, antithesis) in the Qur'an and other "ancient" poetry or prose.

This use of the Qur'an as standard for literary style marked the beginnings of the doctrine of Qur'anic "inimitability" (i'jaz). The Qur'an asserts its own superiority in a number of places (10:38; 11:13; 52:33–4), but it was not until the late tenth century that the dogma was firmly formulated. In essence, it stated that the miracle of Muhammad's prophecy was the Qur'an, and the nature of that miracle lay in its stylistic perfection.

Among the major authors of works on Qur'anic inimitability were al-Rummani (d. 994), al-Khattabi (d. c. 996), and al-Baqillani (d. 1013), all of whom argued that the scripture's rhetorical features are greatly superior to their counterparts in mundane poetry. The study of Arabic rhetoric was thus of interest not only to literary critics but also to exegetes and theologians seeking explanations of Qur'anic language. For example, were the scripture's references to the "hand" or "face" of God to be taken literally or figuratively? Questions of metaphor could be asked for quite divergent reasons: some were concerned with the uniqueness of God's language, whereas others

were interested in the figures and devices it shared with human poetry.

The literary and the theological interests found reconciliation in the work of the great 'Abd al-Qahir al-Jurjani (d. 1078), especially with regard to the theory of imagery and the relationship between syntax and semantics. During subsequent centuries, scholars continued to write poetic commentaries and criticism, but the framework for the more theoretical science of rhetoric was not poetry itself but rather a project of proving the superior eloquence of the Qur'an.

BRUCE FUDGE

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QUR'AN, RECITERS AND RECITATION

The most common word for a reciter of the Qur'an is *qari'* (pl. *qurra'*), whereas recitation is most commonly referred to as *tilawa* and *qira'a.* Other terms used for reciters are *ahl al-Qur'an* (people of the Qur'an), *hamalat al-Qur'an* (bearers of the Qur'an), and *huffaz* (those who have memorized the Qur'an; sing. *hafiz*). The later term *muqri'* (pl. *muqri'un*) is used for a proficient—and usually professional—reciter of the Qur'an. The high religious and social status of the Qur'an reciter is indicated in the following hadith (tradition) related by Anas b. Malik, in which the Prophet states, "Indeed there are people from among the general population who belong to God." The people assembled inquired, "And who are they, O Messenger of God?" He said, "The people of the Qur'an are the people of God and His elect."

The term *qurra'* also appears to refer to an early religiopolitical faction that was active during the first two civil wars. A considerable number of them joined the Khawarij during the Battle of Siffin in AH 37/657 CE that was fought between 'Ali and Mu'awiya.

Chapters in hadith works and individual monographs that deal with the excellences of the Qur'an (fada'il al-Qur'an) often have valuable information to impart about early recitational practices and the religious merits and social status earned by the pious reciter, both professional and nonprofessional. The *S.ahih* of al-Bukhari, for example, records hadiths that deal with a wide variety of topics pertaining to Qur'an recitation in the chapter entitled *Kitab Fada'il al-Qur'an (The Book of the Excellences of the Qur'an)*. Some reports discuss the manner of revelation and what was first revealed and that the Qur'an was revealed in the tongue of the Quraysh and in seven variant dialects (saḅ'at ah ruf). It describes the compilation and recording of the Qur'anic text, and it refers to the Qur'an reciters from among the Companions. Other sections (babs) deal with the merits of individual surahs (chapters), such as al-Fatiha and al-Baqara; sections follow that discuss the descent of godly tranquility (sakina) and the angels on those who recite or read the Qur'an. It is stated that the only bequest of the Prophet was the written Qur'anic text (ma bayna 'l-daffatayn). There is a discussion of the excellence of the Qur'an over the rest of speech, of the desirability of chanting the Qur'an, and of the joy of the people of the Qur'an (ahl al-Qur'an). There are traditions concerning the excellence of those who learn and teach the Qur'an, memorize it, and are faithful to its injunctions. Other traditions warn against forgetting the Qur'an, talk about referring to the Qur'anic chapters by their names, the various modes of recitation, and the amount of the Qur'an to be recited at a time.

Such meticulous attention to the modes and etiquette of recitation as is apparent in the reports recorded by al-Bukhari testifies to the importance of this pious activity in both individual and communal religious practices.

The Professional Qurra'

The historian al-Tabari describes the rise of professional qurra' already by the time of the second caliph,

'Umar (d. 644), who appointed a separate qari' for men and women; it is not clear if they were compensated for their activities. The early literature, however, shows a great deal of ambivalence toward the notion of earning a livelihood through the teaching of the Qur'an. Reports that express pious aversion to this practice are plentiful in the literature. Thus, Ibn 'Abbas is quoted as relating the following from the Prophet: "If one to whom God teaches the Qur'an should complain of poverty, God will inscribe poverty between his eyes until the Day of Resurrection." However, a countertradition explicitly states what the ideal wage should be for the professional Qur'an reciter. In this report from 'Ali, the Prophet remarks, "Whoever recites the Qur'an receives two hundred dinars. If he is not given this amount in this world, then he will be given it in the next." The scholars were in fact divided over this sensitive issue. According to al-Qurtubi (d. 671/1273), al-Zuhri (124/742), Abu Hanifa (d. 150/767), and their companions were against the practice of receiving wages, because teaching the Qur'an is "one of the religious duties" (wajib min al-wajibat), and receipt of wages for it would be as unacceptable as being remunerated for prayer and fasting. On the other hand, Malik, al-Shafi'i, Ahmad b. Hanbal, and Abu Thawr acknowledged the permissibility of receiving wages on the basis of a hadith related by Ibn 'Abbas and recorded by al-Bukhari, which states, "Indeed it is the Book of God for which you have the greatest right to accept wages." These reports preserve for us the vestiges of a pietistic reaction against the increasing "professionalization" and "commercialization" of the teaching of the Qur'an. There is an implicit—and not-so-implicit—assumption that the professional qurra' and the 'ulama' in general master the Qur'an mainly to enhance their scholarly reputations and for monetary aggrandizement, a trend that is vilified in many traditions. Among the professional qurra' must be counted the early qussas (storytellers, popular preachers), who were appointed as religious functionaries in the mosque and whose task, among others, was to publicly recite passages from the Qur'an and interpret them.

Variant Readings of the Qur'an

The literature mentions that the Qur'an in the early period was recited in *sab'at ahruf*; this phrase is understood to signify the seven "dialects" in which the early Muslims are said to have recited the Qur'an until the Qurayshi dialect became the standard one. Medieval Arabic sources maintain a clear distinction between the ahruf and the qira'at, the latter being the variant readings recognized to this day. The distinction and the connection between these two concepts are not fully understood in the current time and are in need of a meticulous study for a better understanding of the early history of Qur'anic recitational modes. By the fourth/tenth century, the seven most recognized qira'at of the Qur'anic text had developed, to which an additional three are sometimes appended. These readings are occasionally attributed to Companions like Ibn Mas'ud and Ubay b. Ka'b but more commonly to expert reciters of the second/eighth century. The list of the ten experts from which these recognized readings emanate is as follows:

1. Nafi' ibn 'Abd al-Rahman (d. c. 169/785–786), Medinese
2. 'Abd Allah b. Kathir al-Dari (d. 120/737–738), Meccan
3. Abu 'Amr Zabban b. al-'Ala (d. c. 154/770–771), Basran
4. 'Abd Allah b. 'Amir (d. 118/736), Damascene
5. 'Asim b. Abi al-Najud Bahdalah (d. c. 127/744–745), Kufan
6. Hamza b. Habib (d. c.156/772–773), Kufan
7. 'Ali b. Hamza al-Kisa' (d. c. 89/804–805), Kufan
8. Abu Ja'far Yazid b. al-Qa'qa' al-Makhzumi (d. c. 130/747–748), Medinese
9. Ya'qub b. Ishaq al-Hadrami (d. 205/820–821), Basran
10. Khalaf b. Hishm (d. 229/844), Baghdadi

Manner of Recitation

The classic science of Qur'anic recitation is referred to as *tajwid* (literally "making beautiful"), which requires "giving each sound its correct weight and measure." Recitation handbooks such as those composed by Ibn Mujahid (d. 324/936) and al-Dani (d. 444/1052) began to appear during the fourth/eleventh century; these detailed, among other things, the correct vocalization of letters, the proper length of vowels, and the points of articulation of sounds (makharij al-sawt). Consonants with the same points of articulation are often assimilated (idgham), and there are particular rules for nasalization (ghunna). The Qur'anic text (mushaf) indicates many of these conventions through special symbols. Styles of recitation vary from one another, usually on the basis of their relative rapidity. The term *hadr* refers to a faster pace of recitation that is often adopted during the daily prayers (salat) as compared with tartil

(murattal), which refers to a slower pace used for studying and memorization.

Some of the sources indicate that ceremonies that frequently marked an individual's conclusory reading/recitation of the Qur'an (khatm al-Qur'an) and its public witnessing were frowned upon during the early period as an unbecoming show of piety. However counter-reports occur in the later literature that counsel, for example, that one's family be invited to witness the conclusion of an individual's Qur'an recitation, indicating a change in attitude. One such a report cited is from Qatada, who related that a man was once reciting the Qur'an in the mosque of the Prophet while Ibn 'Abbas kept watch over him. When the man expressed his desire to complete the Qur'an, Ibn 'Abbas told his seated companions to rise and attend the concluding recitation. Some reports also suggest that early Qur'an recitations left out inflectional endings (i'rab); later scholars discouraged this practice and advocated full inflection.

The following noteworthy hadith related by Ibn 'Umar served as an important proof text in which the Prophet stated, "For whomever recites the Qur'an without full declension, the attending angel records for him 'as revealed' with ten merits for each letter; for whomever declines only part of the Qur'an, two angels are assigned to him who write down for him twenty merits; and for whomever declines the [entire] Qur'an, four angels are assigned to him who record seventy merits for each letter." A certain hardening of the attitude is perceived in some scholars who are not named and who are quoted by al-Qurtubi as saying, "Declension of the Qur'an is a fundament of the religious law *(al-shari'a)* because through it its meaning is established which is the Revelation *(al-shar'a)*." Certainly by the seventh/thirteenth century, when al-Qurtubi lived, the *scriptio plena* had become the normal—and normative—feature of the sacred text, so much so that the absence of its distinctive features—desinential inflection and diacriticization—came to be regarded as a textual deficiency and aberration.

Asma Afsaruddin

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QUTB MINAR

Mosque

A Muslim army occupied Sind in 711, and Islam subsequently expanded its rule along the Indus River. By the beginning of the eleventh century, the Ghaznavid dynasty (977–c. 1150) controlled Afghanistan, the Punjab, and Sind, and between 1007 and 1027 Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna conducted more than twenty raids into northern India, destroyed many Hindu and Jain temples, and acquired enormous booty for his Turkic homeland. The Ghaznavids were energetic patrons of architecture, and two impressive minars still stand in Ghazna.

The successor Ghurid dynasty (c. 1100–1215) embellished its lands with buildings as well, most notably during the late twelfth century with the towering minar of Djam in their capital city of Firuzkuh in Afghanistan. Inscribed with the entire surah Maryam (Qur'an 19:1–98), the minar's epigraphs put particular emphasis on the prophetic tradition leading up to Muhammad and proclaim the unique role of Muhammad as the bearer of the final divine revelation. The Ghurid sultan defeated the Hindu army under Rai Pithora at the second battle of Tarain in 1192, supplanted the Rajput ruler of Delhi, and established a capital there. The new territory was governed as a Ghurid fief by General Qutb al-Din Aybak, a literate and manumitted mercenary slave, until 1206, when he established an independent sultanate. Under his rule, Islamic domain expanded rapidly in northern India.

On the site of the eleventh- and twelfth-century Lal Kot (Red Fort) of Delhi, the Ghurids ordered the construction of a jami' mosque to serve the new Muslim population and to demonstrate the new order of faith and governance. Now known as the Quwwat al-Islam (Might of Islam) mosque or the Qutb mosque, from the twelfth until the middle of the seventeenth century it was more simply identified as

the jami‘ mosque of Delhi, and it served as the city's principal congregational mosque until Shah Jahan constructed his great mosque further to the north in Mughal Delhi's Shahjahanabad in 1650 to 1656.

The old jami‘ mosque's original courtyard supplanted not only the Hindu fortress but also a Vaishnavite temple. As an inscription on the building testifies, most of the red sandstone building materials for the new mosque came from twenty-seven demolished temples in and around Delhi. Additional epigraphic evidence names Qutb al-Din Aybak as the commander who ordered the construction of the mosque in 1192 and his sovereign Mu‘izz al-Din as its patron in 1197. These two dates allow for the establishment of the initial dimensions of the early mosque. Four arcades framed a rectangular courtyard pointing in the direction of prayer, and the pillars supporting the arcades' roof and domes came from Hindu and Jain temples. In keeping with Islam's avoidance of figural imagery in a sacred context, the building's work crews, which were almost entirely Hindu, chiseled away or plastered over the pillars' figural art. Despite this refurbishing, the second Delhi sultan, Iltutmish (1210–1235), decided that the qiblah arcade should be altered to approximate mosque aesthetics in the Ghurid homeland. An enormous five-arched stone screen that was richly decorated with incised ornament and inscriptions in angular and cursive styles was erected in front of the qiblah. The screen's central arch was notably taller than the flanking arches, and some ten meters in front of it was an eleventh-century iron pillar, once topped with an image of Garuda, the Hindu god of victory. With the statue removed, the iron pillar remained in the mosque as a remarkable trophy and permanent testimony to victory.

The epigraphic program of the screen consists of both Qur'anic selections and hadith (tradition) and should be read like a huge open book: it is visual support for the imam leading the community in prayer. Hadith underscores the importance of building mosques, whereas citations from the Qur'an present several themes: divine sovereignty; divine support for Muslim victory; warnings to all nonbelievers and opponents of Islam that their disbelief will bring them defeat and destruction; a promise of paradise to believers; and the obligations of faith and the times of prayer. In essence, this quotation of scripture reinforces Islam's political and social agenda in occupying Delhi and its environs. It presents an appropriate and very careful selection from Qur'an and hadith that must have been the responsibility of the sultan, advised by learned persons such as the Muslim judge (qadi) who accompanied the army. Iltutmish was known for his piety and for his support of the Hanafi madhhab (rite). That very few persons were literate and that the inscriptions were rendered in styles that only the highly educated could read did not pose a problem; for most believers, the visible presence of holy writ was more important than specific content.

Minar

If the mosque's courtyard presented the obligations of the faith to believers, then the great minar was a visible statement of Islam's victory to the surrounding countryside and its former Hindu rulers. With a diameter of 14.32 meters at its base and a height of 72.5 meters, it towered over the entire complex. Like its Ghaznavid and Ghurid predecessors—especially the somewhat shorter minar of Djam—it marked the surrounding landscape as part of the realm of Islam. In the original mosque, it stood outside of the southeast corner, but Iltutmish's extension brought it within the walls. Its five distinct stories delineate much of the history of Islam in Delhi. According to Persian and Arabic historical inscriptions on the lower three stories, the first story was completed under the authority of the Ghurid Sultan Mu‘izz al-Din b. Sam and Qutb al-Din Aybak, whereas the second and third stories were constructed under the patronage of Sultan Iltutmish. Most of the fourth and all of the present fifth story were the result of repairs ordered by Sultan Firuz Shah (1351–1388) after the top of the minar was severely damaged by lightning.

Its 379 steps provide access to four overhanging balconies that are supported by elaborate projecting muqarnas (honeycomb or stalactite) brackets. Each of the stories is visually unique. The first story was decorated with alternating wedge-shaped flanges and semicircular fluting. The second story was ringed only with fluting, and the third story was solely ornamented with flanges. The fourth story is circular but clothed in white marble, whereas the final story is a composite design. Ten times the height of the iron pillar, the minar stood as a gigantic symbol of victory, and, with the morning light, its shadow moved across the prayer wall's face and touched the pillar.

Extensive Qur'anic and historical inscriptions cover the exterior of the first two stories, where sharp-eyed and experienced viewers could have read them. Placement and styles of script suggest that the designers came from Khurasan in northeastern Iran. Several themes occur on the first story: God's uniqueness, omniscience, and omnipotence; God's power to create and maintain life; the obligations of prayer and faithful adherence to Islam; Islam's victory; the promise of paradise to the faithful; and warnings to disbelievers

and idolators that a terrible fate awaits them (this theme in particular occurs again and again). Notably, Qur'an verses 258–60 refer to the prophet Abraham's devotion to monotheism and his destruction of idols; this is a very pointed object lesson for those that Islam considered polytheists in northern India.

Later History

Successor to the Mu'izzi sultans, the Khalji dynasty's most important ruler, 'Ala' al-Din Muhammad (1296–1318), initiated the construction of a second minar that would have risen to at least twice the height of the Qutb minar. Never completed, its giant stump stands in a northern section of 'Ala' al-Din's expansion of the mosque. Other planned extensions would have included a doubling of the size of the qiblah screen and the construction of four cubic and domed gateways. Only one of these gateways, the 'Alai Gate, still stands on the southern side of the mosque; its red sandstone and marble exterior and interior walls are elaborately inscribed. 'Ala' al-Din's wars in the south had brought unparalleled wealth back to Delhi, and the sultan used much of it to start his massive building program at the early mosque. Qur'anic verses and Persian inscriptions refer repeatedly to the destruction of idolators' temples. Other inscriptions focus on belief and disbelief, paradise, pilgrimage, the truth of the Revelation, and the benefits of prayer. Again and again, nonbelievers are promised dire punishment for eternity, whereas believers are offered the joys of paradise.

In the southwest corner of the complex, 'Ala' al-Din also constructed a madrasa that probably contains his own tomb. Well into the sixteenth century, the Qutb mosque remained the center of belief and a symbol of Islam's power. On its periphery over the course of three centuries were constructed numerous mosques, water tanks, and tombs that make it a virtual necropolis of the wealthy and powerful and one of the richest repositories of Islamic architecture anywhere in the world.

During the British Raj, the Qutb mosque and minar were admired and beautified as picturesque ruins. The old jami' mosque became a popular picnic place, and Indian and British painters produced hundreds of surviving views of the site. This marked the beginning of its transformation into a major tourist site; the Qutb minar has become a revenue generator in India that is second only to the Taj Mahal.

Anthony Welch

See also Afterlife; Abu Hanifa; Arabic; Arabs; Architecture, Religious; Baraka; Conquest; Delhi; Ghaznavids; God; Hadith; Hindus; Imam; India; Khurasan; Madrasa; Mahmud of Ghazna; Mosques; Muhammad, the Prophet; Muslim Community and Polity (Umma); Persian; Persians; Prayer; Qur'an; Razia Sultana; Scriptural Exegesis, Islamic; Slavery (Military); Slaves and Slave Trade, Eastern Islamic World; Sunni Revival; Turkestan; Turks

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RANIRI, AL-, NUR AL-DIN (D. 1658)

Nur al-Din Muhammad ibn ʻAli ibn Hasanji ibn Muhammad al-Raniri (d. 1658) was a scholar and religious reformer who was influential in the religious affairs of the Malay Peninsula and the Indonesian Archipelago. He was born in the port city of Rander in Gujarat, India, in the late 1500s to a father of South Arabian and Indian ancestry and probably to a Malay mother. Little is known of al-Raniri's early life, but he was likely already studying in Arabia when he performed the hajj in 1620. He was a member of the Shafiʻi rite, of the Ashʻari theological school, and of the Rifa'iyya Sufi order.

In 1637, al-Raniri arrived in Acheh, North Sumatra, the most important sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Southeast Asian center of Islam since the fall of Malacca in 1511. Acheh's ruler, Sultan Iskandar Thani (r. 1637–1641), appointed al-Raniri to the highest religious office, and al-Raniri immediately set about to purge heterodox Sufi pantheistic ideas (wujudiyya), which had been popularized by the Malay poet Hamza Fansuri (fl. 1550–1600) and by his followers Shams al-din of Pasai (d. 1629) and ʻAbd al-Raʻuf al-Singkili (d. c. 1693). Al-Raniri had holders of heretical views banished and some possibly burned at the stake.

During his time in Acheh (and, later, Pahang on the Malay Peninsula), al-Raniri wrote eighteen of his twenty-one works. The *al-Sirat al-Mustaqim (Straight Path)*, in which he itemizes rules of orthodox belief, contributed to the Islamization of Kedah (on the peninsula), and it continues to be popular in Southeast Asia. The polemical *Hujjat al-Siddiq li-Dafʻ al-Zindiq (Proof of the Veracious in Refutation of the Mendacious)*, was written between 1638 and 1641, and the *al-Tibyan fi ma'Rifat al-Adyan (The Exposition on Knowledge of Religions)* was commissioned by Iskandar Thani's successor, Queen Taj al-ʻAlam (r. 1641–1675). The Malayo-Arab scholar and polemicist S.M. Naquib al-Attas has characterized al-Raniri's critique of Hamza's teachings as distortions and the *Hujjat* as proof of al-Raniri's appetite for power. However, others view the issues taken up by al-Raniri against the backdrop of the religious and intellectual debates taking place in India, especially the ideas of Sirhindi.

Al-Raniri's longest work, the encyclopedic *Bustan al-Salatin fi Dhikr al-Awwalin wa-l-Akhirin (Garden of Kings Concerning Beginning and Ending)*, is the one that has begun to receive the most widespread attention. Commissioned by Iskandar Thani in 1638 and something of a "mirror for princes," it is divided into seven parts: (1) creation; (2) prophets and rulers; (3) just kings and wise ministers; (4) ascetic rulers and pious saints; (5) unjust rulers and oppressive ministers; (6) noble and generous people and brave men; and (7) intelligence, science, and the like. Because al-Raniri drew from numerous Arabic sources when compiling this work, it reveals a great deal about what was available in Acheh at the time.

Popular reaction to al-Raniri's measures was probably the reason he left Acheh for Rander in 1644. He died on September 21, 1658, but, a quarter century after his death, in 1684, a fatwa (legal

opinion)—possibly sought by 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkili—was issued in Medina condemning al-Raniri and his views.

Shawkat M. Toorawa

See also Ibn 'Arabi; Malay Peninsula; Reform, or Islah; Sufism and Sufis; South Asia

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RASHID AL-DIN

Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah Hamadani was a physician, historian, scholar, and chief administrative official to a series of Mongol Ilkhan rulers in Iran during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

Biography

Born in 1248, Rashid al-Din grew up among the relatively prosperous Jewish community of medieval Hamadan in western Iran. From this time forward, Iran would be under the full control of the Mongol Ilkhan dynasty (1265–1335), and its somewhat ecumenical policies allowed assertive Christians and Jews to pursue professional careers with the Mongols as patrons. It is within this context that it must be understood how a Jewish convert to Islam would ultimately rise to the highest echelons of administrative power in the Mongol empire. Information about Rashid al-Din's early life is somewhat scant, but it is known that his father was an apothecary and that Rashid al-Din himself pursued medical studies as a young man. He received his first employment, serving as the court physician for the Ilkhan Abaqa (r. 1265–1282); little is heard of him again until the reign of Arghun (1284–1291). It would appear that Rashid al-Din continued to practice medicine during this time, but historical sources describe his increasing consultation with Mongol amirs and other elites about political and governmental matters.

The historian Ahmad b. Husain b. Ali Katib describes how Rashid al-Din was an extensive traveler during these early years of his career; indeed, his detailed taxonomy in the *Athar wa Ahya* of trees, plants, and other botanical features from Iran and Central Asia point to a scholar–doctor who traveled wide and far for both scholarly and pharmacologic interests. Some of these peregrinations are likely connected to Rashid al-Din's decision to flee the Ilkhanid court in 1295 because of the paralyzing fiscal crisis and ensuing courtly strife, which resulted when the vizier Sadr al-Din introduced a paper currency (ch'ao) that was based on an earlier Chinese banking initiative.

Rashid al-Din subsequently reappeared during the late 1290s as a recent convert to Islam and an administrator of great promise in the court of Ghazan Khan (r. 1298–1305). Rashid al-Din was approached by the Mongol ruler to replace Sadr al-Din Zanjani—who had been executed for his aforementioned currency debacle—as the chief vizier of the Ilkhan empire. He appears to have enjoyed a meteoric rise from this time forward both among the Mongol ruling elite as well as in the administration. By 1299, he had been named as the sahib-divan (chief of administration) as well as na'ib (deputy), and he had also quickly arranged diplomatic marriages of his sons to daughters of a number of prominent nobles, Turco-Mongol amirs, religious scholars, and high-profile administrators. According to Rashid al-Din's personal correspondence (the veracity of these epistles has been debated extensively; see Morton, 2000, 155–199), these included, among others, Majd al-Din Isma'il b. Yahya b. Isma'il al-Fali (a famous religious scholar), 'Ala al-Din (atabeg of Yazd), Ali b. Muhammad Shah b. Pahlavan (atabeg of Azarbaijan), and Maudud Shah b. Ala al-Din (nephew of Firuz Shah, a Indian Tughluq ruler). He was also reportedly well connected through marriage to persons of quality in the city of Yazd, most notably Nizam al-Din Ali ibn Mahmud ibn Mahfuz ibn Nizam. Rashid al-Din is believed to have amassed a personal fortune during this time, and much of this was channeled toward the purchase of land and the development of this property for waqf (endowment) purposes.

According to the *Waqf Nama-i Rab'-i Rashidi* (compiled in 1310), it appears that Rashid al-Din owned property throughout central-western Iran and Azarbaijan: Yazd, Isfahan, Shiraz, Abarquh, Mawsil, Maragha, Hamadan, Sultaniyya, and Tabriz. The largest waqf complex established by Rashid al-Din was the Rabi'-i Rashidi in Tabriz. Admittedly there was a certain cupidity here, but it would appear that Rashid al-Din was genuinely alarmed by the detrimental effects of Mongol coercion and corruption on the

peasantry and land. In addition to revenues from these properties being used for charitable purposes (madrasas [schools], hospices, public works), Rashid al-Din also founded and developed a number of villages and settlements in the Hawiza area.

There is little doubt that Rashid al-Din played a pivotal role in a series of dramatic administrative and agricultural reforms instituted by Ghazan Khan during the early 1300s. Excessive and haphazard taxation, in combination with governor-related and bureaucratic avarice, had resulted in considerable peasant flight from agricultural regions which—although once prosperous—had never fully recovered from the initial Mongol invasions. Ghazan Khan's interdiction against many unhelpful practices by tax collectors and strict admonitions to henceforth survey, assess, and document taxation practices are preserved in a series of yarlighs (decrees), which were included by Rashid al-Din in his monumental *Jami' al-Tavarikh (The Collection of Histories)*. The most famous yarligh is that of 1304, when Ghazan Khan declared that governors were no longer allowed to collect taxes in their respective territories; henceforth, scribes (bitikchis) were being sent in to respective provinces to properly assess and record taxation levels. As a result of his reforms, Ghazan Khan boasted, the revenues for the Mongol treasury had doubled, and Muslim peasants and townspeople alike could now enjoy justice and responsible government.

However, the Mongol era was by and large an unsafe one for chief administrators, and many viziers and mustaufis (chief financial officers) often found themselves victims of court intrigue and false allegations. Rashid al-Din was no exception to this rule, and, during his later years, he was forced to contend with considerable rivalry and opposition from his co-vizier, Taj al-Din Ali Shah, after Ghazan's successor, Oljeitu, came to power in 1305. These machinations would intensify to such a point that Oljeitu decreed that they should divide the empire so as to provide them with respective administrative bailiwicks; Rashid al-Din was given control of Luristan, Kirman, Fars, and Iraq'-i 'Ajam. Rashid al-Din would survive his seventh consecutive Mongol coronation in 1317—no small feat indeed—but he ultimately fell prey to the intrigues of Taj al-Din in July 1318, when he was accused, convicted, and executed for poisoning his previous liege Oljeitu.

His Work

Rashid al-Din was a scholar of tremendous energy and industry, and, although he produced various treatises on theology, medicine, epistolography, administration, and agronomy, his most enduring and well-recognized work is the *Jami' al-Tavarikh (The Collection of Histories)*. In the spectrum of medieval Perso-Islamic histories, the *Jami' al-Tavarikh* is arguably unsurpassed with respect to its scope, depth, and historical methodology for understanding the Turco-Mongolian world of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. This work first began as a commissioned history for Ghazan Khan, who hoped to establish and record a legacy of his rule in Iran. When this text *(Tarikh-i Mubarak-i Ghazani)* was presented formally to Ghazan's brother and successor, Oljeitu, it was decided that this historical project should be extrapolated to include a general history of the Mongol invasions and the establishment of one of the largest land empires to date in Eurasia. Thus, the *Jami' al-Tavarikh* comprises a series of histories of China, India, pre-Islamic Iran, Central Asia, and the Steppe while also focusing on the respective history of the Jews, the Muslim ummah under Muhammad and the Rightly Guided Caliphs *(al-Khulafa al-Rashidin)*, and the Christian infidel Franks (Europeans). Rashid al-Din brought a formidable palette of languages to this project—Persian, Arabic, Hebrew, Turkish, and Mongolian—and his historiographical approach was such that he provided names and sources for much of the material for earlier parts of the *Jami' al-Tavarikh*. For this reason, Rashid al-Din can be considered one of the first world historians in the medieval Perso-Islamic historical tradition. Specialists of Mongol administrative history have always been enamored with Rashid al-Din because of his decision to include the full texts—some of which were written by him—of every single decree (yarligh) that was issued during Ghazan Khan's reform initiatives in the early 1300s.

Although much of the material in the *Jami' al-Tavarikh* is borrowed directly from Juvaini's earlier *Tarikh-i Jahan-gusha*, Rashid al-Din was able to bring one particularly valuable source to bear in his own history: the *Altan Debter (Golden Book)*. This peculiar text—of which there are no extant copies—was an indigenous Mongolian history that enjoyed near-holy status in the Kara Korum court of the Great Khan. No non-Mongols were permitted to see or touch it, but it is known that Rashid al-Din was able to have its contents orally transmitted to him, most likely by Boland Chingsang, the official envoy of the Great Khan in Tabriz. As the Mongol historian David Morgan cautions, it must be appreciated that Rashid al-Din's presentation of Mongol history was skewed in such a way as to present his first sponsor, Ghazan Khan, in as positive a light as possible. As a result, there is a less-than-subtle juxtaposition of the detrimental rule of earlier Mongols with the enlightened

and visionary policies of Ghazan Khan himself. Nonetheless, there is no mistaking that this massive history is the product of an unrivaled erudition and industriousness, and medieval historians appreciate the authoritative status of Rashid al-Din's section about the reign of Ghazan Khan and his reforms.

COLIN PAUL MITCHELL

See also Agriculture; Bureaucrats; Horticulture; Irrigation; Mongols; Oljeitu; Tax and Taxation; Viziers

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RASULIDS

The Rasulid dynasty that ruled in Yemen from 1229 to 1454 started out as a family of officers of Turkmen origin that was comprised of a patriarch, 'Ali ibn Rasul, and his four sons, who were attached to the Ayyubid army that conquered Yemen from Egypt in 1173 and 1174. Their rise within the Ayyubid administration culminated in the appointment of Nur al-Din 'Umar ibn 'Ali ibn Rasul as deputy to the departing Ayyubid governor, al-Mas'ud ibn al-Kamil. When a new appointment from Cairo failed to materialize, Nur al-Din 'Umar wasted little time taking possession of the most strategic forts and towns, replacing loyal Ayyubid officials with his own followers and arranging a truce with the Zaydis. He also managed to avert a military confrontation with the Ayyubids in Yemen, and, by 1234 or 1235, he had received formal recognition of his sultanate from the 'Abbasid caliph in Baghdad. For the next two centuries, Nur al-Din 'Umar and his successors succeeded in turning Yemen into a regional power, primarily through their control of the east–west trade and their interest in cultivating diplomatic ties with the rulers of Egypt, India, Persia, Africa, and China.

The dominions of the Rasulid dynasty extended over the same territories conquered by the Ayyubids:

the central and southern highlands and the Tihama coastal plain. Ta'izz, a former Ayyubid fortress and stronghold, was chosen by the second Rasulid sultan, al-Muzaffar Yusuf, as the dynasty's political capital because of its strategic location and its proximity to the great emporium of Aden. Alternatively, the Rasulids had little control over northern and eastern Yemen beyond San'a'; both of these areas remained under the control of the Zaydis, the Rasulids' political and religious rivals. Furthermore, San'a', which continued to serve as the outpost of the Rasulid northern frontier, remained the focus of both Rasulid and Zaydi aspirations but was ultimately lost to the Zaydis by 1323. The Hadramawt, on the other hand, continued to be ruled by small local dynasties that paid tributes to the Rasulids. Trade and taxes levied on merchandise transiting through the port of Aden were the most important source of revenue for the Rasulid state. For this, they developed the port and its administration system, and they ensured the safety of merchant ships with a fleet of patrol ships. Agriculture was another source of revenue developed by the Rasulids, particularly in the Tihama region, the administrative capital of which (Zabid) became their winter residence.

In these towns and others, the Rasulids constructed a large number of secular and religious monuments. As staunch Shafi'is, they favored the construction of madrasas, which attracted many Sunni scholars from all over the Islamic world. These scholars, as well as other officials, were often offered posts in the Rasulid administration, such as Sadr al-Din al-Shirazi, who arrived in Yemen in 1394 and was appointed as chief judge (Qadi al-qudat) by Sultan al-Ashraf Isma'il, who also gave him his daughter in marriage. The sultans were learned men in their own right who not only had important libraries but who also wrote treatises on a wide array of subjects, ranging from astrology and medicine to agriculture and genealogy. They also played an active role in the religious debates between the Sufis and the faqihs with regard to the works of Ibn 'Arabi; these debates polarized opinions, but most favored the former over the latter.

The Rasulids modeled much of their administration on that of the Mamluks, despite their recurrent difficult relations because the latter considered them as a vassal state. Their competition centered at first over the Hijaz and the right to provide the kiswa (covering) of the Ka'ba, each supporting a rival faction among the ruling sharifs of Mecca. Despite the strong Rasulid–Mamluk antagonism surrounding the internal politics of the Hijaz, traditional diplomatic channels remained open, and embassies and gifts were exchanged. However, official gifts to Cairo came to be regarded as tributes from the Rasulid side. The ultimate crisis resulted in the arrest of Sultan al-Mujahid Ali in 1352 (while he was on pilgrimage in Mecca) and his subsequent dispatch to Cairo; he was released a few months later upon payment of a large ransom. Taxation and commercial monopolization were two other major factors around which Rasulid–Mamluk rivalry revolved. Accusations against the Rasulid sultans' imposing of heavy taxes on merchants became a paramount dispute between al-Nasir Ahmad and Barsbay. By the end of the second quarter of the fifteenth century, the economic situation of the Rasulids suffered considerably as a result of Sultan Barsbay's trade monopoly, al-Nasir Ahmad's heavy taxes levied in Aden, and the emergence of Jedda as the new favored port of the Red Sea.

The Rasulid state became increasingly threatened by periodic tribal revolts, particularly those of the Tihama region, which rebelled against heavy taxes. These tribes cultivated major agricultural areas and reared stock animals (mainly horses), which became, during the Rasulid period, a major export item to the Indian subcontinent. Rasulid rule was periodically challenged by disgruntled family members over the problem of succession. It was during their frequent revolts that many Rasulid women family members played active roles in supporting one faction against another. During the last twelve years of Rasulid rule, the country was torn between several contenders for the sultanate, each supported and manipulated by different power groups. Ultimately, they lost out to the Tahirids, their own governors in Aden.

Noha Sadek

See also Aden; Zaydis

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RAZI, AL-, FAKHR AL-DIN

Fakhr al-Din al-Razi was one of the most prominent theologians, jurists, and Qur'an commentators of Sunni Islam who lived at a time when Muslim theology was trying to come to grips with the impact of the Aristotelian philosophical tradition (falsafa). Fakhr al-Din al-Razi was born around 1149 in Ray (today, Tehran), Iran. His father was a famous preacher who had studied *Kalam* at the Nizamiyya madrasa of Nishapur. Fakhr al-Din studied in Ray and in Maragha, the intellectual center of northeastern Iran. Like his father, Fakhr al-Din became an Ash'arite in theology and a Shafi'ite in Islamic law. After the conclusion of his studies, he went to Khwarizm in Transoxiana (today, Uzbekistan) to dispute with the Mu'tazilites, who were prominent there. He failed, however, to convert them to Ash'arism and was expelled. He continued to travel and teach in Iran, Central Asia (Bukhara and Samarkand), Afghanistan (Ghazna), and the Indus Valley, until he settled in 1203 in Herat (Afghanistan), where the local ruler founded a madrasa to accommodate his teaching activity. Fakhr al-Din was a controversial teacher, and Herat seemed to have been evenly divided in friends and foes. His most fierce enemies were a group of traditionalist Karramites, and it was rumored that they played a role in his death. However, Fakhr al-Din died of natural causes in 1210.

Al-Razi's theological doctrine is the result of the epistemological conflict between divine revelation (Qur'an and hadith [tradition]) and the scientific principle of demonstration (burhan; Greek *apodeixis*). After the Arabic translation of the works of Aristotle during the eighth and ninth centuries, the Muslim philosopher al-Farabi (d. c. 950) had made the Aristotelian technique of demonstration the yardstick of all knowledge in the sciences and in falsafa. If an argument is formally correct and if its premises are already proven, its conclusion is necessarily true and must be accepted. Later, Ibn Sina (d. 1037) had refined the technique of the demonstrative argument in the Arabic sciences and in falsafa. Since the beginning of the twelfth century, Ibn Sina's works had become part of the curriculum of studies at the Ash'arite madrasas in Iraq and Iran. Fakhr al-Din studied the books of Ibn Sina thoroughly, and he wrote an influential commentary about Ibn Sina's most theological work, *Pointers and Reminders*.

Al-Razi generally accepted the findings of the scientists and Muslim philosophers (falasifa) wherever they are based on demonstrative arguments. Where the views of the falasifa are not based on demonstration or where al-Razi does not accept that their arguments are truly demonstrative, he considered other sources of knowledge, most importantly the literal wording of the Qur'an and the hadith corpus. On the question of whether the place of the intellect ('aql) is within the brain or the heart, for instance, al-Razi opted for the latter; his conclusion was based on the many verses in the Qur'an that locate insight and knowledge in the heart. These clear indications in revelation cannot be overruled by the physicians' arguments for the location of the intellect in the brain, which al-Razi did not accept as being demonstrative.

Despite being a deeply pious man, Fakhr al-Din was unusually rationalistic in his theology, even for his time. He often abandoned the school tradition of the Ash'arites in favor of the philosophical system of Ibn Sina. Ash'arite theology, for instance, emphasized that the moral values of a person's actions, namely good and bad, can only be understood through revelation (rather than reason); only the fact that God recommends or condemns an action can make it good or bad. Fakhr al-Din al-Razi abandoned this principle in favor of the rationalist position that it can be determined whether an action is morally good or bad independent of revelation. This view had a profound impact on Fakhr al-Din's reasoning in Islamic law. Although al-Ghazali (1058–1111) had cautiously introduced the idea that a jurist should consider the benefit (maslaha) of society in his judgments, Fakhr al-Din al-Razi thoroughly aimed to establish maslaha as a source of Islamic law. Because the well-educated jurist knows what is best for the individual and the society, he should apply the principle of expediency in his rulings, even if such application overturns the judgments of earlier jurists.

Fakhr al-Din's most influential work is his voluminous commentary on the Qur'an, which he wrote close to the end of his life. Although its official title is *The Keys to the Unknown*, the work is often known as *The Grand Commentary (al-Tafsir al-Kabir)*. It combines Fakhr al-Din's rationalist teachings in theology with a precise philological analysis of the text and a deeply pious, often mystic interpretation. The book is known for its many digressions into the sciences, philosophy, and mysticism; Ibn Taymiyya (1263–1328), one of Fakhr al-Din's conservative adversaries, claimed it contains everything *but* a commentary of the Qur'an. Fakhr al-Din's followers, however, responded that it contains everything *and* a commentary of the Qur'an.

Fakhr al-Din's *Grand Commentary* became a yardstick for all later commentaries on the Qur'an and had a lasting influence. It was, for instance, widely read by modernist Muslim reformers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and thus shaped all modern Muslim Qur'an commentaries.

FRANK GRIFFEL

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RAZI, AL-, OR RHAZES

Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariyya' al-Razi was born and died in al-Rayy (classical Rhagai; on the southern outskirts of today's Teheran) (1 Sha'ban 251–5 Sha'ban 313/28 August 865–26 October 925). He was a physician, a scientist, and a philosopher, and he was a prolific author in medicine (including ancillary subjects), alchemy, logic, and philosophy.

Life

The times of al-Razi's life and his places of residence—mostly far distant from the caliphal capital, Baghdad—as well as his nonreligious vocation removed him from the focus of attention in the extant bio-bibliographical sources of classical and medieval Islam; nevertheless, the relative importance that his birthplace al-Rayy then enjoyed and, more to the point, his own scholarly reputation there and in Baghdad, did perpetuate his memory as a person apart from his works. Although his treatise *The Philosophical Life* (*Kitab al-Sira al-Falsafiyya;* also called *Apologia* [Arberry]) is short on concrete detail, a broad outline of his life can be sketched by combining information contained in it and other works of his with carefully sifted secondary evidence.

The precise transmission of the dates of his birth and death would seem to credit his family with a certain level of education and affluence, which subsequently may have facilitated his access to the scholarship that his works amply attest. Further, comfortable circumstances would easily explain the report about his initial occupation as a moneychanger. His own station in life would later have ensured the recording of his death. As alluded to above, al-Razi spent most of his life in his hometown of al-Rayy; however, medical studies and practice more than once occasioned years of absence from al-Rayy. He is said to have sojourned in Baghdad as a student and, later, as the director of its hospital. In Nishapur and Bukhara, he attended Samanid dynasts.

Before taking up medicine (as late as in his thirties), al-Razi is alternatively said to have been a lute player and poet or a practitioner of alchemy. Because his alchemical writings show a far more empirical bent than those of the *Corpus Jabirianum* (see below), such reports would seem credible enough; however, they also function as an etiological legend, deriving his—indubitably attested—poor eyesight and eventual blindness in old age from the noxious effects of alchemical experiments; a variant and no less suspect explanation would link his eye condition to excessive predilection for the broad bean. Clearly, both accounts impugn his reliance on secular science in that they construe an otherwise inexplicable organic ailment as its consequence and, by inference, as divine retribution.

Although al-Razi came to embody Galen's ideal that the excellent physician also be a philosopher, the relationship—if any existed—between his medical and philosophical interests and the circumstances of his philosophical studies cannot be ascertained. Al-Razi himself mentions as his teacher Abu Zayd Ahmad b. Sahl al-Balkhi (i.e., the man from Balkh, classical Bactra), but he also conducted epistolary debates with two of Abu Zayd's fellow townsmen, Abu l-Qasim 'Abdallah ibn Ahmad al-Ka'bi and Abu 'l-Husayn Shahid. Actually, he thus addressed an impressive number of earlier and contemporaneous scholars—physicians, scientists, philosophers, theologians (e.g., Ahmad ibn al-Óayyib al-Sarakhsi, al-JahiÛ, al-Kindi, Abu Sahl al-Rasa'ili, al-Nashi', and the Manichean Sisinnius). Whereas al-Razi's own accounts of philosophical controversies are, with one exception, lost, disputations with the Isma'ili Abu Hatim al-Razi (d. 322/933–934) left an echo in the latter's, fortunately extant, writings; *Doubts Concerning Galen* (see below) demonstrates al-Razi's critical attitude toward classical authorities. With regard to students of al-Razi's, the only name to be transmitted is Yahya ibn 'Adi, who was later a prominent disciple of al-Farabi's.

Al-Razi's medical writings would seem to confirm the biographers' reports about his heading the hospitals of al-Rayy and of Baghdad, respectively. As some sources would have it, he was so much sought after by students and patients alike that he attended only to the most intractable cases, referring all others, by degree of severity, to his junior and senior students and assistants. In any case, he generously cared for

indigent patients (as witnesses attest) and dedicated a special treatise to the needs of those who had to do without expert treatment *(Everybody His Own Doctor*—Arberry's version of *Man la yahduruhu al-tabib)*. On the other hand, his medical acumen could not fail to attract the attention of the powers that be; indeed, his familiarity with princes aroused criticism for violating the principles of the philosophical life, which was here defined along cynic, ascetic lines.

Al-Razi's self-statement of indefatigably pursuing knowledge and scholarship, both for his own benefit and for that of his fellow humans, is fully borne out by the extent and quality of his literary production; the debilities of age, cataracts, and failing hand muscles did not stop him nor apparently embitter him—he merely employed help. Beyond study and writing, he strove after human perfection by practicing the philosophical life, which he saw embodied in Socrates; by honoring Socrates as "our imam"—thus applying the title of supreme Muslim leadership to a pagan philosopher—al-Razi implicitly rejected all religiously based claims of authority.

Al-Razi's outline of the good life in *Apologia* includes gainful occupation, procreation of the species, and, generally, measured enjoyment of worldly goods; he specifically rejects rigorous self-mortification on the model of Hindu, Manichean, and Christian asceticism. As for his own conduct of the philosophical life, other than study and writing, he expressly names his general moderation in material acquisitions; the pursuit of legal claims; in food, drink, entertainment, dress, mount, and slaves (eunuchs and concubines); the implied premise of a certain wealth illustrates that moderation was to be relative to one's station in life and not to be measured by some absolute standard. His reticence about his private life otherwise conforms to the conventions of his age except that male offspring would normally have been mentioned.

Works

Al-Razi's autobibliography runs close to two hundred titles. Subsuming his entire work under philosophy, he, in turn—and along established Aristotelian lines—divides philosophy into natural and metaphysical science on the one hand and mathematics on the other. However, deviating from the tradition of Islamic Aristotelianism, he depreciates mathematics and, on the other hand, includes both medicine and alchemy within natural philosophy; logic is apparently not assigned a separate place.

In trying to understand al-Razi's epistemology—learning as open-ended, infinite progress—and, specifically in medicine and alchemy, his attitude toward book learning versus empirically acquired knowledge, care has to be taken to distinguish his programmatic statements (e.g., *Doubts Concerning Galen*) and his actual practice. In his much celebrated but understudied monograph *On Smallpox and Measles*, he is quite reluctant to impute to Galen the neglect—let alone ignorance—of these devastating transmissible diseases. A proper assessment of al-Razi's own contribution to their symptomatology and differential diagnosis is still wanting, notwithstanding the impact of his treatise on later medicine; its Greek and Latin translations were printed repeatedly (and not for antiquarian reasons) right through the middle of the nineteenth century.

Continens, the most voluminous of al-Razi's works, is a posthumous compilation of his medical notebooks and files that was never meant for publication; rather, they were mainly to serve his (as he proudly proclaims, in Islam, unprecedented) project of a medical encyclopedia—apparently consisting of a series of thematically related but separate monographs—under the title *al-Jami‘ (Colligens;* not to be confused with the nearly synonymous *al-Hawi)*. However, even as they stand gathered in *Continens,* al-Razi's notes convincingly fulfill his requirement of a thorough command of existing scholarship; in the given case of medicine, this extended—beyond Greek, Sanskrit, Syriac, and early Islamic traditions—to unattributed hospital practice and that of "wise women." Finally, he recorded his own—at times contrasting—clinical experience.

The immense volume of *al-Hawi* could not but affect its manuscript transmission. However, interest in it transcended religious boundaries, as attested to, for example, by a copy in Hebrew characters and, in Europe, by its Latin translation in 1279.

Plausibly the single most influential of al-Razi's books was his medical compendium *Book for Mansur,* one hefty volume that combined theory and practice. Its success is illustrated by a large number of manuscripts in the original Arabic, in Hebrew, and in Gerard of Cremona's Latin version of 1175 (several printed editions) and by a series of Arabic and Latin commentaries.

Corresponding with the format of al-Razi's medical writings—ranging from encyclopedias to the briefest of monographs, which were designed as handy references for far-flung practitioners—his envisioned audiences run the gamut from fellow scholar to layman. His equally comprehensive thematic interests include everything from anatomy to specific disorders; to dietetics (including sexual medicine), materia medica, and pharmacy; to deontological questions; and to lay people's attitudes toward

medicine and its practitioners. In addition, al-Razi engaged authoritative texts of his discipline—especially Hippocrates and Galen—in commentaries, revisions, and emulations. Monographic treatments of (in the broad medieval sense) philosophical interest include discussions of allergic reactions to flowering roses; of the strictly physiological causation of pathicism (passive anal eroticism); of the public's frequent preference for quacks over qualified doctors; and of physicians' curative failures and, conversely, of the success of wise women and their ilk.

Al-Razi's epistemological open-mindedness led him to devote a treatise to the (occult) properties (khawass) of mineral, vegetable, and animal substances. Alternatively, his work in alchemy, betraying a similar attitude, dispenses with magic in the attempted transformation of bodies, such as base metals into gold. The implications of his work, calling into question the traditional doctrine of four elemental qualities (among others), were not to be lost on al-Ghazali and other later thinkers.

Al-Razi stands out among Islamic philosophers for his ethics and his metaphysical and physical doctrines, although he did not ignore logic (in Aristotelian terms, philosophy's indispensable implement). Conspicuously, he rejects one of Islam's basic dogmas—prophecy—and with it all revealed religion. Reason being the creator's equal gift to all humankind, there was no need for divine dispensations through the mouth of prophets; to the contrary, such (in reality) demonically induced self-delusions had invariably proven pernicious in leading to sanguinary strife. Human beings' apparent inequality in philosophical potential resulted from the wide variance of their interests and preoccupations.

Further religious and philosophical disagreements of al-Razi with his contemporaries concern creation as such and man's destiny in the hereafter. He posits the pre-eternal existence of five entities: (1) God; (2) universal soul; (3) absolute time; (4) absolute space; and (5) matter. By defining, in contradiction to Aristotle, time and space as absolute and infinite, he expressly relies on the uncanny certainty of inferences from straightforward sensory perception. Al-Razi's concept of matter is atomistic in a generally Democritean way, which is in contrast to the notion of dimensionless atoms that was prevalent in Muslim dialectic theology (kalam).

In al-Razi's cosmological myth, creation is occasioned by God's accession to Soul's desire of embodiment in matter; the resulting chaos is mitigated by God's further gift of intelligence—his own—to creation and to Soul. Intelligible order is thus imparted to the universe and, in humankind, self-awareness to Soul; conscious of her incorporeal origin, she strives after liberation from imprisonment in this life to return to her primal abode. Thus, al-Razi premises the afterlife on Soul's incorporeal substantiality alone, rejecting the Qur'anic resurrection of the flesh. Generally taking, like the Gnostics and Manicheans, a dim view of Soul's embroilment with matter, al-Razi yet insists on the creator's wisdom and mercy. Creation's ultimate end, however, is its dissolution after Soul's liberation from bondage to matter.

Central to al-Razi's ethical theory are his concepts of pleasure, which exists only as release from and in proportion with previous discomfort and of the fear of death as a motive force. The attempt to silence such fear—irrational, whether or not death terminates the soul's sentient existence—impels humans to indulge their natural appetites for power, food, or sex. In an effort to predicate his ethical theory on unfounded assumptions—given the impossibility of rationally demonstrating the reality of the beyond—he bases it on the finality of death. Because the appetites, feeding on gratification, ever forestall the achievement of the desired pleasure, they are to be reduced by judiciously denying them gratification to approximate a modicum of contentment: the maximum attainable in this life.

From among al-Razi's physical works, his treatise about vision deserves special mention for his rejection of Galen's extromission theory and excessive reliance on Euclid.

Lutz Richter-Bernburg

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RAZIA SULTANA

The daughter of Iltutmish, the second of the so-called "Slave Kings" of Delhi, Razia ruled the Delhi Sultanate from 1236 to 1240, thus becoming the first woman to rule a Muslim state in India. On his death bed, Iltutmish had expressed his wish that he be succeeded by Razia, whom he thought more capable for the position than any of his sons. In the intense competition among the various factions of the court to fill the political vacuum left by Iltutmish's death, however, Razia was passed over in favor of her half-brother, Rukn ad-Din Firuz, Iltutmish's eldest surviving son. Rukn ad-Din Firuz turned out to be a ruler who was given to pursuing a life of pleasure and satisfying his lust, being content to leave the affairs of state in the hands of his mother, Shah Turkhan. Shah Turkhan used her newly acquired power to settle old insults she had suffered in Iltutmish's harem by either putting to death or humiliating some of Iltutmish's wives. Rukn ad-din Firuz's debauchery, as well as Shah Turkhan's machinations, provoked further hostility at the court when they blinded Iltutmish's infant son, Qutb ad-Din, so that he could no longer be a contender for the throne. When Shah Turkhan began making arrangements to execute Razia because she deemed her to be a threat to her son's authority, the people of Delhi and some officers of the army revolted. Because of the high esteem with which they regarded her, they raised Razia to the throne. Rukn ad-Din and his mother were put to death. At the time there were apparently no religious objections to a woman ruling a state. Only in the seventeenth century does a theologian, Abdulhaqq Dihlawi (d. 1624), deem Razia's appointment to be contrary to the shari'a.

Although Razia came to power on the basis of popular support in Delhi, the confederacy of nobles and regional governors who had been responsible for excluding her from the throne in the first place refused to acknowledge her authority. Through astute diplomacy and complex intrigues, she was able to create dissension and mistrust in the ranks of the opposition, even managing to convince some of the nobles to support her cause. Having consolidated a shaky support base, she began appearing in public unveiled and in male attire. The chronicler Minhaj as-Siraj reports that she was a wise and just ruler, possessing all of the attributes and qualifications necessary for a king. She conducted affairs of state in an open court, marching in person with her armies when engaged in battles. Early in her reign Razia, however, managed to arouse a great deal of hostility and jealousy among the predominantly Turkish nobility when she appointed Jalal ad-Din Yaqut, an Abyssinian slave, to the post of master of the stables, a position traditionally reserved for a distinguished Turk. Her partiality for Yaqut has led later historians to speculate whether there had been a sexual relationship between them, but contemporaneous sources do not indicate that this was necessarily the case. In a society in which ethnicity and race (i.e., Turkish ancestry) were the prime qualifications for holding office, Razia's advancement of Yaqut was deemed to

be not only scandalous and improper but also insulting to the Turkish oligarchy. It is very likely that, by appointing Yaqut, Razia was attempting to cultivate a cadre of non-Turkish officers and courtiers to counter the power held by nobles of Turkish ancestry at the court.

As a result of the Yaqut affair, Razia encountered powerful opposition at the court in Delhi as well as from the governors of the provinces. The governor of Punjab revolted but was subdued by Razia's forces. Fatal to Razia's rule was the revolt of Ikhtiyar ad-Din Altuniyya, the governor of Bhatinda. On April 3, 1240, Razia set out with her army to subdue him. However, as the army reached Bhatinda, some officers killed Yaqut and handed over Razia to Altuniyya. The confederacy of nobles in Delhi proclaimed Muiz ad-Din Bahram, Razia's half-brother, to be the new ruler. In the meantime, Ikhtiyar ad-Din Altuniyya, feeling left out of the power sharing taking place at the court in Delhi, released Razia from prison, and, after marrying her, proceeded to Delhi to promote the claims of his wife to the throne. Altuniyya's army was defeated by Bahram's forces, and, on October 14, 1240, both Razia and Altuniyya were killed.

Ali Asani

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REFORM, OR ISLAH

The Concept, Historical Development, and Main Views

Islah is an infinitive form derived from the root *s-l-h* and has the sense of "to improve, to better, or to put something into a better position." It may be seen as the Arabic counterpart of reform. The word *islah* occurs in forty verses of the Qur'an in the sense of "to restore oneself or to reconcile people with one another, to make peace." *Muslih*, the active participle of *islah*, is used to describe people who favor peace and order against wickedness, disorder, and anarchy. In the Qur'anic terminology, *islah* is the opposite of *ifsad* (corruption), and *muslih* is the opposite of *mufsid* (practicing corruption). The term *islah* also occurs in hadith (tradition) collections.

The term *islah* has acquired a systematic sense imbued with a Salafi tendency within religious thought owing to the ideological contributions of Muhammad 'Abduh and M. Rashid Rida. Modern view of islah aims at the revivification of Islamic values and is based on the principle of "commanding the good and forbidding the evil" of the Qur'an (3:104, 110). Champions of the islah movement also emphasize the Qur'anic verse that reads, "I only wish to reform you as best as I can" (11:88). Another point of reference for them is a hadith that heralds that God will bring about people in each century who are able to accomplish religious and moral reformation. Although past reform attempts stressed the adherence to the Prophet, modern reformist movements viewed the Qur'an as the most important source of reference. Those who thought it necessary to adhere to the Sunnah of the Prophet were of the opinion that innovative practices (bid'ah) penetrated the spheres of religious beliefs and worship. In their view, the articles of faith have gained a speculative outlook thanks to kalam (Islamic theology) discussions. Another reason for the increasing number of innovative ideas were the esoteric (batini) interpretation of the scripture and the views of the extreme branches of the Shi'ah. As for the domain of worship and prayers, they believed that excessive asceticism and mystic practices that stemmed from some Sufi movements and that run contrary to the *Sunnah* were indications of practices that opposed the essence of Islam. Innovations that were thought to be within the domain of belief and prayer were each deemed threatening to the creedal, political, and moral unity of Islam.

The political and moral turmoil that followed the wars of Siffin (AH 37/657 CE) and Nahrawan (38/658) resulted in political and religious controversies between the political authority and the Kahrijites and Shi'i groups. This schism played an effective role in the development of the sects that the Sunni view called ahl al-bid'ah (the people of innovation). At the end of the seventh century, the Muslim community gained a heterogeneous outlook. Theological controversies surrounding issues such as predestination, freedom of the will, the problem of evil, divine attributes, and whether or not the Qur'an was created became determining factors in sectarian identities. However, dominant official Sunnism did not appear to retain sufficient unifying force and vitality to mold the religious and moral conducts of new generations. It also diminished, to some extent, the religiously and culturally determinant power of the Sunnah (the sociological bases of which had already been weakened) within the state, which had a diverse ethnic structure and expanded borders.

The community in which early Muslims (the Companions and the generation after them) practiced the true meaning of the Sunnah was gradually

disappearing. The famous discussion that took place between Hasan al-Basri (d. 110/728) and Wasil b. 'Ata' and their disagreement marked the beginning of the resystematization of the Sunni and Salafi schools against the schools that are considered by the Sunnis as the people of innovation, such as the Shi'a, Kharijiyyah, Jahmiyyal, and Mu'tazilah. The work of Ahmed b. Hanbal (d. 855/241 H) entitled *al-Radd 'ala al-Zanadiqa wa al-Jahmiyyah* is a good example of Sunnism prepared to battle the newfangled movements. The main impetus for the reformists who rejected the innovations was the desire to fight against the sects that brought innovative ideas into the social and individual lives of the believers and to revive the Sunnah with a view to guiding people back to the authentic faith.

It is in this sense that Rashid Rida refers to Ibn Hazm (fifth/eleventh century), Ibn Taymiyya (seventh/thirteenth century), Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani (ninth/fifteenth century), and Shawqani of Yaman (twelfth/eighteenth century) as the reformists and renewers (mujaddid) of their own centuries. Opposing the political authorities of their own eras, these scholars committed themselves to preserving the continuity of the Sunnah tradition as well as the original values of Islam through it. As a result of historical and cultural development, the modern Salafi movement of the Egyptian roots marks the last and the most productive phase in terms of the reformist stance. Among the prominent leading figures of this movement are Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, and Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi.

In the Muslim/Arab world, one may find many factors that have contributed to the development of the notion of islah. In an attempt to restore the Islamic way of living in accordance with the pristine state of Islam that the first generations lived, the Wahhabiyah advocated the idea of clinging to the Scripture and the Sunna and of shunning innovations and superstitions. One of the factors contributing to the Arab renaissance from 1822 on is the Bulak Printing House in Egypt, through which Egyptian, Syrian, and Lebanese intellectuals spread the doctrines of the movement. In the Ottoman Empire, by inaugurating *Tanzimat* (a policy of reforms) with the Gulkhane Khatt-i Humayun on November 3, 1839, the Sultan 'Abd al-Majid lay the foundations for the notion of liberal administration. With the Declaration of Reforms in 1856, the reforms launched under the influence of the West were gradually enforced in society, and thus the thought and impact of the West were transmitted to the Near East. Moreover, as Joseph Hajjar points out, the facts that the Eastern churches were exposed to Western thought and that missionary activities effected a reactionary movement on the part of the Muslims helped establish an intellectual infrastructure in the Muslim world.

Furthermore, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, Muslims familiarized themselves with Western science, culture, and technology via translations and travels. They had on their agenda discussion of the causes of—and solutions to—the backwardness of the Muslim world, which was the main theme of the writings of Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida in *al-Urwa al-Wuthqa* and *al-Manar*. Ernest Renan's conference on "Islam and Science" at the Sorbonne on March 29, 1883, and the subsequent discussions that took place between Renan and al-Afghani led the reformists to struggle against the thesis that Islam clashed with science and that it was the reason that the Muslim world is backward. The main driving force and motivation of the reformists to put an end to the cultural and social stagnation was the following Qur'anic verse: "God does not change the state of a people until they change themselves" (13:11). The proponents of islah held that it was necessary to combat the Sufi orders and conservative and traditionalist forces to improve the situation. The problems on which they concentrated most were education, law, and the Sufi orders. The improvement of Islamic education in traditional institutions and the *Azhar* in particular was considered to be related to the improvement of the mosques and religious foundations. The idea was that, if these were administered well enough, new resources could be obtained for the educational system.

This general reform movement at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century appeared in Arabic and Turkish media. After a while, islah became a movement that was attractive to those who strive for their cultural and social freedom. However, interest in islah that grew in the minds of young generations and intellectuals faced some difficulties. This new movement drew the suspicions of many countries, because it meant cultural and political inclinations toward the exaltation of Arabism and Pan-Islamism. Because of its social and political aspect, it caused reactions on the part of the authorities representing the status quo. Moreover, the reformists' uncompromising notion of divine oneness that viewed certain beliefs and practices of people as possessing idolatrous elements also drew criticisms of those who considered traditions and some rituals as complementary parts of religion. Lacking the patronage of a spiritual authority (e.g., one resembling the reformist church), the Salafiyya was apt to be accused of altering and even destroying the sacred Sunni tradition.

Furthermore, making constant references to the early period of Islam and to primary sources was

one of the salient characteristics of the movement. According to the reformists, to be loyal to Islam amounted to the adherence to the Qur'an and the Sunna. The saying attributed to Malik b. Anas saying that "the later (generations) of this *ummah* will only improve through that by which the first (generations) improved" is a good example that indicates the historical connection of islah.

The reformists refused to accept the subjective forms of interpretation that claimed to find out the symbolism that lies deep beneath or beyond the visible images of the external meaning of the Qur'anic verses. Rashid Rida's comment that "interpretation *(ta'wil)* is a typical example of innovation *(bid'ah)*" epitomizes the reformist position. The reformist understanding of interpretation tended to reject ta'wil in favor of mere tafsir (commentary) and embraced the view that the Qur'anic revelation was as comprehensible to modern Muslims as it was to the salaf (first generations), except for certain verses concerning divine attributes and the hereafter. For them, the fundamental aim of tafsir was to explicate the moral values that would invigorate the religious sentiment and hence guide the believer. The Sunna is of the same significance as the Qur'an, and the former explains the latter. However, the reformist doctrine ascribes more importance to the Qur'an than to the Sunna.

Being aware of the significance of preaching and guidance in mosques and other environments, the reformists disseminated their doctrines by issuing journals (e.g., Rashid Rida's *al-Manar* in 1898–1935 and Ibn Badis' *al-Shihab* in 1925–1939). What the reformists attempted to do was to warn people against beliefs and practices that seemed religious but that in fact did not have reliable proofs in the Sunna of the Prophet, such as reciting Qur'anic verses over graves, saying prayers loudly, the mawlid celebrations, and some other practices that modern Salafiyya deems idolatrous, such as excessive veneration of the awliya' (the saintly men) and appealing to the dead for help.

Theoretically, the logical consequence of the principle of returning to the first and essential sources was the rejection of taqlid (following blindly) and the subsequent search for new ways in the practice of ijtihad (independent judgment). For example, Rashid Rida viewed ijtihad as the "vital energy of the religion." According to the reformists, ijma' (consensus) is neither the general consensus of the Muslim community nor the agreement of Muslim scholars on a given issue. For the reformists, ijma' is restricted to the consensus of the Companions of the Prophet only.

The intellectual infrastructure of the reformists is based on such notions as the universality of Islam, freedom of reason, and summoning people to God and religion. Summoning to God amounts to attempts at reverting to the Islamic sphere those Muslims who have been intoxicated by modern scientific knowledge and who have been in a position of ridiculing the injunctions of Islam.

On these foundations, the development of islah consists of three significant phases. The first phase is the period in which Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, Muhammad 'Abduh, and 'Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi lay the foundation of the islah project. The second one is the period covering the years from 1905 to 1950, in which Rashid Rida and Ibn Badis played crucial roles and which witnessed the emergence of the doctrinal system of the movement. Among the prominent figures of this period were Farid Wajdi, who composed a commentary on the Qur'an with a reconciliatory perspective; Mustafa al-Maraghi, who was the Shaykh of the Azhar; Mahmud Shaltut; and Ahmad Amin, who tried to give a Mu'tazilite direction to the movement through his writings in the *Journal of al-Thaqafa.* Muhammad Tahir b. Ashur in Tunisia and Abd al-Hamid b. Badis in Algeria were leading reformists during the second half of the nineteenth century. There are also many reformist activities in Turkey, Iran, and India. The third phase covers the period after World War II.

Consequently, the idea of islah—although it does not appear to be a religious and cultural movement as strong and unified as it was between the two world wars—continues its existence in different forms that are extreme in some cases and moderate in others. Whether it is considered the liberal reformism of the moderate intellectuals who advocate tolerance and freedom of inquiry, who wish to deliver people by way of education, and who maintain the optimistic view that man will evolve through reason and science; the radical reformism of Ikhwan al-Muslimin, who desired to maintain the existence of Islam in the world; or the reformism of the idealist youth that was activated by demands for social justice and political morality and articulated with concepts characteristic of the left, each of these tendencies represents one of the main preferences that were provided by al-Afghani, 'Abduh, and al-Kawakibi and that were disseminated by their followers throughout the East and West.

Müfit Selim Saruhan

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RENEWAL (TAJDID)

Tajdid is an Arabic word that means "renewal" and that is usually coupled with *din* to mean "renewal of the religion." A similar but less common expression is *ihya' al-din,* which may be translated as "revival of the religion." Other phrases that occur less frequently in the literature are *ihya' al-sunna* (revival of the custom [of the Prophet]); *tajdid al-islam* (renewal of Islam); and *iqamat al-din* (the [proper] establishment of the religion). The "renewer" and the "reviver" of the religion are referred to as *mujaddid* and *muhyi al-din,* respectively.

These terms and their specific significances are not to be found in the Qur'an, although the general concepts of renewal and revival are part of Qur'anic prophetology, according to which God sent various prophets through time to various communities to cleanse and revitalize the primordial religion of Islam in the sense of submission to God. The concept of tajdid and the term *mujaddid* come rather from the famous hadith (tradition) recorded by Abu Da'ud in his *Sunan*, one of the six authoritative Sunni collections of the Prophet's statements, in which Muhammad foretells, "At the beginning [or possibly end] of every [Islamic] century, [there will come] someone who will renew the faith in it." The concept of tajdid is essentially an optimistic one, expressing the belief that the religion is always capable of regenerating itself through the insights and labors of its most gifted and morally excellent adherents.

The first such designated mujaddid for the second century by popular consensus (there is no formal mechanism for such a designation) is the Umayyad Caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz (d. AH 101/720 CE), who was lionized as the only righteous ruler among the Umayyad coterie of perceived godless tyrants. Every century since his time has henceforth been assigned a renewer of the faith, who tended to be drawn mainly from among the most prominent scholars of the time and, less frequently, from among pious rulers. Among scholars are the celebrated jurist Muhammad ibn Idris al-Shafi'i (d. 204/820), acknowledged for his groundbreaking contributions to jurisprudence, and, more famously, the theologian and prolific author with Sufi leanings, al-Ghazali (d. 505/1111); these men were acknowledged as the renewers of the second and sixth centuries, respectively. The latter is specifically given the title Muhyi al-Din, no doubt because of his magnum opus entitled *Ihya' 'Ulum al-Din (The Revivification of the Religious Sciences)* and for his seminal role in making Sufi thought part and parcel of the religious and intellectual mainstream. Other religious scholars who have been recognized as centennial renewers are al-Ash'ari (d. 324/935) and al-Baqillani (d. 403/1013), both stalwart defenders of Sunni orthodoxy during their time. One source is of the opinion that the 'Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun (d. 218/833) was the renewer of the second century rather than al-Shafi'i, but this is clearly a minority opinion.

The Shi'i have their own list of mujaddids that are drawn from the descendants of the Prophet. Among the Sufis, the Naqshbandiyya in particular have their own tradition of mujaddids. It is from among this Sufi order that the well-known Indian Muslim scholar Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi (d. 1034/1624) emerged as the acknowledged mujaddid of the eleventh century. Sirhindi is called, in Persian, *mujaddid-i alf thani* (renewer of the second millennium) and *Imam-i Rabbani* (the Divinely Appointed Leader). His disciples, dispersed throughout Central Asia and Afghanistan, are known as Mujaddidis, after the order established by him.

The title of mujaddid al-din was sometimes coveted by ambitious individuals, who tried to canvass for themselves as the promised renewer of their centuries. One such person who failed in this enterprise was the scholar and jurisprudent Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti

(d. 911/1505), who expressed hope in one of his works that he would be awarded this title for the tenth century. His irascible disposition and consequent general unpopularity militated against this possibility.

The tradition has persisted to the present day. For the thirteenth/nineteenth century, the erudite and charismatic Egyptian reformer Muhammad ʻAbduh (d. 1323/1905), who served as the rector of Sunni Islam's premier educational institution, al-Azhar University in Cairo, is sometimes declared to be the reviver of the faith, but this is not a universally held opinion. So far, no one has emerged as the undisputed renewer of the fourteenth/twentieth century. The Iranian cleric and revolutionary Ayatullah Khomeini's (d. 1409/1989) name has been advanced as a possible contender, but this has by no means gained widespread recognition.

Asma Afsaruddin

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RHETORIC

An interest in rhetorical practice and theory has been an aspect of Islamic civilization since its inception. The Prophet Muhammad received his calling in a cultural environment in which various kinds of verbal arts, including poetry and oratory, were taken seriously and held in high esteem, and the art of public speaking and oratory has played a very important role in the history of Islam ever since. However, because the word *rhetoric* may have different meanings in different contexts in Western languages, there is no precise notional equivalent in Arabic. The closest equivalents are *al-balagha* and *al-khataba*, which are frequently used in compounds such as *ʻilm al-balagha* (the science of eloquence) and *fann al-khataba* (the art of public speaking), respectively. *ʻIlm al-balagha* parallels rhetoric in Western traditions in the sense that it deals with tropes and figures of speech, thus corresponding with what is called *elocutio* in Latin rhetoric. In general, however, *ʻilm al-balagha* shows little similarity with rhetoric in the sense of public speaking and oratorical art. In this respect, *fann al-khataba* is a closer counterpart to rhetoric.

To a significant degree, early preachers and orators in Islam inherited their profession and position in society from the pre-Islamic orator (khatib), soothsayer (kahin), and poet (shaʻir), and from traditions of rhetoric current in the Near East in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Speeches and sermons attributed to leading personalities during the first centuries of Islam—including the Prophet, the caliphs, governors, generals, and others—were subsequently recorded in writing and preserved in the classical works of adab (edifying literature), such as the *Kitab al-Bayan wa-l-Tabyin* of al-Jahiz (d. 868) and *ʻUyun al-Akhbar* by Ibn Qutayba (d. 889); in chronicles such as *The History of al-Tabari* (d. 923); and, in the case of Muhammad's sermons, in the hadith literature and biographies of the prophet. These recorded speeches served as models for later orators. Another important source in this respect, particularly in Shiʻi circles, was the book *Nahj al-Balagha,* which purportedly contained the speeches and letters of ʻAli, the Prophet's son-in-law (d. 661). During subsequent centuries, sermons by eloquent preachers and learned scholars (ʻulama) were also preserved in writing to form part of this corpus of exemplary models, which have continued to exert an influence up to modern times. Among the most important of these are the collections attributed to the Hanbali scholar ʻAbd al-Rahman bin ʻAli Abu 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzi (d. 1200), who was also the author of a well-known handbook for preachers and admonishers (see below).

Different names are applied to various kinds of oratory or preaching in the sources: for example, khutba (official sermon in the mosque, referring specifically to the Friday sermon), qasas (a "free" sermon based on edifying narratives) and waʻz (admonition, exhortation). Although the term *khutba* tends to be reserved for official preaching in the mosque by a preacher (khatib) approved by the authorities, qasas and waʻz were applied to less-regulated kinds of preaching. As such, the latter were the focus of much controversy during the Middle Ages. Qasas came under particular attack, because its practitioners, the qussas, were accused of leading people astray by transmitting false hadiths, thus creating political turmoil and social unrest among the ordinary people. Several well-known scholars contributed to this criticism, including Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d. 1111), who based his arguments on those of Abu Talib al-Makki (d. 996). More generally, there was a tendency on the part of the scholarly community to make a distinction between undesirable forms of unofficial preaching (qasas) on the one hand

and praiseworthy or at least tolerable forms of the same practice (wa'z) on the other. Although there may be little difference between these genres in reality, the term *wa'z* thus came to be the preferred designation for a more respectable kind of "free" preaching, whereas the term *qasas* fell into disrepute and subsequently acquired the meaning of popular "storytelling." One example of a collection of sermons that has been variously described as wa'z or qasas is *al-Rawd al-Fa'iq (The Splendid Garden)*, attributed to Shu'ayb al-Hurayfish (d. c. 1400).

The rhetorical science called 'ilm al-balagha developed through exegetical as well as linguistic and rhetorical practices. As a scholastic discipline, it acquired a certain maturity during the thirteenth century, epitomized in *Talkhis al-Miftah (Epitome of the Key)* and *al-Idah (The Clarification)* by Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Rahman al-Qazwini (1268–1338). Al-Qazwini had important precursors, particularly 'Abd al-Qahir al-Jurjani (d. 1078) and Abu Ya'qub Yusuf al-Sakkaki (d. 1229). However, al-Qazwini provided a systematic presentation of the subject that came to be most influential during subsequent centuries, including, for instance, the common tripartite division of 'ilm al-balagha into the following categories: (1) 'ilm al-ma'ani (the science of meanings); (2) 'ilm al-bayan (the science of clarification); and (3) 'ilm al-badi' (the science of embellishments). Although the first of these may be seen as dealing with pragmatic issues of language use, such as the distinction between informative statements and performative speech acts, the second concerns the use and interpretation of metaphorical language to clarify rather than obscure. The third is about the art of embellishing an utterance with various modes of beautification, including figures of meaning and figures of speech.

To a significant degree, the development of 'ilm al-balagha was shaped by theological concerns, first and foremost the interpretation of the Qur'an. Many of its illustrative cases and examples are taken from the Qur'an, and there is a clear emphasis on the possibility of reconstructing the intentions of the speaker, who in the case of the Qur'an is God Himself. For this reason, it might be argued that 'ilm al-balagha is a hermeneutic discipline and an auxiliary to Qur'anic exegesis rather than rhetoric proper. Apart from this, various forms of rhetorical theory and practice were cultivated by bureaucrats and courtiers in more profane settings. In the bureaucracies and erudite circles of the caliphate, it was important to be able to master elegant prose as well as poetry in the composition of official letters and documents. Over the centuries, handbooks and guides were written about these subjects to serve a practical purpose, including, for instance, the *Subh al-a'Sha fi Sina'at al-Insha'*, al-Qalqashandi's (d. 1418) famous manual for bureaucrats and clerks in the Mamluk administration. In addition, the art of public speaking and oratory, including the art of preaching, was discussed and practiced in terms of al-khataba rather than al-balagha. The former was commented upon theoretically by the medieval Muslim philosophers, such as al-Farabi (Alfarabius; d. 950), Ibn Sina (Avicenna; d. 1037), and Ibn Rushd (Averroes; d. 1198), who treated it in the context of their studies of the Aristotelian *Organon* (the corpus of texts dealing with the various tools of logical reasoning to be used in all the sciences). However, the philosophers were not the only ones to take an interest in the art of public speaking. Quite naturally, the subject of al-khataba also attracted the attention of Muslim preachers and theologians for other, more practical reasons than those that motivated the philosophers. The primary concern here was homiletic practice (the preaching of religious truths and values) rather than philosophical and logical debates. In addition to the collections of sermons, a few books with rules and guidelines for preachers have also survived from the medieval period, such as 'Ala' al-Din Ibn al-'Attar al-Dimashqi's (d. 1324) *Kitab Adab al-Khatib (The Book of the Preacher's Etiquette)* and 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Ali Abu'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzi's (d. 1200) *Kitab al-Qussas wa-l-Mudhakkirin (The Book of the Storytellers/Admonishers and Those Who Remind)*.

The medieval Muslim works of 'ilm al-balagha, like those devoted to the art of public speaking (fann al-khataba), show significant similarities with rhetoric as discussed and practiced in European traditions. Several concepts and notions are similar, such as the distinction between figures of meaning and figures of speech. With regard to the art of public speaking proper (fann al-khataba), it should be remembered that the translation into Arabic of the Aristotelian *Organon*, including the book on rhetoric, was a complex process that went through several phases, from the early works based on Syriac translations of the editions current in late antiquity to the final phase as represented in the scholarship of Christian and Muslim Aristotelians in 'Abbasid Baghdad. The commentaries that were subsequently composed by Muslim philosophers are important contributions in the history of rhetoric: not only did they provide the Muslim world with a knowledge of Aristotelian rhetoric, they also came to have significance in the West, where they were translated into Latin and provided with commentaries by Christian scholars during the later Middle Ages. This process provided an important impetus to the cultural development in Europe known as the Renaissance.

PHILIP HALLDÉN

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ROAD NETWORKS

The roads of the medieval Middle East were largely a continuation of the preexisting road systems of the Roman and Partho-Sasanian empires, which in turn were often continuations of more ancient routes. Although paved streets had existed in towns before the Roman period, paved roads between settlements were a Roman innovation. Under the Romans, the development of the road network was dictated by military and, to a lesser extent, commercial considerations. During the Islamic period, the existing road system was supplemented by new routes that were developed to provide easy access to Mecca and Medina.

Principal Hajj routes ran from Damascus (Darb al-Hajj al-Shami), Cairo (Darb al-Hajj al-Misri), and Baghdad (Darb Zubayda), with subsidiary routes from Yemen and Oman and trans-Saharan routes from West Africa. The majority of these routes were unpaved (except in places where they used preexisting Roman roads), although they were provided with facilities such as milestones, wells, cisterns (burak), caravansaries, and mosques. The best-documented route is the Darb Zubayda, which was constructed by the 'Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid during the eighth century and which included palatial residences in addition to the usual facilities. The Syrian pilgrimage route via Medain Saleh and Petra is of

the greatest antiquity and was of primary importance during the Umayyad period and later under the Ottomans. Some idea of the political importance of this route can be gauged by the fact that the ‘Abbasid revolution was organized from Humayma, a small town on the road midway between Damascus and Medina. The Egyptian route via Aqaba/Ayla is the least well-known route, although it appears to have been the most important for much of the Medieval Period, when it was used by the Mamluk sultans.

There is little evidence that major new roads were constructed during the Islamic period, although improvements were made to existing routes, such as the construction of bridges, rock cut passes, and the provision of milestones. One of the earliest known examples of road improvements is a rock cut pass near Lake Tiberias in Palestine, which is recorded on a milestone (now in the Israel Museum) dated to the reign of the Umayyad Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik. Other examples of rock cut passes include two at Aqaba/Ayla: one on the Arabian side dated to the tenth century and one on the Egyptian side dated to the Mamluk period.

Numerous bridges are known both through historical sources and through archaeology. Bridges were of two types: arched masonry structures (qantara) and wooden floating structures (jisr). The former were used for rivers of limited span, whereas the latter were used on wide rivers or where there was a significant variation in seasonal water levels. Often caravansaries or khans were located next to bridges, such as at al-Harba south of Samarra in Iraq and at Lajjun in Palestine. Rivers also functioned as routes in their own right; the Tigris and Euphrates rivers provided important links between Anatolia and the [Persian] Gulf, just as the Nile connected upper Egypt with the Mediterranean.

One innovation of the Islamic period was the increased use of camels for transport (c.f. Bulliet), which opened up trans-desert routes for commercial use but which also meant that roads did not have to be maintained to the same standards that were needed for wheeled vehicles. There was, however, some revival of wheeled transport in the eastern Islamic world during the thirteenth century, when the Mongols established an imperial road network.

Also during the thirteenth century, the Mamluk rulers of Egypt and Syria revived and improved the postal routes of early Islamic times. The revival took place in two stages. During the first phase, the route was provided with khans that could be used both by the members of the official postal service and by merchants traveling the route. During the later period, special postal stations were built where horses and riders could be exchanged. The most important route was the road linking Cairo with Damascus, the so-called Via Maris, which was provided with a number of bridges, the most famous of which is Jisr Jindas in Palestine, which carries carvings of panthers. Other routes included a special road into the Lebanon mountains to bring ice to Damascus.

As in other cultures, settlements often developed around road systems. Thus, the caliphal city of Samarra was built along a main arterial route leading north from Baghdad to Mosul. Similarly, the city of Ramla in Palestine, founded during the early eighth century, was built at the intersection of the Cairo–Damascus route (Via Maris) and the Jaffa–Jerusalem roads.

Andrew Petersen

See also Hajj; Silk Roads; Travel; Transport; Ibn Khurradadhbih; Yaqut

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ROMANCE LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES OF IBERIA

For centuries after the settlement of Muslims in parts of the Iberian Peninsula (beginning in 711 CE), the vernacular literature produced by Christians in Spain displayed various signs of cross-fertilization with Arabic. Contact with Arabic occurred not only through actual Muslim kingdoms on the peninsula but also through Muslim minorities living at different times under Christian rule. There is much debate today, especially among Hispanists, regarding the extent of the influences brought about by this contact. Although some consider the role of Islamic civilization central to the literary history of medieval Spain, others interpret it as a marginal detail; other opinions cover the vast range in between. To consider the nature of the contact between Arabic and Romance literatures, one naturally has to raise questions about

the appropriate ways to gauge how one culture affects another and what the actual definition of *influence* is; such issues are increasingly being addressed by scholars.

Attention must be paid to the fact that the languages of the Iberian Peninsula are not limited to Castilian (commonly referred to as Spanish): Basque (not a Romance language), Catalan, and Gallego-Portuguese enjoy a rich heritage in the literary history of Spain. However, because of its frequent contact with Muslim communities, Castile appears to show the stamp of encounter more visibly.

Certain facts about the interaction between Castilian literature and the cultural world of Islam are clear. Castilian contains numerous words of Arabic origin. In the realm of nonfiction, the constant movement of Arabic medical, philosophical, and scientific treatises into the vernacular, enabled by events such as the massive translation projects of King Alfonso X of Castile (r. 1252–1284 CE), embedded Arabic terms into Castilian vocabulary and even syntax, much of which is visible today.

In the realm of fiction, literature produced in Castilian by Christian authors of the Middle Ages provides evidence of intimate engagement with the Islamicate cultures that coexisted on the Peninsula for centuries. The tradition of prose narrative in Castilian was enriched by translations or close retellings from Arabic and other non-Western languages (e.g., the tales of Kalila and Dimna). The didactic narratives of Don Juan Manuel (14 CE) and Petrus Alfonsus (12 CE) show ample evidence of Indian, Persian, and Arabic sources, among others. The early popular lyric of Castilian, often expressing the laments of a young lovesick girl, is injected with Arabic words and metrical sensibilities.

The question of Arabic poetics as an integral part of Castilian literary history becomes more complex in cases in which the works being studied are no longer obvious retellings or translations. Here, scholarship is divided with regard to the Western or Eastern derivation of medieval masterpieces such as Juan Ruiz's *El Libro de Buen Amor* (c. 1330 CE), Fernando de Rojas' *La Celestina* (1499 CE), and mystical poetry. Much debate has been generated by questions of a strong Islamic versus Western and Latin presence in the motifs, patterns of composition, and general thematics in these and other works. No consensus has been achieved, but a useful discussion about the nature of the fundamental hybridity of Spanish culture—transcending mere categories of Eastern or Western identification—has been generated. At the same time, increasing attention is being paid to Spain's intricate ties to Islamic civilization.

LEYLA ROUHI

See also Folk Literature, Arabic; Kalila wa Dimna; European Literature, Perception of Islam

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ROSEWATER

The manufacture of rosewater (ma' al-ward or ma' ward; sometimes contracted to maward) was an important industry with centers in Damascus, Jur (in Fars, southern Iran), and other places, including Muslim Spain. An historian of the early tenth century, quoting a document from the time of Harun al-Rashid (r. 786–809), mentions that the caliphs in Baghdad used to receive thirty thousand flasks of rosewater from Fars annually. The technique of its distillation using steam or hot air ovens is described in several medieval treatises; sublimation was another method used.

Rosewater was normally made from red roses (the damask rose was particularly popular) using fresh or dried petals, and it was usually blended with herbs and aromatic substances such as saffron, musk, or camphor. It was used medicinally: it was deemed good for the stomach and the eyes and was used for

a variety of diseases. It was also very popular in dishes and lotions, as a refreshing ingredient and a scent, and it was used as a mouthwash, a deodorant, and in ointments. Rosewater could, by vaporization, be turned into a scented powder, which could be used in various ways. Julanjabin (from the Persian *gol-angabin* [rose honey]) was a kind of preserve made from roses and honey.

Rosewater is included among the ingredients of countless recipes in, for instance, the anonymous Arabic Mamluk cookery book *Kanz al-Fawa'id fi Tanwi' al-Mawa'id (The Treasure-Trove of Things Delicious for the Diversification of the Table's Dishes)*. The same source also gives recipes for various kinds of rosewater. These may differ in color (i.e., pale, red, or glaucous), provenance (i.e., from Jur, Damascus, Nasibin, or Persia), or composition (i.e., with saffron and musk, with camphor and musk). The Persian word for rosewater, *gol-ab*, adopted in Arabic as *jullab* (sometimes *julab*), was in turn borrowed by many European languages as *julep,* in the meantime acquiring the sense of various kinds of sweet drink. The popularity of rosewater is not unconnected with the greet esteem in which the rose, chief of flowers, was held; this is obvious, for instance, from the countless poems in Arabic (at least in Islamic times) and even more in Persian, in which the rose is associated with love. Strange though it may seem, the Arabic word for roses, *ward,* the Persian/Turkish *gol/gül,* and the several European words (Greek *rhodon*; English *rose*) are all related etymologically, going back to an Old Iranian word.

GEERT JAN VAN GELDER

See also Perfume

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SA'ADYAH GAON

Born in Egypt in 882 CE, Sa'adyah ben Joseph al-Fayyumi emigrated to Palestine around the beginning of the tenth century, studying with a leading Hebraist in Tiberias before migrating to Iraq. His incisive mind, erudition, and forceful personality were early apparent and his intervention on behalf of Iraqi Jewish authorities in a calendar dispute with the Palestinian Jewish leadership (921–922) brought him wide recognition. In 928, the Exilarch, or Head of the Babylonian Jewish community, David ben Zakkai, appointed him *Gaon* (Head) of the *Yeshiva* (academy) of Sura in Baghdad. Within two years, however, Sa'adyah and the Exilarch became embroiled in a politico-economical dispute that quickly escalated into a community-wide affair, with each side issuing bans of excommunication. When reconciliation between the parties was effected some six years later, Sa'adya again became the undisputed Gaon of Sura, continuing in this post until his death in 942.

Styled "the first and foremost of scholars everywhere" by the twelfth-century polymath Abraham Ibn Ezra, Sa'adyah pioneered many disciplines. Immersed from an early age in such traditional Jewish subjects as Bible and Talmud, he was also well versed in Muslim and Christian scholarship. Indeed, his greatest innovation was to synthesize many different areas of Jewish and Arabic learning. Impressed by Arab grammarians, he composed the first Hebrew lexicon, *Sefer ha-'Egron* (902) and wrote a pioneering work on Hebrew grammar, *Kutub al-Lugha (Books of the Language)*, which bears the imprint of Arabic linguistic theory. He translated the Bible into Arabic to make it more accessible to Jewish readers; noted for its idiomatic qualities, this translation (Ar. *tafsir*) served as the basis for numerous other Arabic versions, some of them Christian. Sa'adyah also wrote Arabic commentaries on many, if not all, of the books of the Bible. These commentaries, which have only survived in part, are notable for their long, programmatic introductions, their attention to thematic and structural issues, and their incorporation of Arabic exegetical terminology. A gifted liturgical poet, he also edited the Jewish prayer book. Sa'adyah tirelessly defended rabbinic Judaism, polemicizing against the Karaites, a Jewish sect that denied the authority of the Oral Tradition, and refuting the freethinker, Haywayhi of Balkh (ninth century). Sa'adyah's *chef d'oeuvre* is his *Kitab al-amanat wa'l-i'tiqadat (Book of Doctrines and Beliefs),* composed toward the end of his life. One of the earliest Jewish works of systematic theology, it is firmly grounded in the Bible and rabbinic literature on the one hand, and the Mu'tazilite *kalam* on the other, while incorporating certain philosophical doctrines. From the outset, Sa'adyah argues that knowledge is grounded in revelation and reason, and that these two sources are complementary. The book covers such topics as creation, the proof of God's existence and unity, divine revelation, divine command and prohibition, obedience to God and rebellion, human merits and demerits, the essence of the soul and the afterlife, resurrection, redemption, reward and punishment, and ethics. It was translated into Hebrew by Judah Ibn Tibbon (Provence, 1186).

Daniel Frank

See also Baghdad; Freethinkers; Hebrew; Judeo-Arabic; Kalam; Polemics and Disputation; Scriptural Exegesis, Jewish

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SACRED GEOGRAPHY

Sacred geography refers to notions of the world centered on the Ka'ba in Mecca [q.v.] with the specific purpose of finding the *qibla* [q.v.], or direction toward the Ka'ba, without any calculation whatsoever, that is, with the framework of folk science. It is quite distinct from the Islamic tradition of mathematical geography [q.v.], in which the qibla was calculated from available geographical coordinates using a complicated trigonometric formula. Sacred geography was developed by Muslim scholars working exclusively in the folk astronomical tradition.

Some twenty different schemes of this kind of sacred geography—sometimes beautifully illustrated in manuscripts, sometimes described in words—are known from some thirty different medieval sources. In most of the illustrations, the Ka'ba is accentuated and its various features identified. The world is divided in sectors around the Ka'ba that are defined by specific segments of its perimeter. The qiblas for each sector are then defined in terms of specific astronomical horizon phenomena, such as the risings and settings of the sun and various qibla-stars. In some schemes the qibla is defined in terms of the winds, whose limits were defined in Islamic folklore in terms of such horizon phenomena.

This tradition began in Baghdad in the ninth century. It was particularly popular in the medieval Yemen, not least because a *faqîh* of Basra of Yemeni origin named Ibn Surâqa proposed three serious schemes with eight, eleven, and twelve sectors around the Ka'ba. In various later works, such as the geographical writings of Yâqût (Syria ca. 1200 CE) and al-Qazwînî (Iraq ca. 1250), the information on the qibla in twelve sectors, sometimes eleven, is suppressed. In yet later works, such as the nautical atlas of Ahmad al-Sharafî al-Safâqusî (Tunis ca. 1550) and various other Ottoman compilations, forty or seventy-two sectors are uniformly distributed on a ring around the Ka'ba with no specific qibla values.

Underlying all of these schemes is the notion that to face the Ka'ba in any region of the world, one should face the same direction in which one would be standing if one were directly in front of the appropriate segment of the perimeter of the Ka'ba. Since that sacred edifice is itself aligned in astronomically significant directions, the directions adopted by the legal scholars for the qibla were toward the risings and settings of the sun at the equinoxes or the solstices or of various significant qibla stars. The astronomical orientation of the Ka'ba—major axis aligned with the rising of Canopus, and minor axis toward summer sunrise and winter sunset—is implicit in statements about the directions of the winds by a series of medieval Muslim scholars.

The various directions adopted for the qibla in these schemes would necessarily be different from the qiblas that were calculated by the Muslim astronomers. Indeed, the various qibla directions proposed in the medieval sources account for the wide range of orientations of religious architecture in each region of the Muslim world.

David A. King

See also Astronomy

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SAFAVIDS

The Safavids are the longest ruling of Iran's Islamic period's dynasties. The dates of the Safavids are often

given as 1501 CE, from the capture of Tabriz by the first shah, Isma'il I, to 1722, the Afghan capture of the capital of Isfahan.

Within ten years of the former, Safavid forces, spearheaded by a confederation of Turkic tribal forces called the Qizilbash (Turkish, meaning "red heads") after their distinctive red headgear, secured territories previously ruled by eight different rulers and roughly contiguous with modern-day Iran. The allegiance of these tribal elements with which Isma'il—himself of both Christian and Turkic noble descent—had already intermarried, was further bolstered with the allotment of key territories and military–political posts. The much-needed support of the Tajik, native Iranian, administrative class, many of whom had served the region's earlier polities, was secured by appointing them to key posts at the central and provincial levels and by patronage of distinctly Persian cultural traditions. A complex spiritual polemic identified Isma'il with the region's key Christian and Muslim, Tajik, Persian, Shi'i, and Turkish and Sufi discourses and traditions; indeed, although Twelver Shi'ism was the new realm's established faith, Isma'il was also the latest head of the Safavid Sufi order, whose militantly messianic appeal to his tribal followers he also promoted. Sunnism also was tolerated following a nominal conversion to Shi'ism. The strong attachment of Turk and Tajik to Isma'il and to each other ensured the polity's survival in the face of both internal challenges and military defeat by the Ottomans at Chaldiran in 1514. So based was the polity on the person of Isma'il, however, that at his death in 1524, the confederation's members, and their Tajik allies, fell to fighting among themselves for dominance of Isma'il 's son and heir, Tahmasp.

After a twelve-year civil war that encouraged repeated Uzbek and Ottoman invasions, a new Turkish-Tajik hierarchy established itself around Tahmasp. The center repelled the Uzbeks and sued for peace with and ceded territory to the Ottomans, and projected a heterodox spiritual–cultural discourse that, as under Isma'il, both spoke to and legitimized the interests of the polity's key constituencies, including Georgian and Circassian elements to the north, and promoted Tahmasp as representing each and leader over all. Tahmasp's death in 1576, which again removed the focal point of this alliance, engendered an eleven-year struggle between and among the Qizilbash tribes and their Tajik and Northern supporters, in support of Tahmasp's sons, Isma'il II (r. 1576–1577) and Khudabandah (r. 1578–1587) and, again, left the polity vulnerable to Ottoman and Uzbek attacks. Even with the enthronement in 1587 of the latter's son, 'Abbas I (d. 1629) [q.v.], backed by a new alliance, the future of the polity was threatened by ongoing internal military-political and spiritual-religious challenges, as well as foreign occupation.

A 1590 treaty ceding further territories to the Ottomans allowed 'Abbas to secure victory over his internal rivals and commence a series of military campaigns that, by the end of his reign, recovered territories lost to the Ottomans and Uzbeks.

The new alliance secured these victories by expanding the center's core constituencies to include *ghulam* or *qullar* corps—non-Qizilbash Arab and Persian tribal volunteers and captured Georgian, Circassian, and Armenian youth converted to Islam—at both the central and provincial military and political levels, albeit subordinate to the Qizilbash and Tajik elites, and, more importantly, by expanding the Qizilbash confederation. The center also reinvigorated its heterodox, spiritual–cultural discourse, further emphasizing the dynasty's Shi'i, Sufi, and distinctly Persian associations, and undertook to develop the realm's spiritual, secular, and economic infrastructure, the latter including the removal of eastern Turkey's Armenians, especially its long-distance merchants, to the new capital of Isfahan, and projecting the center's credentials at all these levels. New efforts were undertaken to construct an anti-Ottoman alliance by expanding contacts with European political, commercial, and religious interests.

The prominence of this expanded Turk-Tajik-*ghulam* alliance at the center remained a feature of Safavid politics for the remainder of the period, even if specific personnel changed. While the 1639 treaty of Zuhab with the Ottomans, and the access to the overland route to Mediterranean ports for Iran's silk it guaranteed, produced growing economic prosperity and increasingly smoother accessions; struggles for preeminence between factions at the courts of 'Abbas' grandson Safi (r. 1629–1642) and great-grandson 'Abbas II (r. 1642–1666) did not assume the proportions of the civil wars thta marked the earlier deaths of Isma'il and Tahmasp.

In the middle and late seventeenth century, a series of natural disasters—disease, famine, and drought—together with a growing drain of specie, exacerbated the economic decline of urban craft and artisanal and other marginal elements, and contributed to a rising interest among these in Sufi-style messianic discourse and a corresponding growth in anti-Sufi and anti-philosophical polemics. The center, although occasionally scapegoating minority communities, adopted a variety of economic and social welfare measures in response to these crises, and further promoted the identification of successive shahs with Shi'i religious orthodoxy, other alternative messianic or otherwise 'popular' spiritual and cultural discourses, and other

religious traditions, and combined with continued patronage of the realm's spiritual and secular infrastructure, further asserted the legitimacy of the center's authority. The smooth accessions of 'Abbas II's elder son Sulayman (r. 1666–1694) and the latter's eldest son Sultan Husayn (r. 1694–1722), aided by an otherwise relatively healthy economy, attest to the overall success of such efforts.

In 1722, the Afghan seizure of Isfahan did not immediately dent the Safavids' popular standing. For example, tribal contingents stationed throughout the realm rushed to the shah's rescue, and even Nadir Shah (d. 1747), a member of one of the original Qizilbash tribes, as commander of the army of Sultan Husayn's son, placed the latter on the throne in Isfahan in 1729 and married into the Safavid house before himself seizing power in 1736. The political, especially cultural, achievements of the period were key points of reference for later generations.

ANDREW J. NEWMAN

See also 'Abbas I

Further Reading

Newman, forthcoming.

SAINTS AND SAINTHOOD, CHRISTIAN

The rapid Arab conquest of the eastern Byzantine provinces and the Sasanian empire resulted in the acquisition of vast territories that, over the course of the preceding centuries, had been mapped by the lives and deaths of Christian saints. The landscape was dotted with monasteries, churches, and shrines where apostles, martyrs, and a variety of holy men and women were remembered, their remains venerated, and their patronage and intercession sought. Itineraries of pilgrimage connected many of the dots. Already in the late fourth century CE, the Western pilgrim Egeria visited not only what was being constructed as a Christian "Holy Land" in Palestine, but also monastic sites in Egypt and Sinai—Edessa with its *martyrion* of the apostle Thomas, and the shrine of the martyr Thecla in Seleucia. The two centuries that followed were a period of intense church building and of growth in the cult of the martyrs, which is to some extent reflected in the account of the "Piacenza Pilgrim" (ca. 570): In addition to his visit to the biblical sites in Palestine, he reports an excursion south and west (to Mt. Sinai, the cave of Paul, the first hermit near the Red Sea, the pilgrimage center of the martyr Menas outside of Alexandria, and the church of the evangelist and martyr Mark in Alexandria itself), and another north and east (to Antioch and its martyrs, the shrine of the martyr Bacchus at Barbalissus, and nearly to the frontier shrine of the martyr Sergius at Rusafa).

The Qur'an itself alludes to stories of Christian saints and martyrs whose commemoration contributed to the construction of this Christian sacred geography. *Surat al-Buruj* (85) refers to the martyred "men of the pit," probably the Christians massacred by Dhu Nawas around 520 in Najran in South Arabia. Their *martyrion* became a pilgrimage center that, for a time, rivaled Mecca to the north. *Surat al-Kahf* (18) presents a version of the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, whose cult spread through the Islamic world as well as the Christian world. Of course, a large number of biblical figures appear prominently in the Qur'an, including Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, and John the Baptist.

The Christian map of holiness underwent continual reconfiguration under Islamic rule. Not all shrines fared well, however. The Christian community of Najran was uprooted under the caliph 'Umar, while the Church of St. John the Baptist in Damascus was converted into a mosque under the Umayyad caliph al-Walid. At the shrine of St. Sergius in Rusafa, however, a mosque was constructed *alongside* the existing Christian buildings. While some pilgrimage centers suffered slow decline because of changing political and demographic realities, new cults sprang up, as they continue to do in the present day.

At the time of the Arab conquest, the Christian communities that suddenly found themselves within the *Dar al-Islam* all possessed extensive hagiographical literatures in their original languages (Syriac, Greek, Coptic, and others). These literatures continued to grow after the Arab conquest, but with the passage of time many Christians came to adopt the Arabic language. In a process that began in the monasteries of Palestine in the eighth century, many *Lives* and *Martyrdoms* were translated into Arabic, while others were composed directly in that language. In some communities the *Lives* and *Martyrdoms* of the principal saints were collected together, in abbreviated form, in *synaxaria* that served their daily commemoration in the liturgy.

The hagiographical literatures of the Christian *dhimmi* communities were enriched by the stories of the neomartyrs, Christians who were executed by Muslim authorities while confessing their Christian faith; the grounds for execution are normally apostasy from Islam, converting others from Islam, or invective preaching against Islam. A particularly rich literature of this kind, much of it composed in Arabic, sprang up in the Melkite communities of Syria and Palestine in the early Islamic centuries. The phenomenon of

voluntary martyrdom sometimes found in these stories was controversial among Christians and puzzling to Muslims. Occasionally, voluntary martyrdoms would come in waves, as in the case of the "martyrs of Córdoba" during the 850s, or the Forty-Nine Martyrs in Egypt during the patriarchate of Matthew I (1378–1408). Such phenomena must be interpreted against a background of rapid Arabization and/or Islamization.

The example of the martyrs, old and new, was an important element in preaching and catechesis that urged Christians to cling to their faith, regardless of the consequences. The hagiographical production of the Christian churches under Islam, however, was by no means restricted to stories of martyrs. Holy men and women regularly emerged from communities that eagerly recognized them as "saints"—one notes the informality of the process—and that recorded and read their *Lives* and *Miracles*. Some of these saints were consulted by Muslim authorities and notables, and on occasion played the role of mediator between them and the Christian community. The Coptic *synaxarion* records, for example, that Barsum the Naked (d. 1317) had a role in persuading the Mamluk sultan al-Nasir Muhammad to reopen the churches of Cairo, after he had ordered them closed in 1301.

It will be apparent that the commemoration of the saints (including the regular retelling of their stories, visiting their shrines, and participating in their feasts) was an important element in forming and reinforcing the specific identities of Christian communities over their Islamic environment. At the same time, the cult of saints and martyrs could be a meeting place for Christians and Muslims. The sharp edges of particular figures could blur, as when the martyrs Sergius and George were confused not only with one another but also with the mysterious Qur'anic figure Khidr. In many places, Christians and Muslims were ready to seek healing and protection wherever it could be found, whether from Christian or from Islamic saints. From early in the Islamic period to the present day, the annual festivals of certain much-beloved saints have been fairlike events at which Christians and Muslims alike have sought entertainment, as well as blessing.

MARK N. SWANSON

See also Apostasy; Christians and Christianity; Churches, Coptic; Copts; Dhimma; Greek; Syriac; Seven Sleepers

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SALADIN, OR SALAH AL-DIN

Salah al-Din Yusuf b. Ayyub (d. 1193 CE) was a Kurdish warrior who established the Ayyubid confederation that dominated Egypt, Syria, and the Jazira (upper Iraq) from the late twelfth to the mid-thirteenth centuries. The career of Saladin (as his name was rendered by Europeans) was marked by concerted military campaigns against the Crusader states of the Syrian littoral. These military activities culminated in his decisive victory over Crusader forces at the Horns of Hattin on July 4, 1187, which brought about the near elimination of the Frankish states centered around Jerusalem, Tripoli, and Antioch.

Little is known of Saladin's early life. His father Ayyub (the Arabic form of the prophetic name Job) was for a time in the military service of Zangi (d. 1146), the Turkish military leader who controlled Mosul and Aleppo. In 1152, at age fourteen, Saladin joined his uncle Shirkuh in Aleppo in the service of Zangi's son, Nur al-Din. Nur al-Din had emerged by then as the most powerful figure of the Muslim opposition to the Crusader states. When the Fatimid

caliphate of Egypt was troubled with succession struggles and threatened by several Frankish invasions, Nur al-Din sent armies under the command of Shirkuh to aid the Fatimids. Saladin accompanied his uncle, and thus was in Egypt when Shirkuh died in 1169. Taking advantage of the internal chaos of the Fatimid state, Saladin took control of Egypt, first as a vizier of the Fatimids and subsequently, in 1171, by displacing the Fatimids and ruling in the name of his sovereign, Nur al-Din. Saladin's relations with Nur al-Din grew strained, however, and when the latter died in 1174, Saladin quickly marched to Damascus to take that city from Nur al-Din's heirs. By May 1175, Saladin was invested by the 'Abbasid Caliph al-Mustadi' (r. 1170–1180) as the Sultan of Egypt and Syria. Over the next decade, Saladin's forces were frequently engaged with fighting the Franks. Saladin was also concerned, however, with solidifying his rule (by 1175 he had survived two assassination attempts) and expanding the land under his control. In 1183, Aleppo submitted to him, and in 1186, Mosul recognized him as well. Having thus brought the collective resources of Egypt, Bilad al-Sham (Syria), and the Jazira under his control, Saladin renewed his efforts against the Crusaders. His campaign in the summer of 1187 resulted in the surrender of Jerusalem three months after his victory at Hattin. Saladin's subsequent campaigns left the Crusader states reduced to the coastal enclaves of Tyre, Antioch, and Tripoli.

Saladin's capture of Jerusalem resulted in the call for the Third Crusade in Europe. Those Crusader forces, including Kings Richard I of England and Phillip II of France, arrived on the Syrian coastal plain in the summer of 1191. While Phillip soon departed, over the next year Richard's forces engaged those of Saladin in a series of military maneuvers. Two Crusader marches on Jerusalem failed, yet the two significant battles—at Arsuf in 1191 and Jaffa in 1192—resulted in Frankish victories. A truce was negotiated between Saladin and Richard in September 1192, and Richard left the Levant a month later, the Third Crusade having thus expanded and strengthened the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem so weakened by Saladin in 1187–1189. Saladin died a few months later in March 1193. His Ayyubid relatives who succeeded him in control of Egypt and Syria were unable to duplicate his degree of success against the Franks.

The life of Saladin has resonated for many audiences since his death. Members of his administration penned biographies celebrating his achievements, and eulogists commemorated him as the epitome of a *mujahid fi sabil allah*, a fighter for the cause of God. A dissenting view, however, is found in the works of Ibn al-Athir (d. 1233), who wrote in the service of Nur al-Din's descendants displaced by Saladin. His struggles against Richard became the stuff of chivalry in medieval Europe and the fodder for Sir Walter Scott's historical fiction in the nineteenth century. More significantly, Saladin's unification (forcibly or otherwise) of the Muslim lands surrounding the Crusader states, as well as his success against those states, are major reasons why he has been celebrated by many subsequent Muslim authors and rulers, and his example has been appropriated into the ideas of twentieth-century Arab nationalism and contemporary Islamist thought. Within modern Western scholarship about Saladin, a dissenting interpretation of his achievements is found in the biography by Ehrenkreutz.

WARREN C. SCHULTZ

See also 'Abbasids; Ayyubids; Caliph; Fatimids; Nur al-Din; Sultan

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SALMAN AL-FARISI

Salman al-Farisi was a Persian companion of Muhammad who plays a large role in the self-image of the nascent Shi'i, and later a cosmic role for some of the *ghulat* extremists; little is known about his life before his arrival in Medina. Hagiographies describe his provenance from a courtly family in Isfahan, who dissatisfied with the religion of his ancestors sought the "true" religion. This account may have some roots in the religious conflicts of the later Sasanian period in which Mazdaian orthodoxy was under threat. Having tried out other religious options such as Nestorian Christianity in Iran, Mosul, and Chalcis, Salman was sold as a slave into Arabia, where he ended up in Medina. Meeting the Prophet, he became

a Muslim, recognizing the seal of prophecy on Muhammad's back. He later became famous as the one who devised the strategy of building a ditch *(khandaq)* to defend Medina.

After the death of the Prophet, he was a staunch supporter of the rights of ʻAli and was regarded as one of the four pillars of the early Shiʻi. The Prophet is reported to have honored him by describing him as a member of his family. Following Abu Bakr's selection at Saqifa Bani Saʻida, he was reported to have said to the Quraysh, "*kardid o nakardid*" ("They have selected a successor to the Prophet but failed to recognize the true successor, ʻAli"). This phrase is a key example of New Persian fragments in early Islamic texts. Popular Twelver tradition commemorates his death on AH 9 Safar 35/17 August 655 CE. In some forms of later extremist Shiʻism, Salman became the part of the tripartite divine hypostasis, along with Muhammad and ʻAli.

SAJJAD H. RIZVI

See also Abu Bakr; ʻAli ibn Abi Talib; Islam; Muhammad; Shiʻism

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SAMANIDS

The Samanids were a semiautonomous eastern Iranian dynasty, based in Bukhara, that ruled Transoxiana, Khurasan, Tabaristan, and Tukharistan between 819 and 999 CE. They are largely recognized for ushering in the New Persian linguistic and literary renaissance of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Dynastic History

The origins and early history of the Samanids as familial governors of Transoxiana on behalf of ʻAbbasid Baghdad are far from clear, but most near-contemporary historians are fond of repeating the tradition that Saman-Khuda—a prominent *dihqan* (Iranian noble landowner) and eponymous founder of this governorial dynasty—was a direct descendant of the Sasanian hero-cum-general Bahram Chubin. It would appear that Saman-Khuda and his son, Asad, served the ʻAbbasid authorities efficiently in Transoxian, and in recognition of their campaigns against local rebels, a number of prestigious posts in the region were appointed to the four sons of Asad: Nuh received Samarqand; Ahmad was appointed to Farghana; Yahya received control of Shash; and Ilyas was granted the city of Herat. It would appear that Samanid control of the southern reaches of Herat could not contend with the rise of another local regional power, the Saffarids under Ya'qub al-Laith, and Ilyas was defeated and captured in 867. By 875, Ahmad's son, Nasr I, was more or less the sole governor of all of Transoxiana, a reality that was ceremonially acknowledged by the 'Abbasid caliph in 875 when he named Nasr as governor of the region. Samanid control of the region extended to Bukhara thanks to the campaigns of Nasr's brother, Isma'il, but fraternal civil war soon ensued. By 892, Isma'il had displaced Nasr as the sole Samanid governor of Transoxiana. The emergence of a centralized Samanid state with a lively court culture, consistent bureaucracy, and efficient provincial administrations is typically dated to the reign of Isma'il (892—907). This might be at least partially rationalized by the fact that Isma'il is touted by later scholars—most notably Nizam al-Mulk—as a paragon of justice and responsible rule. He invested considerable energy toward building up the urban infrastructure of Bukhara, and numerous traditions describe his equitable treatment of artisans, peasants, and sharecroppers. However, we must acknowledge that Isma'il was also an efficient military campaigner, and no doubt his exemplary status as a Muslim ruler was bolstered by his defeat of the disruptive Saffarid dynasty in 900 and his extension of control into central Iran, along with his *jihad* against the pagan Turkic areas north of Samarqand.

After the death of Isma'il in 907, and the assassination of his immediate successor, Ahmad, in 914, the Samanid house was placed under control of eight-year-old Nasr b. Ahmad (Nasr II). Politically, the Samanids were at their most vulnerable as various familial rebellions, revolts, and external invasions dominated much of the 910s and 920s. By 926, however, Nasr II was able to consolidate control of his territory, and mounted a number of successful expeditions against central Iran and Tabaristan. Despite these menaces, the reign of Nasr II is widely acknowledged as the

apogee of Samanid literary and cultural activity. This is undoubtedly explained by Nasr's decision to appoint two key Persians—Abu 'Abd Allah al-Jaihani and Abu al-Fadl Muhammad al-Bal'ami—to the office of vizier. Henceforth, we see the development of a centralized administration—based largely on its Baghdadi counterpart but with some interesting influences from Sasanian Iranian and Central Asian culture—with various offices for land assessment, tax collection, financial accounting, bureaucratic correspondence, agronomical improvements, and military maintenance. This administrative confidence was only reinforced by the fact that Transoxiana was no longer the subordinate, weaker province to the great region of Khurasan and henceforth was considered a productive and culturally sophisticated component of the *Dar al-Islam*. Indeed, the *Siyasat nama* holds up Samanid administration as a model for the Seljuks to emulate in their own administrative organization. Religiously, there is no substantial evidence to suggest that the Samanids were anything but orthodox Hanafi Sunnis; it should be noted that there was a brief flirtation by certain elements of the Samanid military (particularly a general named al-Husain al-Marwazi) with Isma'ili Shi'i preachers in the 920s, but by and large Shi'is and heterodox groups were considered anathema by the authorities.

Medieval geographers such as Ibn Hawqal, who had extensive experience traveling across Spain and the Maghrib, presents a Samanid Bukhara replete with legal scholars, Qur'anic exegetes, tradition compilers, Arab grammarians, philosophers, and other classes of intellectuals. The relative proximity of Bukhara to eastern Asia and the increased access to paper and papermaking technology (especially in Samarqand), fostered a certain bibliophilia among the Samanids; Ibn Sina (Avicenna), originally from the region of Balkh, talked glowingly of the library in Bukhara, noting that it was there he had been first introduced to the political philosophical writings of al-Farabi. The infusion of scholarly and courtly Arabic—at the expense of local idioms of Soghdian and Khwarazmian—is attested to by the large number of poets listed in the *Yatimat al-dahr* by Abu Mansur al-Tha'alibi and the *Lubab al-albab* by Muhammad 'Aufi. Nonetheless, the majority of the subject population was unable to digest such highbrow Arabic, and many translation projects were initiated under Nasr II, most notably the monumental Persian translation of the history of al-Tabari by al-Bal'ami (son of the aforementioned vizier).

The remaining years of the Samanid dynasty were occupied chiefly with contending with the Buyid "heretical" threat to the west and the restoration of the 'Abbasid caliph in Baghdad to nominal Sunni control. However, overextension in Tabaristan and financial mismanagement only exacerbated the devolution of power that had begun to characterize the Samanid court under the amir-ships of Nuh I (r. 943–954) and 'Abd al-Malik (r. 954–961). Like the 'Abbasid caliphs, Samanid military commanders had begun to look to the vibrant slave trade of Samarqand and Bukhara, and the arrival of prodigious numbers of Oghuz Turks into the Farghana and Zarafshan valleys, as new and skilled sources of military power. By the 960s and 970s, Turks had risen to considerable levels of military and courtly power, so much so that rivalries and competing claimants began soliciting the political support of these recently empowered Turkish military elite. A good example of this trend is the career of the Turkish general Alp Teghin, who had manipulated court machinations to secure an appointment as governor of Khurasan and developed ultimately sufficient prestige to relocate to Ghazna and establish the first independent Turkic dynasty in Central Asia: the Ghaznavids. Samanid impairment was at its highest during the reign of Nuh II (976–997) who, in addition to contending with the Shi'i Buyids and a politically precocious Turkish elite, was now attempting to fight off numerous invasions from the north by the Qarakhanid Turks of Kashgar and Balasghun. Their leader, Bughra Khan, would conquer Bukhara temporarily in 992, and by 997, Samanid dominion had shrunk considerably. The *coup de grace* invasion of 999 by the Qarakhanids was so quick and successful that some historians have suggested that key personages of the Samanid court might have collaborated with the Qarakhanids.

Ascendancy of New Persian Language and Literature

While the Samanid court and administration was ostensibly conducted in Arabic, nonetheless, we see the emergence of a new and stylized Persian language that, in turn, replaced local Iranian idioms of Soghdian and Khvarazmian. This New Persian fused older vocabulary and concepts of pre-Islamic Sasanian and Achaemenian Iran with the energetic and robust stylistic motifs and imagery found not just in the Qur'an but also in traditions of the Prophets, hagiographies of Companions, and of course the popular poetic Bedouin tradition. The eminent Iranologist Richard Frye has always contended that it was the New Persian "renaissance" under the Samanids and other eastern Iranian states—all beneficiaries to millennia of pre-Islamic Zoroastrian,

Manichean, Buddhist, and Nestorian Christian traditions—that "liberated" Arab, Bedouin-dominated Islam from its parochial roots and brassbound worldview. The bulk of what was produced in New Persian for this period were translations of key Arabic texts (al-Tabari's history or translations of the Qur'an, for example), but within time we see the rise of an independent and vigorous Persian literary tradition. In its infancy, New Persian was established and cemented in the increasingly famous court of Bukhara by such legendary poets as Abu 'Abd Allah Ja'far b. Muhammad Rudaki (d. 940) and Abu Mansur Muhammad b. Ahmad Daqiqi (d. 977). Rudaki spent much of his professional career in Bukhara, under the auspices of the ruler Nasr b. Ahmad, and is widely recognized for developing the panegyric form of poetry *(qasida)*; indeed, Rudaki was the foundation for later great panegyrists of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries such as 'Unsuri, Mu'izzi, and Anvari. Likewise, Daqiqi's lyrical poetry is considered to be a forerunner of Ferdowsi's *Shahnama*, and historians of Persian literature agree that many of the great literary accomplishments of the Ghaznavid and Seljuk periods would not have been possible if not for the Samanid program of encouraging New Persian at both the elite and popular levels.

COLIN PAUL MITCHELL

See also 'Abbasids; Bukhara; Buyids; Epic Poetry; Epics, Persian; Ibn Sina; Khurasan; Libraries; Nizam al-Mulk; Paper Manufacture; Persian; Persians; Poetry, Persian; Samarqand; Transoxiana

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SAMARQAND

Samarqand has always been the leading city *(misr al-iqlim)* of Transoxiana (Ma-wara al-nahr: the land beyond the Oxus River in Arabic). Its importance is explained chiefly by its position at the junction of the main trade routes crossing Central Asia (the name "Silk Road" was coined in the nineteenth century by Baron Ferdinand von Richthofen), and its situation on the banks of the Zarafshan (Sughd) River *(nahr)*. The elaborate irrigation system *(ariq)* that watered the city and its environs caused many people to settle in the district of Samarqand.

As the Soghdanian word *kand* (settlement) attests, the place was an urban center long before the coming of Islam. The traditional historiography of the Islamic conquests narrates that in the early Umayyad period, Muslim armies penetrated the Zarafshan River Valley. The Arabs, the people of Sogdia *(sughd)*, and the Turks fought over the territory. The fighting ended when Sa'id Ibn Uthman seized the castle *(quhnduz)* of Samarqand. Muslim chronicles narrate, in line with the Islamic conquest *(futuhat)* literary genre, that Kutham Ibn 'Abbas, the Prophet's cousin and companion, died during this raid (AH 56/676 CE). Even if this event actually took place its importance would be marginal, since other historical traditions describe later Islamic onslaughts against the city. In this narrative a second person plays a role: Umm Muhammad bint 'Abd Allah joined the armies of Islam and by doing so gained fame as the first Muslim woman to cross the Oxus River.

When Qutayba Ibn Muslim arrived (in 87/706), Samarqand was governed by a local chief, named by the Arab source as Ghurak, who bore the title Ikhshid. The victorious Muslim commanders did not remove him from his post—they accepted his surrender and were satisfied with his payments, an arrangement that lasted until his death in 737. As in other quarters of Transoxiana, this local force served as a buffer between the caliphate and the indigenous

inhabitants. Hoping to take advantage of the crisis in the Umayyad administration, the people of Samarqand joined forces with the Turks (Targesh) and fought the Muslim armies. It was only during the term in office of Nasr b. Sayyar (738–748) that the authority of the Umayyad caliphate was firmly reinstalled.

With the emergence of the ʻAbbasid caliphate, Samarqand, like other settlements in the Zarafshan Valley, was deeply affected by the revolt of the *al-mubayyida* (*safid jamgan*; the white-clad ones). This was a coalition of heretical forces led by a person nicknamed al-Muqanna' (the Veiled). A generation after the suppression of this revolt Rafi' ibn Layth killed the governor of Samarqand and seized the territory (190/806). The difficulties of the central government in Baghdad to control the remote frontier lands in Central Asia and the relationships that al-Mam'mun established between the periphery and the caliphate paved the way for the Samanids.

Nuh b. Asad b. Saman became the ruler of Samarqand in 204/819. On his death the city passed to his brother Ahmad (227–250/842–858). His son Nasr was virtually the independent ruler of Ma-wara al-Nahr (Transoxiana, 260–279/874–892). Samarqand served as the capital of Islamic Central Asia until Isma'il b. Ahmad removed the province's headquarters to Bukhara (279–287/892–907). Following the disintegration of the Samanid dynasty, Samarqand fell into the hands of the Qarakhanids (382/992). Under Ali Tegin (d. 1034) it served as the center of the western khanate of this dynasty.

Following their defeat at Katwan (536/1141), Samarqand came under the lordship of the Kara Khitay, who installed a collaborating force as governor of the city. They lost it to Khwarazm Shah (in 608/1212), who failed to defend it against the Mongols (Chingiz/Genghis Khan 617/1220). After Chingiz Khan died, his son Chagatay inherited the city. Samarqand was the capital of his offspring (the Chagatay ulus). The fighting and siege devastated the city. It was not until the days of Timur Leng (Tamerlane) that Samarqand reemerged as the major city of Central Asia. It then became the seat of the Timurid dynasty (1370–1507).

It seems that only after the successes of Abu Muslim and the emergence of the ʻAbbasids that Islam able to gain ground in Samarqand, driving out Buddhism and Nestorian Christianity. From the biographies collected by ʻUmar al-Nasafi it seems that Islam then became firmly established in the city and the countryside. He mentions scholars who originated in villages and towns, and illuminates a local tradition of Islamic learning and transmission of knowledge and history, a process facilitated by the diffusion of a new material: paper. Samarqand became a center of Islamic studies, as attested to by biographies of many Muslim scholars.

The economy of Samarqand was strongly connected to the central Islamic lands. The city served as an emporium for goods, including furs from Inner Asia and Eurasian slaves. The Qarakhanids further developed it as a cultural center. Descriptions of the city are preserved in geographical and travel literature. They tell of a fortified city populated with scholars. Another source that bears evidence to the past glory of Samarqand are several illustrious buildings including mausoleums, schools, mosques, and an observatory. From the late ʻAbbasid period the tomb of Kutham b. al-ʻAbbas in Afradiyab attracted pilgrims to the shrine of Shah-i zinda (the living prince; also called Shah-i javanan, or the prince of the youth).

Yehoshua Frenkel

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SAMARRA

Samarra is a city on the East bank of the middle Tigris River in Iraq, situated 125 kilometers north of Baghdad, with a present-day population of about two hundred thousand. Between AH 221/836 CE and 279/892, Samarra, the seat of the ʻAbbasid caliphs, expanded to a built-up area of 58 square kilometers, the largest ancient city in the world whose plan has survived.

Before Islam, Samarra was not much more than a village, in an area that was only lightly occupied in antiquity along the banks of the Tigris River. However, the digging of the Qātūl al-Kisrawī in the sixth century, by the Sasanian king Khusraw Anushirwān (r. 531–578), as a feeder to the Nahrawān canal, irrigated the area east of Baghdad, stimulated interest in the area, and led the Sasanians to build a hunting park east of modern-day al-Dūr, and a monumental tower *(Burj al-Qā'im)*. The ʻAbbasid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170–193/786–809) dug a supplementary canal, the Qātūl Abī al-Jund, and commemorated it by an unfinished octagonal city (modern-day *Ḥuṣn al-Qādisiyya*), called *al-Mubārak* by al-Hamadhānī, and left unfinished in 180/796. The plan is one of two surviving imitations of the Round City of Baghdad.



Minaret of the mosque at Samarrah. Abbasid dynasty, 848–852 CE. Credit: SEF/Art Resource, NY. Great Mosque (Mosque of al-Mutawakkil), Samarra, Iraq.

Probably in 220/834–845, the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim left Baghdad in search of a new site for the court and army, a move explained by the sources as due to conflict of the Turkish guard with the population of Baghdad. Although there are different versions of al-Muʿtaṣim's journey, all agree that a start was made on a city near Rashīd's unfinished foundation, a site identified east of Ḥuṣn Qīdisiyya. Then he stopped work and moved on to Samarra.

The caliph's city was formally called *Surra Man Ra'ā* ("He who sees it is delighted"). Although Yāqūt *(Mu'jam sv Samarra)* suggests that the present name is a shortened form of *Surra Man Ra'ā*, it is clear that *Samarra* is in reality the Arabic version of the pre-Islamic toponym, *Sumere* in Latin, *Šumrā* in Syriac, and *Souma* in Greek.

Surra Man Ra'ā was founded by al-Muʿtaṣim in 221/836, with the palace on the site of a monastery. The plan was composed of a caliphal palace complex, called in the sources variants on the theme of "House of the Caliphate": *Dār al-Khilāfa*, *Dār al-Khalīfa*, *Dār al-Sulṭān*, and *Dār Amīr al-Mu'minīn*. The interior was divided into two major units: the official palace, *Dār al-'Āmma*, where receptions and public business were conducted, and the residence, *al-Jawsaq al-Khāqānī*, intended for family life, where four of the caliphs are buried. The site was excavated by Viollet (1910), Herzfeld (1913), and most recently by the Iraq Directorate-General of Antiquities.

From the south gate of the palace, an avenue, later referred to by al-Ya'qūbī as Shāri' Abī Aḥmad, was laid out over seven kilometers parallel to the river, with a single bend, where the original mosque of al-Muʿtaṣim and the markets were located. Otherwise, the plan was composed of subunits (Ar. *qaṭā'i'*) dedicated to the military leaders and their troops, and composed also of a palace, avenue, and a grid of houses. North of the bend, the cantonments of the Turks under Waṣīf were located on the east side, and possibly the Farāghina (from the Farghāna valley in Uzbekistan) on the west side. South of the markets were situated the cantonments of the Maghāriba from Egypt, the Iranian Arabs, and the Khurāsānī troops from Baghdad. On the north side of the palace, two

quarters, one of which was under the Turk Khāqān 'Urṭūj, appear to have been dedicated to the palace servants. Two further principal military cantonments were located outside the city, that of the Central Asian Iranians under al-Afshīn Khaydar b. Kāwūs al-Ushrūshanī at al-Maṭīra, a mainly Christian village south of Samarra (modern-day *al-Jubayriyya*), and that of the Turks under Ashinās at al-Karkh, that is, Karkh Fayrūz (modern-day *Shaykh Walī*), ten kilometers north of Samarra. The area east of the city was walled as a hunting park *(al-Ḥayr),* in imitation of the earlier Sasanian parks.

Al-Mu'taṣim died in 227/842. His successor, al-Wāthiq (r. 227–232/842–846), stayed in Samarra and built a new luxurious palace called al-Hārūnī, identified at the unexcavated site of al-Quwayr, now an island in the Tigris, to the west of the Caliphal Palace. The main feature of the short reign of al-Wāthiq was the consolidation of settlement—the people are said by al-Ya'qūbī to have been more convinced of the permanence of the settlement and to have turned a camp *('Askar al-Mu'taṣim)* into a real city.

The reign of al-Mutawakkil (232–247/847–861) had a great effect on the appearance of the city, for the size of the city doubled in his reign. A list of his building projects has survived in various versions, the new congregational mosque and twenty other construction projects that totaled in cost between 258 and 294 million dirhams. The congregational mosque of al-Mutawakkil with its spiral minaret was built between 235 and 237 (849 and 852) and constituted part of an extension of the city to the east. Two new hunting palaces were built in the south, al-Iṣṭablāt, identified as al-'Arūs, and al-Musharraḥāt, identified as the palace of al-Shāh.

The palace of Balkuwārā, excavated by Herzfeld in 1911, was also built in the south as the kernel of the cantonment of a new army of Arabs under al-Mu'tazz, second son of al-Mutawakkil. An important feature of al-Mutawakkil's reign was a sixty-six percent increase in the size of the military cantonments, suggesting extensive new recruiting of Arabs and others to balance the Turks of al-Mu'taṣim.

In this period, the city center reached its greatest extent, and was described by the geographer al-Ya'qūbī (Buldān 260–263). There were seven parallel avenues. *Shāri'al-Khalīj*, adjacent to the Tigris, accommodated the quays for the river transport supplying the city, and the cantonments of the Maghāriba. The principal avenue of al-Ya'qūbī, *al-Shāri' al-A'ẓam*, or *al-Sarīja*, followed an irregular line passing by the tax registry *(Dīwān al-Kharāj),* the stables, the slave market, the police office, the prison, and the main markets, before reaching the *Bāb al-'Āmma* (Gate of the Public) of the caliphal palace. The third avenue, *Shāri' Abī Aḥmad*, the original avenue of the time of al-Mu'taṣim, terminated at the south gate of the palace and housed the leading Turks of the period. The remaining avenues, *Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Awwal*, *Shāri' Barghāmish al-Turkī*, *Shāri' al-Askar*, and *Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Jadīd*, were the quarters of disparate military units, the Shākiriyya, Turks, Farāghina, Khazar, and Khurāsānis.

Al-Mutawakkil began a final new project in 245/859: the replacement of the caliphal city of Surra Man Ra'ā by a new unit called al-Mutawakkiliyya, though also referred to as al-Ja'fariyya and al-Māḥūza. The main palace, al-Ja'farī, was located at the entrance to the Qāṭūl, and the city plan is a variant of the already existing models at Samarra: a central avenue leading past the Abū Dulaf Mosque, and subunits allocated to military units. After the death of al-Mutawakkil in 247/861, the site was abandoned, and has survived virtually untouched until the present day.

The reign of al-Mutawakkil was the climax of the city. Vast architectural projects were undertaken—though using inexpensive techniques—and large numbers of troops were recruited to balance the political power of different ethnic units, thus stimulating the economy of the city. However, the financial drain was fatal to the survival of the city; disturbances stemming from revenue shortages led to the unmaking of four caliphs up to 256/870.

In the following decade, under al-Mu'tamid, the army was removed from Samarra, but the city remained the official residence of the court until 279/892. Al-Mu'tamid himself appears to have left in 269/884, though he was buried there in 279/892. Reports of looting of the city occur between 274 and 281 (887–888 and 894–895) and suggest a depopulation in these years. Nevertheless, the area around the markets continued to be occupied, together with the settlements of al-Maṭīra and al-Karkh. The two imams, 'Alī al-Hādī (d. 254) and al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī, had a house in the center of the city on the Shāri' Abī Aḥmad, and were buried there. The twelfth imam disappeared in a cleft there in 260/874. The shrine was first developed in 333/944–945 by the Hamdanids, and later by the Buyids. The shrine was frequently rebuilt, notably by the 'Abbasid caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allah in 606/1209–1210. Consequently, Samarra became a pilgrimage and market town, but it remained an open city until a wall was built in 1834.

Alastair Northedge

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SASANIANS, ISLAMIC TRADITIONS

Islamic civilization's Sasanian inheritance runs broad and deep. The conquest of the Sasanian empire, which began in 638 CE but was not completed until 651, with the death of the Sasanian king, Yazdgird III, provided the victorious Arabs with a ready-made imperial structure and administration that had overseen the area stretching from the eastern borders of Syria into present-day Turkmenistan in Central Asia. The conquest also made the Arabs heirs to a rich and ancient cultural tradition, for Sasanian civilization was the culmination of more than a millennium of religious and artistic traditions in Iranian and neighboring lands.

Administration and Government

A well-organized state with an efficient bureaucracy, the Sasanian empire provided a class of qualified administrators and scribes to administer the conquered territories. The introduction of royal etiquette and ceremonial practices that closely imitated the elaborate court ritual of the Sasanian kings fulfilled the need of the newly established caliphate to proclaim its legitimacy to the diverse peoples who came under its rule. The prime minister of the Sasanian state, the *vuzurg framadar* ("Great Commander"), was replaced by the chief official of the caliphate, the *Wazir* (vizier), which as a title seems to be derived from the Middle Persian *vičir* (decision). To serve an increasingly centralized government, specialized *diwan*s or bureaus were created, based on the Sasanian model, among which were the *diwan al-khatam* (office of the seal, or chancellery) and the *diwan al-barid* (postal service), which took over the network of roads with rest stations (Ar. *Ribat*) that had been developed by the Sasanians. Under the Sasanians, priests *(mobads)* had directed many administrative activities; the Muslim *qadis* continued this function. The endowment of fires for the Zoroastrian fire temples may have influenced the system of Islamic *waqfs* (Ar. pl., *auqaf*).

The continuity of Sasanian court ceremony is attested to not only in Islamic art (see the section on art below) but also in literature. Well into the later Middle Ages, Muslim chroniclers were drawing upon such Middle Persian literary works as the counsels *(andarz)* or "mirrors for princes," addressed to aristocrats or to rulers, which contributed to the development of Arabic *adab* literature. Besides presenting stories to illustrate the wisdom of the sixth-century Sasanian king, Khosrow Anoshirvan, or of the third-century founder of the dynasty, Ardashir, these works describe Sasanian court practice and rules of conduct and strongly influenced the conduct of Muslim rulers. Such "advice" literature was also known in the Byzantine world, but it was not as widespread as in Persia. Arabic books based on this literature about Sasanian administrative practices and government were produced well into the twelfth century (AH sixth century) as far west of the former Sasanian lands as Sicily and Spain. These works were adapted to reflect Islamic precepts and practices.

Literature, Mathematics, and Science

In addition to *andarz* literature, oral and written narratives about the Sasanian and earlier kings and heroes had a valued place in Islamic culture and for centuries inspired artists and writers throughout Muslim lands. In particular, the *Shahnama,* or *Book of Kings*, written down by the Persian Ferdowsi around 1000, provided specific incidents about the mythic and historic Iranian past, as well as the courtly themes of feasting, drinking, and hunting for both Persian and Arab painters and poets; among such stories are the exploits of the hero Rustam, and the Sasanian hunting king, Bahram Gur.

The Sasanians also gave the Arabs a wealth of medical, mathematical, astronomical—as well as astrological—and other scientific writings (partly of Indian origin); these were co-foundations of many of

the Muslim contributions to science, such as the astrolabe and other instruments for measuring the circumference of the earth. Such Sasanian traditions carried into the early centuries of Islam and, indeed, many of the great mathematicians and scientists in the early centuries of Islam were of Iranian origin, among them the ninth-century mathematician and astronomer Muhammad b. Musa al-Khwarazmi, who wrote on algebra; the polymath Abu ʻl-Rayhan al-Biruni, who in the eleventh century produced treatises on geography, geology, astronomy, and history; and the eleventh-century poet ʻUmar Khayyam, who was also a mathematician and astronomer.

Religion and Philosophy

It is of some scholarly dispute whether the Zoroastrian religion of Sasanian Iran influenced the development of Islam. It seems possible that Zoroastrian dualism with its ethical doctrine of the struggle of good against evil, as well as the use of myth or mythical language to express religious thoughts, influenced early Islamic thinkers, especially those of Iranian origin. Some scholars have noted the similarities between specific Zoroastrian and Muslim practices and beliefs: the five times daily prayer, the reading of holy texts as part of the funeral rite, and the significance of the number thirty-three. Similarly, there may be a connection between Zoroastrian thought and some Islamic philosophies; for example, the Illuminationist or Ishraqi school of philosopher-mystics (founded by Suhrawardi) parallels such Zoroastrian doctrines as concern the function of angels and the symbolism of light (goodness) and darkness (evil).

Art and Architecture

Perhaps the greatest impact the Sasanians exerted on Islamic civilization was in the visual and building arts. Although it had its unique stylistic and iconographic characteristics, Sasanian monumental and decorative arts also partook of the many earlier cultures that had flourished for millennia in Iran and Mesopotamia. This Sasanian heritage, not surprisingly, was strongest in Iran, continuing with the Qajar dynasty well into the nineteenth century, although aspects of the Sasanian legacy can be found as far west as the Maghreb.

The Sasanian architectural legacy consists of building techniques and architectural forms. The main techniques are squinches to support a dome on a square base and brick or rubble construction coated with plaster; a key building form is the *chahar taq*, a domical room or structure resting on four pillars with arches in between, which characterized Zoroastrian fire temples and served as the prototype for the *kushk* or kiosk mosque, with its vaults and domes. Of pre-Sasanian origin but put to spectacular effect in the great Sasanian palace at Ctesiphon (the *Taq-i Kisra*) in Iraq was the iwan *(aiwan)*, a vaulted hall open on one end—when joined to the domed kiosk, it influenced religious architecture from Egypt to Central Asia. These architectural forms were also used for palatial structures, as their association with the Ctesiphon audience hall imbued them with the power and ceremony of kingship and conferred legitimacy upon the ruler who held audience within. This was certainly the intent of the late thirteenth-century Mongol ruler who built a palace at Takht-i Suleiman in northwestern Iran by incorporating surviving Sasanian palatial and religious buildings and thus presented himself symbolically as the heir of the Sasanian dynasts.

Plaster or stucco, a material not used in pre-Islamic architecture west of Iran but a major decorative medium in Sasanian architecture, became widely used, as it was well-suited for carrying the rich vocabulary of decorative motifs—geometric, floral, vegetal, faunal, and even human—required for the interiors of religious and secular buildings. Many of these motifs, mainly of Sasanian origin (though some derived from the classical Mediterranean world)—the stepped merlon, rosette, palmette, the fantastical Senmurv, griffin, and harpy—were transferred across Islamic territories through highly portable small-scale works of art, such as metalwork and textiles; in particular, richly patterned silks were an important means of transmittal.

The conquering Arabs readily adopted other Sasanian motifs bound up with imperial imagery and iconography. The winged crown, topped by a crescent and globe, which from the fifth century was worn by every Sasanian emperor to symbolize his divine fortune, was the typical headgear worn by enthroned, feasting, and even hunting kings in Islamic works of art. Abstracted into a crescent and globe between a pair of wings, the motif became a generic symbol of royal power and legitimacy; abstracted further, it is a decorative design that appears as far west as the ninth-century Great Mosque in Qairouan, Tunisia.

Other motifs taken from Sasanian royal iconography include the ribbons that flutter to either side of the crown or from the necks of various animals, and the crescent (Ar.: *hilāl*), an emblem closely associated with Islam to the present day; its pairing with a star, also widespread in Islamic contexts, occurs on

Arab–Sasanian coins and is a continuation of late Sasanian coin designs. Although winged animals (griffins, horses, bulls, and lions) have a long history in the art of the ancient Near East, they are ubiquitous in Sasanian art and are taken into Islamic design; similarly, the lion-bull combat comes from this long tradition as both an astronomical symbol and one of royal power and as such was transferred through Sasanian into Islamic art.

The image of the Sasanian ruler holding court or engaged in the pleasures of the banquet and the hunt, as depicted in a variety of artistic media, was readily adopted by the Muslim rulers to illustrate their power and greatness. Despite the prohibitions against figural art, Muslim rulers and their well-to-do subjects perpetuated these pictorials, as well as a range of literary themes, through commissioned works in metal, ceramic, fabric, and paint.

Further Examples of the Sasanian Legacy

Such games as backgammon, chess, and polo were developed or invented under the Sasanians. Backgammon, ubiquitous in Islamic lands, and chess were brought (probably in the sixth century) from India to Iran, where they became an important part of princely education. The earliest treatises on the games are in Middle Persian and date from this period of late Sasanian rule. As a training game for elite cavalry, polo may be a Persian invention. Considered the sport of kings, it was played in much of the Islamic world and was often associated with a royal architectural complex (for example, Timurid Samarkand, Safavid Isfahan, and Mughal Agra).

Finally, the Islamic garden, both a heavenly and earthly creation, is based on Sasanian and much earlier Iranian designs; in fact, "paradise" derives from Old Persian *pairidaeza*. The typical "four garden" plan *(chahār bāgh)*, in which intersecting streams or avenues divide the enclosed area into quarters that are planted with trees and flowers, informs not only actual gardens in the Islamic world but also some carpet designs. Indeed, the numerous mentions of the celestial garden in the Qur'an reflect this garden design.

JUDITH LERNER

See also Al-Biruni; Al-Suhrawardi, Shihab al-Din 'Umar; Angels; Architecture, Religious; Architecture, Secular: Palaces; Archives and Chanceries; Astrolabes; Astronomy; Backgammon; Bureaucrats; Carpets; Ceramics; Chess; Epics, Persian; Ferdowsi; Frescoes; Gardens and Gardening; Hospitals; Hunting; Intellectual History; Mathematics; Medical Literature, Arabic; Medical Literature, Persian; Medicine; Metal Work; Mirrors for Princes; Mosques; Murals; Mythology and Mythical Beings; Painting, Miniature; Painting, Monumental and Frescoes; Poets; Post (Barid); Sculpture; Shahnama; Silk Roads; Textiles; Translation, Pre-Islamic Learning into Arabic; Viziers; Waqf; Zoroastrianism

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SCHOLARSHIP

Scholars

The word for scholar in the Arabic Islamic tradition is *'alim* (pl. *'ulama'*, meaning wordly, "knowing," learned). It denotes scholars of almost all disciplines: traditions of the Prophet and his Companions; traditionist *(muhaddith)*, Qur'anic exegesis; exegete and other Qur'anic fields like variant readings; reader *(muqri')*; jurisprudence: jurist *(faqih)*, and connected areas like successions; specialist of successions, or the one who is recognized as a mufti (that is, having the competence of delivering juridic or theological decisions), or judicial power; judge *(qadi)*; dialectic theology: dialectic theologian *(mutakallim)*; grammar, lexicography, and philology; knowledge of poetry and poets; learned in (ancient) poetry and poets *('alim bi-l-shi'r wa-l-shu'ara')*; tribal traditions of the ancient Arabs, such as "the days of the Arabs" (*ayyam al-'Arab*, above all their battles); genealogy: genealogian; chronology and historiography and related disciplines such as prosopography; learned in the "men," that is, in the biography of traditionists or others; belles-lettres; man of letters *(adib)*; and later, philosophy and medicine, astronomy, mathematics, and other sciences. Those last five disciplines are usually called "foreign sciences," most having their origin in the Greek legacy.

However, the term *'alim* refers more specifically to the scholars of religious sciences, considered as Islamic, because in this religious realm the central component of science is the knowledge of religious precepts and duties. In the Indo-Iranian world, and especially but not exclusively in the Shi'i environment, the scholars in religious sciences are called "Molla," a word derived from Arabic *mawla* (master). The word *scholars ('ulama')* to denote a group devoted to religious sciences compelled recognition only progressively, as scholars recognized as such succeeded in occupying a favored rank in the society, and even in the various governments in the Islamic countries. In the two first centuries of Islam they consisted of a relatively small number of people engaged in the elaboration of jurisprudence *(fiqh)* on the basis of the Qur'an and its exegesis, and the traditions of the Prophet and his Companions (also local customs, often presented as coming from the Prophetic Tradition). They were concentrated in Medina, in the South of Irak (Basra, Kufa), then in Baghdad after its construction. However, they had a consciousness of their identity that marked them as a distinct group.

As a general tendency was to be observed in the practitioners of religious sciences to consider as certain knowledge only that transmitted (or attributed) to the Prophet, that is, Qur'an and Sunna (transmitted in the Hadith), traditions were attributed to Muhammad, which emphasized the precedence of knowledge and the scholars, most of them dating probably from a period in which the influence and prestige of the latter were not yet well established. Therefore Muhammad is supposed to have declared: "Scholars are the heirs of the prophets," or that they are superior to "martyrs" (*shuhada',* those who are killed in the Holy War), or that the best of his community are the scholars and among the latter the jurists.

Indeed, the scholars were progressively constituted as such by the practice of jurisprudence; however, the notion of "heirs" was very important in their self-consciousness, because their essential characteristic was definitely the knowledge of hadith, this being the science *par excellence* in that religious representation and imaginaire, because it was transmitted (inherited) from the Prophet (like the Qur'an). All the scholars studied the Qur'an and the Sunna, but not all were specialists in law, and those engaged in theology were fewer still.

The 'Abbasids, with the exception of the caliph al-Ma'mun, preferred to have the scholars and the army on their side, rather than with bureaucracy. During the first five centuries of Islam the scholars developed their own practices and organization independent of the state. It is a fact that the Umayyads, then the 'Abbasids, had recourse to scholars and employed them as judges, but they did not found lasting institutions with personnel dedicated to the study of religion and law.

The political traumas of the AH fourth/tenth CE centuries and the eighth/eleventh centuries, and the disintegration of the ʻAbbasid state, contributed not a little to the consolidation of the power of scholars. Whereas they had been essentially a religious elite, scholars also became a social and political elite. This evolution and the creation and development of new institutions of learning, such as the "higher colleges" (*madrasa*s) from the fifth/eleventh century onward, and pious foundations *(waqfs),* resulted in a certain professionalization of scholars, at least of groups among them. In Cairo, for instance, between the second half of the eighth/thirteenth century and the eleventh/seventeenth century, appointments to post in the education were often controlled by the Mamluks or by the intellectual elite itself. Concerning that, some have spoken of the scholars at this time as an intermediate class. Despite the evidence of social mobility, this schlolarly elite experienced certain forms of self-reproductions, if not inbreeding, and this led to the emergence of veritable dynasties of scholars. Evolution toward professionalization reached its culminating point under the Ottomans, who among other things established a hierarchy of muftis, presided over by the senior mufti in Istanbul.

Scholarship and Scholars

Given the importance of the Qur'an in Islamic culture, the Qur'anic disciplines have played a great role in education, activities, and works of scholars, first of all exegesis. We can distinguish several periods in this huge production. During the formative period three types of exegesis emerged. The first type was paraphrastic, such as the Meccan Mujahid b. Jabr (d. 104/722), the Kufan Sufyan al-Thawri (d. 161/778), the Kufan then Meccan Sufyan b. ʻUyayna (d. 196/811); most of these people were also traditionists and jurists. The second genre was the narrative exegesis. It featured edifying narratives, generally enhanced by folklore from the Near East, especially that of the Judeo-Christian milieu. To this genre belongs the exegesis of al-Dahhak b. Muzahim (d. 105/723), who delivered moral lessons to the young warriors of Transoxiana, that of the genealogian and historiograph al-Kalbi (d. 146/763). The third genre was legal exegesis, like the exegesis of Maʻmar b. Rashid (d. 154/770) in the recension of the Yemenite ʻAbd al-Razzaq al-Sanʻanî (d. 211/827). An intermediary and decisive stage was the introduction of grammar and the linguistic sciences, with works such as *The Literary Expression of the Qur'an* of the Basran Abu ʻUbayda (d. 210/825) or *The Significations of the Qur'an* of the Kufan grammarian al-Farra' (d. 207/822). A latter development was represented by the constitutive exegetical corpora, such as *The Sum of Clarity Concerning the Interpretation of the Verses of the Qur'an* of the Sunnite Abu Jaʻfar al-Tabari (d. 310/923), or *Unveiling the Elucidation of the Exegesis of the Qur'an* of the Shafiʻite of Nishapur al-Thaʻlabi (d. 427/1035), or the commentary of the Cordoban Malikite al-Qurtubi (d. 671/1272), which is especially oriented in legal matters.

This type of exegesis includes all the elements of the different exegetical production of the previous period: exegetical traditions coming from ancient exegetes, historical and legendary material, grammar, variant readings, poetry of the ancient Arabs, legal exegesis, and so on.

Scholars of all theological and/or "sectarian" orientations were active in this realm: Muʻtazilites, such as Abu ʻAli al-Jubba'i (d. 303/915) and Abu l-Qasim al-Kaʻbi al-Balkhi (d. 319/931); Kharijite Ibadites such as Hud b. Muhakkam (living in the second half of the third/tenth century); Shiʻis such as ʻAli al-Qummi (still alive in 307/919); Shiʻis who were also Muʻtazilites in theology, such as Abu Jaʻfar al-Tusi (d. 460/1067); and Sunnites who were Ash'arites in theology, such as Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d. 606/1210). Of course, the Qur'anic disciplines do not constitute the whole of Islamic scholarship, but it is a mirror of many of its components: grammar and philology, poetry, hadith and traditions of the ancient Muslims, law, and theology.

The sciences of traditions *(ʻulum al-hadith)* were matters necessary in the formation of every Muslim scholar. Some of them, however, became more specialized in this field, such as Ibn Hanbal (d. 241/855), whose Summa of prophetical traditions *(Musnad)* contains approximately thirty thousand traditions, and al-Bukhari (d. 256/870), whose Summa of traditions is the second book in Sunni Islam after the Qur'an. This book, like others of the same type, has been often commentated on.

It should be noted that the different genre of the commentary and gloss in almost every field of knowledge is one of the characteristics of Islamic scholarship: in poetry, grammar, law, traditions, theology, and so forth. To give only two examples, the compendium on Arabic grammar, a poem in a thousand verses *(Alfiyya)* of the Andalusi grammarian Ibn Malik (d. 672/1274) has been commented on several hundreds of times; that has also been the case for the *Creed* of Abu Hafs al-Nasafi (d. 537/1142).

In Islamic scholarship the oral transmission of knowledge has played a great role: memorizing the Qur'an and vast quantities of traditions, as well as poems and stories, was of major importance. However,

Muslim civilization was a civilization of the written word. Both aspects, orality and literacy, are present together in several ways of the transmission of knowledge from masters to students, for instance, in the "license of transmission" *(ijaza)*, by which an authorized guarantor of a text or of a whole book (his or her own book or a book received through a chain of transmitters) gives the person the authorization to transmit it in his or her turn. To the institutions of Islamic scholarship belong also the journeys for seeking knowledge.

CLAUDE GILLIOT

See also Education; Seeking Knowledge

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SCHOOLS OF JURISPRUDENCE

Schools of jurisprudence (*madhahib*, sing. *madhhab*) of law; literally means "a way," and in the context of Islamic law, a legal opinion attributed to a particular individual or group.

Islamic law was largely the product of efforts of private scholars operating in the major urban centers of Islamdom, such as Kufa, Basra, Makka, Medina, and Damascus. By the third century of the Islamic era, legal opinions of these scholars began to be attributed explicitly to individual authorities *(mujtahid or imam)*, for example, the opinion of Malik *(madhhab Malik),* rather than generically to a particular locale, such as the opinions of the people of Madina *("madhhab ahl al-madina" or "ara' ahl al-madina")*. Because of the generally deferential relationship that characterized post–third-century jurists to the opinions of the various mujtahids, legal specialists, beginning in this era, generally became known as followers (*muqallidun*; sing. *muqallid*) of the teachings of a particular mujtahid, for example, the followers of Malik *(ashab Malik)*. Eventually, legal specialists who deferred to the doctrines of a particular mujtahid, such as Malik, became known simply by their affiliation to that mujtahid (a Maliki). Although Islamic legal history produced numerous authorities universally recognized as mujtahids, only four of the Sunni schools had adherents in numbers sufficient to guarantee them an institutional role in the governance of Islamicate societies—the Maliki, Hanafi, Shafi'i, and Hanbali madhhabs.

The Maliki madhhab is affiliated with the teaching of Malik b. Anas, who lived in Medina and was thought to represent the legal opinions of the Medinese. The Hanafi madhhab is affiliated with the teaching of Abu Hanifa, who for most of his life lived in Kufa, Iraq. Both Malik and Abu Hanifa lived in the second Islamic century.

The Shafi'i madhhab is affiliated with the teaching of Muhammad b. Idris al-Shafi'i. Al-Shafi'i studied with many authorities throughout Islamdom, including Malik b. Anas in Medina, and Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Shaybani and Abu Yusuf in Baghdad (the two leading disciples of Abu Hanifa), before he settled permanently in Egypt, where he died at the beginning of the third Islamic century. The Hanbali madhhab is affiliated with the teaching of Ahmad b. Hanbal. Like al-Shafi'i, Ibn Hanbal's teaching was not associated with any particular geographical school. Although Ibn Hanbal was reported to have traveled extensively in pursuit of hadith, his scholarly career was centered in Baghdad. Ibn Hanbal died in the middle of the third Islamic century.

Unlike the Maliki and Hanafi schools, which succeeded to the geographically based schools of the Hijaz and Iraq, respectively, the Shafi'i and the Hanbali schools were to a much greater degree defined by their self-conscious adherence to an explicit method of systematic legal reasoning. In particular, al-Shafi'i is credited with an attempt to transcend the differences of the geographical schools that had developed in the Islamic world by developing an explicit methodology for legal argumentation set

forth in his Epistle *(al-Risala)*. Central to al-Shafi'i's methodological innovation was his insistence that the provenance of proof texts be subject to objective corroboration. Accordingly, a hadith of the Prophet Muhammad that was supported by an explicit and uninterrupted chain of transmitters *(isnad)*, all of whom were known to be reliable because of their knowledge and piety, and which is expressly attributed to the Prophet Muhammad, is a more reliable indicator *(dalil)* of the divine will than the opinion of a Companion of the Prophet—no matter how prominent—or a hadith whose isnad was formally defective, either because the chain of authority was incomplete, or because one or more of the reporters in the isnad was not reliable. *A fortiori*, a validly corroborated hadith of the Prophet Muhammad is weightier than any analogy or other argument based on legal reasoning *(ijtihad)*.

Despite the influence of al-Shafi'i on the form of legal argumentation, however, his conviction that consistent methodology could lead to legal uniformity proved to be misplaced. Ibn Hanbal, unlike the other three mujtahids, had greater influence in his capacity as a scholar of hadith rather than for his legal opinions, and indeed, many of his contemporaries and near contemporaries did not even consider him a jurist. Nevertheless, Ibn Hanbal's conservative approach to law and theology was retained by his followers, and the Hanbali madhhab gained a reputation as rigorous adherents to the apparent sense of revelatory texts. Because they accepted ijtihad, their scripturalism is distinct from the defunct Zahiri madhhab, which rejected any ijtihad that attempted to go beyond the apparent sense of revelation's texts.

In response to the centrality that the Shafi'is (and to a lesser extent, the Hanbalis) afforded methodology, the Malikis and the Hanafis were forced to reconstruct the "methodology" that lay behind the ijtihad of their founders. In so doing, the Malikis and the Hanafis developed methodological doctrines that justified the doctrines of their predecessors while at the same time acknowledging the basic proposition of al-Shafi'i—ijtihad was not applicable in the face of conclusive textual evidence. For example, the Hanafis introduced the interpretive concept of *'umum al-balwa,* which was used to justify ignoring the apparent rule communicated by a hadith in circumstances where the alleged rule would be one of general (or near general) applicability, but the practice of the community as documented in the opinion of a Prophetic Companion or prominent scholars was not in conformity with the teaching of that hadith. The Maliki concept of "the practice of the people of Madina *('amal ahl al-madina)* also served to preserve normative practices that appeared to conflict with formally authentic hadiths. In each case, the Hanafi and the Maliki doctrines functioned to reinforce the authority of Prophetic sunna, while at the same time challenging Shafi'i's thesis that hadiths with formal isnads were the most reliable historical source for discovering normative Prophetic practice, especially when solitary transmissions *(khabar al-wahid)* conflicted with well-known and widespread religious practices. In any case, the Malikis and the Hanafis developed theories regarding the manner by which sunna should be documented that distinguished their approach to the Prophet's sunna from that of the Shafi'is and the Hanbalis without challenging the supremacy of the Prophet's practice in determining Islamic normativity.

In addition to their differences vis-à-vis the Prophetic sunna, it also appears (at least from interschool polemics) that the Malikis and the Hanafis were more willing to give practical reason, often in the form of direct or indirect appeals to utility (sometimes called *istihsan*, *maslaha mursala,* or *sadd al-dhari'a*), a greater role in the derivation of legal rules than the Shafi'is and the Hanbalis. Thus, whereas the Shafi'is deprecated these techniques as little more than arbitrary personal opinion, the Malikis and the Hanafis deemed them to be central to the development of Islamic substantive law. These differences can be exaggerated, however. Prominent Shafi'is, for example, played an important role in articulating the jurisprudential theory of the five universal ends of revealed law, with its attendant doctrines of primary, secondary, and tertiary goods *(masali')* secured by the law, and the principle that, in the event of any conflict among various commands or goals of the law, the law commanded the maximization of net legal benefits. Accordingly, the law would never command the performance of an act designed to achieve a tertiary good if it would preclude the satisfaction of a primary good. Likewise, prominent Shafi'i jurists writing in the area of public law advanced arguments rooted in utility despite their Shafi'i affiliation.

Historically, the Hanafi madhhab has had the greatest institutional impact of all the madhhabs, as a result of its close relationship first with the 'Abbasids and then with the Ottomans. To the extent that Islamic law is still applied in modern jurisdictions, it is often Hanafi law, subject to legislative reforms in particular areas. Geographically, Hanafism spread from Iraq to Iran, Central Asia, the Indian subcontinent, and Eastern Europe. Malikis dominated the political and social life of Islamic Spain, North Africa, and Islamic sub-Saharan Africa, and in earlier periods of Islamic history, were influential in Egypt. Today they are a distinct minority of Egyptian Muslims, largely confined to Upper Egypt. Shafi'is historically have been predominant in Cairo and

lower Egypt, Syria, and Palestine and, prior to the Mongol invasion, Iran. Shafi'is dominated the judicial administration during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods and continued to predominate in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and Yemen. They have also become the dominant school of law followed by the Muslims living on the East African coast and Southeast Asia. The Hanbalis, prior to the modern period, were politically the least significant of the madhhabs, both in terms of their impact on the administration of the law and in numbers of adherents. They have enjoyed a renaissance in the modern era, however, as a result of their relationship with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, where the Hanbali madhhab is recognized as the official law of the Kingdom.

In the modern era, as a result of multiple factors that included colonialism, the rise of mass literacy, and ideals of egalitarianism, the traditional madhhabs have lost much, if not all, of their currency.

MUHAMMAD H. FADEL

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SCRIBES, COPYISTS

One of the most important occupations in medieval Muslim society was that of the scribe. This was due primarily to the centrality of the Qur'an in Islamic civilization and the resultant culture of the book.

As the need for copies of the Qur'an increased, and new disciplines emerged, the corpus of Islamic literature grew rapidly, as did the number of educated people. The search for religious knowledge became a hallmark of Islamic society. This, in turn, created a demand for numerous copies of existing works. With this increased intellectual activity there coincides the introduction and later the widespread usage of a new writing surface: paper.

Although many manuscripts were copied by scholars for their private use, the role of the professional scribe *(warraq)* was significant throughout the manuscript period. Indeed, the profession, called *wiraqah*, came to characterize the intellectual life of the period and was a cultural phenomenon of not only the AH third/ninth CE and fourth/tenth centuries but throughout the medieval period as well. The *warraq* was a copyist, stationer, and bookseller at the same time. Professional scribes and calligraphers became much-respected members of Muslim society. Indeed, they formed a distinct class of people.

Normally, the scribe was responsible for the copying of the text itself. However, sometimes this function was shared with those who specialized in orthography and vocalization. This practice goes back to the early period of copying Qur'ans and is evident in the later periods. On the other hand, the same person often did this and other functions. The most common phenomenon encountered in illuminated books is one where the scribe was also the illuminator/limner. Quite often, indeed, the scribe was a jack-of-all-trades.

Many scribes were secretaries in the state chancery, as well as famous scholars or other professionals, such as imams, qadis, and the like, who practiced this trade to earn their living. Indeed, to be engaged in this profession was regarded as a mark of distinction and manliness. Thus a saying is attributed to the Kufan traditionalist and lawyer Ibrahim al-Nakha'i (d. ca. 69/717), "an aspect of manliness is to see ink stains on man's clothes and lips." It is also related of the vizier 'Ubayd Allah ibn Sulayman (d. 288/901) that when he saw a yellow stain on his clothes, he took ink, covered the stain with it, and said: "saffron is the perfume of young maidens, whereas ink is the perfume of men." This, of course, does not mean that the profession was the exclusive preserve of men. On the contrary, medieval texts have preserved for us several names of women scribes and calligraphers.

Since Islamic books are fundamentally products of a religious culture, their makeup, that is, their internal and external structure, clearly reflects Muslim piety. It is important to bear in mind that these books, first the copies of the Qur'an, but also works on hadith and jurisprudence *(fiqh)*, were regarded as sacred objects. It is not surprising, therefore, that the copying of books was seen an act of worship *('ibadah)* or that the conduct of the scribe came to be governed by a well-defined set of rules, the religious etiquette *(adab)*. The reverent attitude toward books, but especially copies of the Qur'an, is also reflected in the way in which worn-out books were disposed.

This religious etiquette of the scribe incuded such standards as a pure intention *(niyah)*, the state of ritual purity *(taharah)*, observation of the *qiblah*, having a clean body, and wearing clean clothes. The copyist or calligrapher was instructed always to begin his or her work by writing the *basmalah* ("In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate"), followed by the *hamdalah* ("praise be to God") and *tasliyah* ("prayer for the Prophet"), even if these formulae

were not in the exemplar. Furthermore, it was believed that an elegant, clear handwriting, but especially an elegantly executed *basmalah*, would earn the scribe forgiveness of his or her sins.

All throughout the manuscript age there was a tendency on the part of the scribe to preface his or her name (normally in the colophon) with adjectives of humility, such as servant *('abd)*, poor *(faqir)*, wretched *(haqir),* sinner *(mudhnib),* or humble *(miskin)*. The name was usually followed by pious invocations and prayers for longevity, God's grace, and the forgiveness of sins.

From the early years of Islam the traditional writing instrument was a reed pen or calamus *(qalam)*. This word appears in the Qur'an several times, and one chapter, namely *surah* 68, bears its name *(surat al-qalam)*. Before the reed was ready to be used as a pen it had to be pared or trimmed to create a nib by cutting off at an angle one of its extremities. The nib was then slit at its end, usually once in the middle, but for large scripts twice or even three times. In most cases, however, the nib was halved to create two half-nibs.

The most important aspect of nibbing was the cutting of the point of the nib. Thus, for instance, in the Middle East (Mashriq) the point was usually cut either straight or at an angle, obliquely. The thickness and the manner of cutting the nib had a direct impact on the calligraphic style or script. The nibbing was done on a nibbing block *(miqattah)* made either of ivory or hard wood or animal bone. The pens were kept either in a writing case or in a pen box.

The ink was often kept in its solid state, especially when used by itinerant scribes. Inks were made either for writing on paper or for writing on parchment. The two types of inks used were carbon (soot) ink and gallnut (tannin) ink. The soot was traditionally suspended in gum arabic, honey, and water. The gallnut ink, on the other hand, was made by mixing galls (pulverized or fermented), vitriol, and gum arabic. When mixed properly, it made a fine permanent black ink, but when improperly mixed it produced a highly acidic or encaustic ink that, over a period, could cause burns in parchment or paper.

Inks were sometimes perfumed using camphor and musk. Other ingredients sometimes added to ink were aloe (to ward off flies and worms), honey, salt, vinegar, or yoghurt to act as preservatives and to prevent or slow down the formation of mold. To dry the ink on the freshly written surface the scribe would use sand or sawdust.

Among other important implements used by scribes were the ruler or straight edge, ruling board *(mistarah),* scissors, and a burnisher for paper and gold leaf. Arabic sources also mention a paperclip used both for a roll and a codex, compass, or a pair of dividers. Supports for copying paste or wooden boards were also used.

Unlike the Western scribe who worked behind a desk, Muslim scribes sat with one leg folded under and the other bent. They held a sheet of paper (or a quire) on their right or left knee. For a support, they may have used the palm of their left hand or a pasteboard. Their calamus, when not in use, rested behind their right ear or on a support, and they followed the ancient custom of keeping their writing case stuck in their girdle.

Scribes tried to reproduce the arrangement of the original text and even imitate their teachers' handwriting. The imitation of the handwriting of holy people and scholars carried with it an inherent blessing. A scribe's attitude was expected to be marked by humility and reverence toward books, knowledge, and teachers.

Medieval literature provides many accounts of the daily or lifetime output of famous scholar scribes and calligraphers. Even though some of these accounts may be exaggerated or embellished, they certainly give us a picture of great activity consistent with the prevailing preoccupations in literary and scholarly circles. Thus, Ibn al-Jawzi (d. 597/1200), one of the most prolific authors in the Arab world, is said to have written or recopied, according to his own account, two thousand volumes in all, that is, fifty to sixty volumes per year (four quires per day = forty folia = eighty pages). The great calligrapher Yaqut al-Musta'simi (d. 698/1298) is reported to have copied two sections *(juz')* of the Qur'an every day, two Qur'ans every month, and 1001 Qur'ans in his lifetime.

Although some scribes certainly enjoyed a good standard of living, especially when working for wealthy patrons, many others were underpaid to say the least. Abu Mansur 'Abd al-Malik al-Tha'alibi (d. 429/1038), for instance, included the following passage in his *Kitab khass al-khass*:

> "A *warraq* was asked, 'What is pleasure?' He answered, 'parchments, papers, shiny ink and a cleft reed pen.' And when asked about his condition, he replied, 'my livelihood is narrower than an inkwell, my body more slender than a ruler, my rank (standing) more delicate than glass, my face darker than vitriol, my lot more concealed than the slit of a nib, my hand weaker than a reed, my food comes from gall nuts, and bad luck clings to me like gum arabic.' "

Libraries were often not just repositories of books but also centers of learning where new works and translations were created, and the copying and correction of books was a regular activity. Indeed, the

medieval library was a privileged place for the copying of books. Although a *scriptorium* (a place where the copying of books is done in a structured way), in the Western sense of the word, did not exist, libraries throughout the manuscript age, by providing paper and pens for copyists, were an important factor in the dissemination and transmission of texts. Major libraries employed scribes to copy manuscripts for their collections. On the other hand, workshops (ateliers) bringing together painters, illuminators, and calligraphers flourished under the Ilkhanids, Timurids, Mughals, Safavids, and Ottomans.

ADAM GACEK

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SCRIPTURAL EXEGESIS, ISLAMIC

The exegetical literature written to elucidate the Qur'an, called *tafsir* in Arabic, was the product of a highly cultivated discipline of the religious sciences. Tafsir became a cherished mode of self-articulation for most of the sects in medieval Islam. In the classical phase these works show a remarkable uniformity across the different sects and Islamic languages (whether Arabic, Persian, or Turkish). A tafsir work usually commented on the whole of the 'Uthmanic codex in its canonical sequence. The verses of the Qur'an were commented on word by word, or phrase by phrase, depending on the preference of the commentator. More often than not these works were sprawling, multivolume compositions that reflected the significance and attention given to articulate the meaning of the word of God.

Origins of Tafsir

The study of the early phase of tafsir has long engaged modern scholars, yet there is no consensus as to how far back we can push the beginning of this genre. There is, however, enough evidence that some form of exegetical activity was well advanced by the early second/eighth century. The most significant groups of works that stem from this period are two: the works that have their origins in the school of Ibn 'Abbas (d. 69/688), and the work of Muqatil Ibn Sulayman (d. 150/767). The works stemming from the school of Ibn 'Abbas do not comment on every word or verse in the Qur'an, but do that rather selectively. Most of these early works are lost and can now be studied only to the degree that they are quoted in later works. Muqatil's work comments on almost all of the Qur'an, and it set the tone for subsequent commentaries.

The early phase of tafsir ended with the emergence of a fully articulated grammatical theory that explained the workings of Arabic language in a scientific way. The publication of the work of Sibawayhi (d. ca. 180/798) changed the course of the development of tafsir, for it made possible an independent analysis of the language of the Qur'an uncontrolled by dogma. The publication of this book brought out into the open the latent tension between a dogmatic polemical reading of the Qur'an and a philological reading that gave little heed to doctrinal considerations. This tension became characteristic of the history of tafsir. The creative impulse behind tafsir is thus a paradoxical conflict between two mutually exclusive axioms, both of which are central to the experience of tafsir and were both held and affirmed at the same time throughout the subsequent history of tafsir. The first is that the Qur'an has to encompass everything because it is the word of God eternal, and as such it was spoken above history. In other words, the Qur'an was made to justify later developments in dogma and theology. The second axiom is philological, the realization that language can only mean one thing at any moment. When they lacked a philological backing, dogmatic interpretations soon had to be legitimized through the process of giving precedence to earlier authorities; thus the interpretations of scholars who were part of the early phase of tafsir came to enjoy a sort of canonical status in the Sunni camp, while the Shi'i imams came to enjoy that status for the Shi'is.

Pre-Classical Phase

This is the phase that saw the rise of the grammatical approach to the language of the Qur'an. Many works stemming from this period concentrated on the linguistically interesting parts of the Qur'an: difficult constructions, unusual phraseology, rare and difficult words, and possible variations in grammatical case endings. Like the early phase, grammatical works were selective in what they commented on. The written 'Uthmanic codex, with its lack of vocalization, has given rise to different readings of various Qur'anic

words, which became known as qira'at, or variant readings. The new grammatical science was used to justify, accept, or dismiss such readings. As such, grammar was starting to act as a judge on some of the traditional methods developed to safeguard the transmission of the Qur'an. The battle was being drawn now between the two camps, grammarians on one hand and the Qur'an specialists on the other. Eventually some sort of resolution to these issues would come about, but the threat that philology posed to traditional interpretation was always latent. It is also important to draw attention to the fact that philology was not unaffected by religious dogma. The Arabic lexicon shows remarkable sensitivity to theological issues, and at certain points is willing to avoid conflict by siding with theology. Thus the interplay between the two was far more complex a phenomenon than might first appear. The major works stemming from this period are those of Abu ʻUbaydah (d. 209/825) and al-Farra' (d. 207/822).

This pre-classical phase of the exegetical tradition culminated in the publication of the monumental work *Jamiʻ al-bayan* of al-Tabari (d. 310/923). *Jamiʻ al-bayan* is nothing short of a consolidation of two centuries of exegetical Sunni tradition. It sought to collect, sift, and prescribe the most orthodox meanings to the Qur'an. One virtue—and it has many—was its attempt to be catholic in its taste. Material from the formative period was wedded to the grammatical exegetical tradition and although al-Tabari would more often than not weigh in to tell the reader which of the many interpretations offered to a certain verse was more valid than others, he nevertheless made available to the reader the spectrum of various interpretations current in the tradition of tafsir. Thus the work remains one of our most complete registers of lost early material. This marriage between the two streams of the Sunni exegetical tradition came with a heavy price, however, and a great license. Sunni scholars admitted to the main premise of the philological school: that divine speech, no matter how divine it was held to be, was still comprehensible because it was using conventional human language. In other words, the language of the Qur'an was transparent and decipherable through philology. The main premise of Sunni hermeneutical theory is that the literal meaning of the text is the divine meaning. The text as such is transparent—and as it happens the Sunni dogmatic reading of the Qur'an was also claimed to be nothing but its literal meaning—or such was the premise. Yet, having allowed philology to be the bedrock of Sunni hermeneutics, the exegetes negated this all-too-powerful restriction on their craft by allowing for a polyvalent Qur'an. A philological reading of the text did not mean one reading only. The Qur'an was deemed to be capable of offering more than one meaning to any verse at any single time.

The other important aspect of al-Tabari's work is that it introduced its material with a chain of transmitters, in Arabic isnad. The science of exegesis was now donning the mantle of a traditional science: isnad. Soon this appearance would shield the traditional material from any criticism and thus obscure its true origins: All exegetical material is based on nothing more than the personal reflections of the respective exegetes. As Sunnism moved to consolidate its grip on what is orthodox and what is not, it attempted to limit the scope of meanings by enshrining the older layer of exegetes as authoritative.

Meanwhile, other Islamic sects and intellectual currents were busy issuing their own commentaries. The most important of these were the Shiʻis, the Muʻtazilites, and the Sufis. The early Shiʻi hermeneutical practice was based on two premises, both formulated in contradistinction to the Sunnite theory. The first is that the language of the Qur'an has an inner meaning (a *batin*), in addition to the literal meaning (a *zahir*). The second premise was that this inner meaning can only be made manifest through the interpretations offered by the imams (the divinely guided presumptive leaders of the community). The major two figures in early Shiʻi exegesis are al-Kufi (d. ca. AH 310/922 CE) and al-Qummi (alive around 260/873). When read thus, the Qur'an spoke of the truth of the claims of the Shiʻis against the Sunnis.

Little has survived of the exegetical material from the early Muʻtazilites, and we still await a study of one of the major medieval Muʻtazilite commentaries to survive: the Qur'an commentary of al-Jushami (d. 494/1101), which has early material now otherwise lost. The mystical approach to interpreting the Qur'an reached a stage of high development by the time of al-Tustari (d. 283/896). The premise of this approach was not unlike the Shiʻi method of stipulating two levels of meaning in the Qur'an, one literal, which was of little concern to the mystics, and one inner, the layer they were confident they could unearth. Invariably the mystics saw the inner meaning of the Qur'an to cluster around two major themes: God's ineffable majesty, and the quest for a sort of human perfection and connection to God.

Classical Phase

The emphasis in modern scholarship has been shifting to the study of the better-documented classical period. Indeed, what we know about the six hundred years of the later history of the medieval exegetical

tradition is sketchy at best. Thus the Qur'an commentary of the Mu'tazilite al-Zamakhshari (d. 538/1144), the closest we will come to a household name in this field, is usually described in the secondary literature as a philological and Mu'tazilite commentary. There is, however, no study available that elaborates on such broad characterizations. Moreover, no one seems to be puzzled by the fact that al-Zamakhshari's Mu'tazilite commentary was preserved and highly esteemed by the Sunni scholars.

The work of al-Tha'labi (d. 427/1035) ushered in the high classical phase of Qur'anic commentary. Al-Tha'labi enlarged and perfected the trends started by al-Tabari. First, he decided to collect independently of al-Tabari the early material, in addition to the material that had accumulated since al-Tabari's work. To allow space for this enlargement al-Tha'labi dropped the use of isnad. He used no fewer than seventy works as basis for his commentary. Thus the work is our second most important source for the early period, and for the fourth/tenth century. Moreover, al-Tha'labi decided to include Shi'i and Sufi material in his commentary. This catholic encyclopedic spirit was hardly unique to Sunnism of this period. The Shi'i exegetes were busy making their commentaries more mainstream, thus swamping their Shi'i sympathies with a normative philological discourse. Sufism, in the person of al-Qushayri (d. 465/1063), attempted to give the literal sense a reverential nod. The Mu'tazilite al-Zamakhshari produced what for all practical purposes was a Sunnite mainstream commentary. Finally, the exegetical tradition could no longer ignore scholastic theology and philosophy, and it would offer us the most important response in the work of Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d. 606/1210).

The encyclopedic spirit that was behind the classical exegetical tradition came with a drawback. Works were becoming unwieldy and soon the need arose for more manageable works that could offer a summary of the debates in those encyclopedic commentaries. The rise of what I have termed the *Madrasa* (college)-style commentary was a major development and allowed the field to continue to grow and respond to different intellectual developments. Finally, the rise of Madrasas (colleges) after the fifth/eleventh century produced a new genre of commentaries, the glosses.

Two major reactions to the Sunnite encyclopedic approach should be mentioned. The first is philological, the second is dogmatic. Soon after the work of al-Tha'labi appeared, his student al-Wahidi (d. 468/1076) would publish his magnum opus, *al-Basit* (published 446/1054), in which he attempted to align Sunnism with a thorough philological reading of the Qur'an. The attempt horrified even its author. But having sounded the alarm for the disaster awaiting the Sunnite neglect of the challenge of philology, orthodoxy soon mustered a far more daring response: jettison philology and keep dogma. A reexamination of the foundations of Sunnite hermeneutics became thus inevitable, and having offered it, Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) would challenge the field and reinvigorate it. His radical hermeneutics would claim that only Muhammad and his Companions knew what the Qur'an meant. His call for purifying tafsir would have to await the indefatigable al-Suyuti (d. 911/1505). Luckily for us no one kind of tafsir was able to negate the others, and medieval exegetical tradition is one of the most intellectually interesting of the medieval disciplines.

WALID SALEH

See also al-Suyati; al-Tabari; Fakhr al-Din al-Razi; Hadith; Ibn Taymiyya; Madrasa; Mu'tazilites; Qur'an; Shi'is; Sibawayhi; Sufis

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SCRIPTURAL EXEGESIS, JEWISH

Background

Because the Hebrew Bible is the Jewish scripture, its interpretation has determined the shape of Judaism. Biblical exegesis, therefore, has always been central to Jewish religious and intellectual activity. Scholars active in Islamic lands during the Middle Ages played a key role in developing a rationalistic, philologically based approach to scripture.

Jewish interpretation of the Bible dates to antiquity, when various exegetical approaches emerged, including the prognostic *pesher* of the Qumran

community and the philosophical allegory of Philo Judaeus (25 BCE–50 CE). Most widespread and enduring was Rabbinic *midrash*, which literally means "searching" scripture. *Midrash* seeks to discover apparent difficulties or contradictions in the Bible, which it then resolves through further scrutiny of the text. The method demonstrates scripture's perfection, the significance of its every detail, and its eternal relevance. Midrashic literature encompasses a variety of genres, including expansive Aramaic translations *(targumim)*, exegetical compilations, and anthologies of homilies. The midrashic method is also used throughout the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds. Like all classic rabbinic writing, this literature preserves the oral character of preaching or teaching. Interpretations, comments, or discussions are ascribed to ancient rabbis, and sometimes, short chains of transmission are given. But the compilers who arranged the material remain anonymous, revealing nothing of their editorial methods and motivations. In certain respects, then, classic rabbinic literature resembles early Islamic writings, such as *hadith* (tradition) collections, which do not yet betray the imprint of Greco-Arabic scholarship.

Rabbanites and Karaites in the East (Tenth–Eleventh Centuries)

During the late ninth century and tenth century, Jews began composing full-fledged Bible commentaries. Writing in Arabic, they drew upon Christian models, while borrowing from the terminology and methodology of Qur'anic exegesis. Dawud Ibn Marwan al-Muqammas (middle to late ninth century), an Iraqi Jew who converted to Christianity and then reverted to Judaism, wrote commentaries on Genesis and Ecclesiastes that drew heavily upon older Syriac works. Little of this work remains, but much of the exegetical oeuvre of Sa'adyah Gaon (882–942) and Samuel ben Hophni Gaon (d. 1013), and such Karaites as Ya'qub al-Qirqisani (d. after 938), Japheth ben Eli (d. after 1006), and Abu'l-Faraj Ibn Asad (mid-eleventh century) survives. Although these commentaries remain rooted in rabbinic midrash, they also evince familiarity with contemporary Islamic, Christian, and philosophical texts. Like the non-Jewish works that inspired them, they include extended introductions that discuss theological, methodological, and literary problems. They also feature full Arabic translations of the biblical text, detailed philological comments, and lengthy digressions on many different topics.

Three main factors prompted this outburst of exegetical activity. First, by the tenth century, many eastern Jews knew Arabic better than Hebrew or Aramaic, the traditional national languages. For them, new Arabic translations and commentaries made scripture accessible again. Although Sa'adyah's rendering—the first Arabic version of the entire Hebrew Bible—is faithful to the original, it avoids anthropomorphisms, resolves syntactic ambiguities, and identifies obscure toponyms. It often circulated independently of his commentaries. By contrast, the Karaite translation's extreme literalism defies good Arabic usage; likely, they aimed at conveying the original Hebrew as faithfully as possible. Second, as Jews acculturated and gained an appreciation for Islamic modes of thought and expression, they sought to produce Jewish works on Islamic models. At the same time, they responded to Muslim cultural and religious claims for the superiority of the Arabic language and the inimitability of the Qur'an, by striving to demonstrate the excellence of Hebrew and the perfection of the Bible. Consequently, they developed the fields of Hebrew grammar and lexicography in order to study the Bible scientifically. Finally, the Rabbanite–Karaite debate revolved around biblical exegesis—who was authorized to interpret scripture and how it was to be interpreted. Here, too, Islamic notions shaped the arguments. Rabbanites maintained, for example, that legal ambiguities (Ar. *mutashabbihat*; Q 3:7) in the Bible are all resolved by the authoritative traditions preserved in the Talmud. Karaites, however, insisted upon the interpreter's autonomy in determining the details of the Law.

Legal passages aside, Karaites and Rabbanites alike strove to interpret the Bible contextually. Sa'adyah and Japheth ben Eli both insisted that every passage in scripture must be understood according to its plain meaning, unless this would contradict sense perception, human reason, or the evidence of another passage. (Sa'adyah adds a fourth category: tradition.) Like their Muslim contemporaries, therefore, they sought to identify and explain figurative language (Ar. *majaz*) and parables (Ar. *amthal*) in scripture whose literal meaning would be absurd or even blasphemous. For example, the statement that Eve was "the mother of all living" (Genesis 3:20) cannot be taken literally, since she was not the ancestor of lions or oxen; nor is God really "a devouring fire" (Deuteronomy 4:24), since fire can be created and extinguished, whereas God is eternal and immutable. Consequently, these exegetes distinguished between the literal/exoteric (Ar. *zahir*) and the hidden/esoteric (Ar. *batin*) meanings of biblical expressions. According to Sa'adyah, the plain sense of Proverbs 24:27 is that a man should have a profession before he

marries; the hidden meaning is that he must attend to the demands of this world before addressing the concerns of the next.

A striking feature of Karaite exegesis from tenth-century Jerusalem is its prognostic approach to biblical prophecies. Referring many passages to recent or contemporary events, these sectarians found allusions to the Fatimids (Numbers 24:21), the Carmathian assault on Mecca (Daniel 11:31), and the Buyids (Daniel 11:40). Like the *pesher* of the ancient Qumran sectarians, this type of exegesis was fostered by an apocalyptic worldview.

The Andalusian School

During the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, Andalusia emerged as a leading Jewish cultural center and Hebrew studies progressed dramatically. Grammarians such as Menahem ben Saruq, Judah Hayyuj, Abu'l-Walid (Jonah) Ibn Janah, and Moses Ibn Chiquitilla set biblical Hebrew philology on a sound basis by using their thorough knowledge of Arabic and Aramaic effectively. At the same time, exegetes such as Ibn Chiquitilla and Judah Ibn Bil'am produced concise, philologically oriented commentaries on many biblical books. Rationalistically inclined, Ibn Chiquitilla offered naturalistic explanations for certain biblical miracles, and referred many biblical prophecies to events that transpired in antiquity. Other Andalusians sought to discover philosophical notions in the Bible. The jurist and religious poet Isaac Ibn Ghiyath (1038–1089) composed a Neoplatonic commentary on Ecclesiastes in Arabic; within two generations, Bible commentaries would become important conduits for the dissemination of philosophical ideas. Commentaries were not the only works dedicated to biblical interpretation. The poet and philosopher Moses Ibn Ezra (ca. 1055–ca. 1135) devoted his *Treatise of the Garden* to figurative and literal expressions in scripture and much of his *Book of Discussion and Conversation* to biblical poetics. Also, Moses Maimonides (1135/38–1204) wrote his *Guide of the Perplexed* (see later in this entry) for philosophically informed readers of the Bible.

During the mid-twelfth century, the greatest Andalusian exegete, Abraham Ibn Ezra (ca. 1089–ca. 1164), composed Hebrew commentaries in Christian Europe incorporating both the grammatical advances and philosophical outlook of the Spanish school. Since he also drew heavily upon the interpretations of eastern Rabbanite and Karaite scholars, Ibn Ezra became an important conduit for the transmission of Judeo-Arabic learning in Latin Europe. (An extremely important, but largely independent, exegetical school in northern Europe lies outside the scope of this article.)

Maimonides and Later Exegetes

Completed in Egypt around 1190, Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* was intended for scholars who found certain biblical expressions to be incompatible with philosophical truth. Drawing upon the rabbinic dictum "the Torah speaks in human language," Maimonides declared that biblical anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms must be understood metaphorically. References to God's sitting or standing, for example, connote His immutability (*Guide* 1:11, 13); conversely, "seeing" or "beholding" God means apprehending Him intellectually (*Guide* 1:5). Maimonides also interprets extended passages as philosophical parables whose plain meaning (Ar. *zâhir*), intended for the uneducated masses, masks their true, esoteric significance (Ar. *bâtin*). His philosophical outlook, moreover, leads him to naturalize certain miraculous events, such as Abraham's encounter with the three angels (Genesis 18), which he explains as a prophetic vision (*Guide* 2:42). He also rationalizes ceremonial commandments, insisting that they are not arbitrary enactments (*Guide* 3:28–49).

Jewish intellectual life in the East declined after Maimonides' death. To be sure, his direct line included several important scholars, notably his son Abraham (1186–1237) and his descendant, David II Maimuni (fl. 1335–1415), both of whom composed Bible commentaries imbued with Sufi notions. Another exegete deserving of notice is Tanhum ben Joseph ha-Yerushalmi (ca. 1220–1291), who commented on the entire Bible. Philologically rigorous, he drew upon Arabic grammar and lexicography for his explanations. A committed rationalist, he allegorized certain biblical narratives, such as Jonah, which he viewed as a parable about the soul.

Finally, a school of philosophically informed exegetes developed in the Yemen during the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries. Favoring a homiletical style—they called their commentaries *midrashim*—commentators such as Nethaneel ben Isaiah, Zechariah the Physician, and Sa'adyah ben David drew upon rabbinic literature, Maimonidean theory, and Ismaili notions for their unusual readings of the Bible. For them, as for other exegetes living in Islamic lands, Arabic furnished an important tool for scriptural exegesis.

Daniel Frank

See also Baghdad; Education, Jewish; Hebrew; Judeo-Arabic; Karaites; Moses Maimonides; Sa'adyah Gaon

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SCULPTURE

Among the forms of art produced in medieval Islamic cultures, sculpture is frequently overlooked and its prevalence is generally underestimated. Nevertheless, sculpture, comprising the techniques of carving, casting, molding, and modeling and the work of art produced by those techniques, was part and parcel of the late-antique visual culture and continued for centuries after the rise of Islam. Sculpture can be divided into two modes. The first is work in low or high relief used as surface decoration on architecture and objects, with figural and nonfigural representation, made of stone, stucco, ceramic, wood, ivory, and rock crystal. The second mode consists of freestanding statues and figurines of human and animal forms, often with potentially utilitarian functions, made of cast metal, modeled or molded ceramic, and probably also of carved wood and stone. The focus here will be on freestanding and high-relief figural sculpture, which, in contrast to low-relief nonfigural sculpture, has received little attention.

For the early period, copious examples of very high-relief stucco sculpture have been found in the eighth-century Umayyad country estates of Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi (Syria) and Khirbat al-Mafjar (Jordan). Most of these may be said to derive from the late-antique artistic tradition employed in the Byzantine and Sasanian realms, with representations of enthroned rulers, dancers, attendants, and hunters applied to walls and domes. Beyond contributing to the aura of princely pleasure in the court, the iconographic programs of these works were probably keyed into Umayyad cultural and imperial ambitions.

Similar ambitions may have motivated the placement of statues that turned with the wind over the domes of the four gates and the palace complex of the Round City of Baghdad founded in the mid-eighth century by the 'Abbasids. As reported in the sources, the Green Dome of the palace was surmounted by the statue of a horseman carrying a lance that was believed to point toward the enemy. This public spectacle of wind-powered statues had its private counterpart in the 'Abbasid palaces where automata of various types were prominently displayed. The taste for conspicuous displays of statuary survived the slow disintegration of the 'Abbasid empire. In particular, animal statues in metalwork designed as fountains—attributable to Fatimid Egypt and to caliphal and post-caliphal Spain—reveal the ongoing fascination with "animated" statues. Such playful statues were produced in both small and large scale, the latter exemplified by the famously mysterious Pisa griffin, as well as the fountain lions of the Alhambra.

In the eastern Islamic world, stucco continued to be used for high-relief sculpture of figural subjects. A number of nearly life-size stucco figures of attendants have been attributed to twelfth- and thirteenth-century Iran, but the precise nature of their architectural contexts remain unknown. In contemporary Anatolia and northern Mesopotamia, stone was the primary medium for high- and low-relief figural sculpture that adorned city gates and walls. At the same time, there was a rise in the production of small figurines in metal and ceramic. Many of these were conceived as vessels or incense burners, but it was the figural form rather than potential functionality that had primacy in design. Thus the famous Hermitage bull—cast in bronze with its suckling calf and a predatory if diminutive feline on its back—could have contained liquid, but such a function was secondary to its visually engaging overall design. Other forms

produced in ceramic include equestrian figures and more remarkable vessels in the form of breastfeeding women, or objects in the form of courtyard dwellings with an assembly of figures. The lack of knowledge about the contexts of such objects has hindered meaningful interpretation, although they are less puzzling if they are considered as part and parcel of the contemporary rise in figural art in general. The display of figural statues as fountains also continued to be appreciated in this period, as evidenced by three ceramic examples found in Raqqa, which depict a rooster, a sphinx (David Collection, Copenhagen), and a horseman spearing a serpent (National Museum, Damascus).

In addition to extant examples of medieval Islamic sculpture, there is considerable textual evidence for a cultural interest in famous sculptural works, which can be gleaned from moralizing and entertaining discourse on images and image making. The high-relief Sasanian sculpture of Khusraw Parviz on horseback at Taq-i Bustan, for example, appealed to the popular imagination as an epitome of artistic skill and functioned as a didactic motif in edifying stories. Ultimately, medieval Islamic sculpture may be better understood as an integrated, rather than a discrete, art form that partook of various cultural products ranging from ceremonial and propaganda to folklore, literature, and the other visual arts, especially painting.

Oya Pancaroglu

See also Architecture, Secular: Palaces; Ceramics; Marvels and Wonders; Metal Work; Painting

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SEDENTARISM

Within the civilizatory process in the *Old World Dryland Belt*, where nomads/pastoralists and sedentists/agriculturalists practice antipodal lifestyles, *sedentarism* exists when agricultural or artisanal activities become the primary factor governing the rhythm of life and the organization of time (Herzog 1954). In this context, empirical nomadism studies and practical experience generally assume an evolution from full nomadism, seminomadism/mountain nomadism to transhumance/alpine cattle breeding (farming) to agriculture. Regarding the underlying process, a distinction is made between *sedentization* (based on free and independent decision) and *sedentarization* (the forced result of external intervention).

There are two contending approaches in the civilization theory debate. In Ibn Khaldun's three-generation theory, *umran badawi* (nomadic mobility) and *umran hadari* (sedentary cultivation), are the (primitive) beginning and (civilized) peak/outcome of a general pattern of social evolution (Alafenish 1982). By contrast, the theory of nomadism as a socioecological mode of culture sees nomadism and

sedentarism as (the only) meaningful and interchangeable alternatives. Throughout the *Old World Dryland Belt*, ecological and/or political constraints caused these survival strategies to recur and/or alternate in time and space (Scholz 1995, 2001). This contention is corroborated by ethnoarchaeological (Cribb 1991; Francfort 1990) and historical studies attributing the shift between sedentarism and mobility to changes in the ecological, social, and political settings (see Scholz 1995). Drought, famine, disease, animal deaths, the rise and fall of empires, population pressure, raiding, tribal conflicts, and wars are regarded as governing factors.

Roman rule on the Arabian peninsula (second century CE), Arab incursions into the fertile lands of the Nile (seventh century), the migration of the Beni Hilal tribes in North Africa (eleventh century) or the Mongol invasions of Western Asia (thirteenth century) triggered a wave of Bedouinization (Caskel 1953; Planhol 1975: "medieval Bedouinization"). However, similarly significant sedentization processes were activated (Ehlers 1980; Leidlmair 1965), and the invaders were assimilated (Herzog 1954). This is documented by many place names in North Africa and Western Asia indicating a nomadic-tribal origin, such as *bani/ beni* (tribe) or *bilad* (brother) (for example, Bilad Bani Bu Ali/Oman). According to Oppenheim (1939–1952), similar processes occurred in what are now Syria and Iraq and caused the invasions of Anatolia by Timur (fourteenth century) and the Turkmen (sixteenth century) (Braudel 1990), where nomadism was replaced by sedentary agriculture in the West, yet burgeoned again in the East. Sedentization also occurred in Inner Oman, for example (after the ninth century approximately), where former Bedouin immigrants from southern and central Arabia used water in the wadis of Jabal Akhdar or Wadi Batha and became sedentary oasis farmers (Wilkinson 1972). Nomads also settled on the floodplains of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, the alluvial fans at the foot of the Zagros Range, the water-rich wadis at the southern edge of the Atlas and the northern edge of the Hindu Kush (Afghanistan), or the lowland bays of the southern Taurus (Antalya, Cukurova) on the Anatolian Peninsula, and the Kithar Range (Las Bela, Kachhi) in Baluchistan. Similarly, it is likely that the nomadic Baluchi who entered the Indus valley from the west (ninth century) soon adopted a semisedentary or sedentary way of life (Wissmann, 1961), like the Seraikis who advanced into the floodplains of the Punjab from the Cholistan Desert in the east.

Even the foundation of towns or oases such as Agades, Kanem, Bilma, and Kufra in North Africa; Nizwa, Ibri, Kuwait, Doha, and Liwa on the Arabian Peninsula; or Kalat, Kharan, and Panjgur in Baluchistan was the outcome of nomadic settlement or semisettlement. The town of Meknes (eleventh century) was founded by former Berber nomadic herders; Timbuktu resulted from the sedentization of Tuareg nomads in the eleventh century (Herzog 1954). The horizontal social pattern typical of Islamic-oriented towns, that is, their division into quarters according to ethnic groups (Bobek 1950–1951), is both the expression and the result of the incursion of nomadic groups into urban settlements.

Not infrequently, sedentarism of nomadic tribes led to the creation of empires (Klengel 1972). For instance, Westermann (1949) attributes the empires of western Sudan to the activities of Berber tribes, who—as Herzog (1954) concludes—lived at least a partly nomadic life. The Brahui confederation in Baluchistan can be interpreted as the outcome of partial sedentization of the Dravidian nomads in Sarawan and Jhalawan (eastern Iranian mountains/ Baluchistan) (Scholz 2002). Also —not least owing to partial sedentarism in the valleys in the southern arc of the central mountain massif (Hindu Kush)—Pashtunization (the settling of nomadic/Pashtun groups in areas belonging to other tribes) enabled the Pashtun Durrani (the predominant nomadic group in the area of present-day Afghanistan) to create an empire stretching from Seistan west of the Iranian mountains to the Indus lowlands in the east during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Grötzbach 1990). Nor should we forget the Fertile Crescent of northern Syria, where Cherkessian farmers were settled to defend the land against nomads in the nineteenth century (sedentarization; Wirth 1963).

Sedentarization and sedentization of nomads/ Bedouins—sedentarism—have prevailed throughout the *Old World Dryland Belt* since the end of the nineteenth century. Settlement processes were initiated by Ottoman rulers (Al Wardi 1972), closely followed by the colonial powers with the aim of controlling and making political use of the nomadic tribes. Today, sedentarism is demanded/imposed and promoted by national governments. By contrast, the traditional nomadic mode of culture as an ecologically adapted subsistence strategy is considered outdated and is being consistently eliminated by sedentarization policies.

FRED SCHOLZ

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SEEKING KNOWLEDGE

Knowledge and faith are equated in the Qur'an. This identification, however, was not left undiscussed by subsequent generations of Muslim scholars. "Seeking/searching for knowledge" *(talab al-'ilm)* does not necessarily refer to extensive journeys, but it is the case when the context indicates it or in the expression "The journey for seeking knowledge." This knowledge is usually equated with traditions of Muhammad (and his Companions), that is, the Hadith.

The specialists of hadith, like al-Khatib al-Baghdadi (d. AH 463/1071 CE) in his book *The Journey for seeking hadith*, base themselves on a well-known tradition attributed to Muhammad: "Search for knowledge even as far as China, for this is incumbent upon every Muslim." It is a spurious tradition, also from the point of view of hadith criticism among Muslim scholars; only they label it "weak," as far as its chain of authorities *(isnad)* is concerned, and "sound" in its signification. It was probably put into circulation circa 150/767. What it may be, there are lengthy discussions in books of the import of the statement that knowledge is a duty *(farida)*, whether or not it is a duty in the legal sense, and which types of knowledge are individual duties and which are community duties (that is, not incumbent upon every member of the Muslim community).

Other traditions were attributed to Muhammad on the same matter, such as: "He who sets out searching for knowledge, verily the angels joyfully spread their wings to which he is searching for, he sets out on a path that leads to paradise."

The feverish desire to know what Muhammad had said and done in every thing increased in intensity. The enormous mass of traditions attributed to him became bigger still in the first/seventh century and the first half of the second/eighth century. They had been accumulated by Companions and Followers, and followers of the Followers, who were scattered throughout the Islamic world, or they were forged. Some of the "searchers for knowledge" displayed an enormous activity, undertaking long and hazardous journeys from the Guadalquivir to the Oxus in order to hear a hadith from the lips of one who claimed to have it in succession of Muhammad. According to al-Darimi (d. 255/869), a man came from Medina to Damascus to hear a tradition from the Companion Abu l-Darda'; this tradition was the following: "Whoso travels a road in search of knowledge will God lead in a road to paradise. Verily the angels joyfully spread their wings over him who is seeking knowledge. All creatures in heaven and earth and even the fishes in the depth of waters pray for the learned man (or scholar, *'alim*). His superiority over the worshiper is as that of the full moon over the stars. The learned men (or scholars) are the heirs of the prophets. They do not herit a dinar and not a dirham, but they herit knowledge. . . ."

This statement atttibuted to Muhammad is a putting together of different declarations, also known in other contexts. It has its origins in a period in which

debates took place concerning the best knowledge or the best scholars. One of the weapons in this "war" consisted in prophetical hadith and/or traditions from the early generations of Muslims. Was the best knowledge one of the Qur'anic disciplines, the hadith, the biography of the Prophet, or jurisprudence and connected matters *(fiqh)*? For instance, the son-in-law of the great exegete Muqatil b. Sulayman, Abu 'Isma (Nuh b. a. Maryam, d. 173/789), a student of Abu Hanifa (d. 150/767) and a judge in Marv, was asked on traditions that he transmitted from the Companion Ibn 'Abbas about "the excellencies of the Qur'an sura by sura," although transmitters of 'Ikrima, one of the students of Ibn 'Abbas, did not possess them. He replied: "I saw that people had turned away from the Qur'an and occupied themselves with the *fiqh* of Abu Hanifa and *The Military Campaigns of the Prophet (maghazi)* of Ibn Ishaq, so I forge this tradition seeking reward in the next world."

It seems that the predominant characteristic of the various centers in which in early Islam traditions were collected and recorded, was their regionalism. So we should distinguish between "seeking knowledge" and "traveling in quest of knowledge."

This last activity became a general practice at a relatively late date. The first scholars who are said to have practiced it are people who died between between 150/767 and 180/796. Sometimes 'Abd Allah b. Mubarak (d. 181/797) is said to have been the first of them. He is a well-known traditionist of Marv, who wrote a book in which he collected traditions on the Holy War, a community duty in which he took part in Syria against the Byzantines. He was a rich tradesman who enterprised journeys to Iraq, Syria, Egypt, and Yemen, not only for the purpose of seeking knowledge but also for his own business. Many scholars in the following generations were also tradesmen. For a lot of them, the pilgrimage to Mecca was the occasion of very extensive journeys, especially students or scholars coming from Muslim Spain or from Northern Africa.

The example of the exegete, traditionist, jurist, and historian al-Tabari (d. 310/923) is representative, among thousands of others, of what traveling in quest of knowledge practically means. After having learned the Qur'an by heart at the age of seven and studied traditions of the Prophet since he was age nine, al-Tabari left his hometown of Amol in Tabaristan, and his parents, at the age of twelve in 236/850. He received his further schooling in Rayy (site of present-day Teheran), where he remained almost five years; there he was formed in the Hanafi law and the historiographical traditions of Ibn Ishaq transmitted to him by Muhammad b. Humayd al-Razi, who was also one of his masters in hadith and Qur'anic exegesis.

Then he left for Baghdad, where he wanted to attend the lessons of Ibn Hanbal in hadith, but when he arrived in the caliphal capital (241/855), the master was dead. However, he could attend there the lessons of other masters, not only in hadith but also on Shafi'ite law (the ancient doctrine of al-Shafi'i; he then became acquainted with "the new doctrine of al-Shafi'i" in Egypt). Rather soon, he left Baghdad to continue his study in Basra and Kufa, including Wasit on the way, attending other lessons on Qur'anic exegesis, hadith, life of the Prophet, and so on. He returned to Baghdad about 244/858, where he became the tutor of the young son of a wazir.

In 248/962, al-Tabari was in in his late twenties and an acknowledged scholar, when he again left Baghdad, this time to Egypt. This journey included visits to Syria and Palestine. In Beirut, for instance, he had the opportunity to study the variant Qur'anic readings of the Syrian school and the legal views of al-Awza'i (d. 157/774), Syria's most prominent jurist.

He had attended lessons also in Homs (Emesa), Ramlah, Damascus, and Jerusalem, among others. He arrived in Egypt in 253/867, and perhaps again in 256/870, after being returned to Syria, and probably having performed the pilgrimage. In Fustat he profited from the knowledge of Yunus b. al-A'la al-Misri (d. 264/877), a leading scholar in the field of hadith and Qur'an reading. But the greatest boon that he reaped during his sojourn in Egypt was an increased understanding of the Maliki and Shafi'i legal system. For the second one, his main authority was al-Rabi' b. Sulayman al-Muradi (d. 270/884), from whom he learned "the new doctrine of al-Shafi'i"; but in the same time al-Tabari could teach there "the ancient doctrine of al-Shafi'i," which he had learned in Baghdad. Among his many contacts in Egypt, the most important was probably the one with the eminent Ibn al-Hakam family, whose members had been intimately connected with al-Shafi'i himself. They were also outstanding representatives of the Maliki legal system.

On his return to Baghdad, after 256/870, he had fifty years of scholarly activity there. He appears never to have married. The tremendous volume of work he accomplished evoked the admiration of all scholars. It is said that he used to write fourteen (or up to forty!) folios every single day.

Given the importance of "seeking knowledge" and "traveling in quest of knowledge," the relation between masters and students, and also the importance of a so-called sure continuity of transmission of hadith and other matters, one should not be astonished of a great literary production in the field of prosopography. Toward the second half of the third/ninth century, traditionists began to write special books,

often arranged alphabetically as dictionaries, on the masters they had encountered during their studies and journeys for the research of science, meaning with that above all hadith, and including especially those masters from whom they had received a certificate *(ijaza)* to transmit "science" to others. These books could have different titles, such as *The Masters (mashyakha)* or *Dictionary of the Masters of...*. Some of them contain very precise dates or data (the place where the lessons were held, the number and/or the names of participants). We may mention here the case of the great Alexandrian traditionist Abu Tahir al-Silafi (d. 576/1180). He wrote a *Dictionary* on his masters in Baghdad and *The Dictionary of Journey*, in which he assembled entries on scholars whom he had met outside Baghdad and Isfahan, and more specifically in Alexandria (Egyptians, Maghribis, among others).

Others wrote indexes of disciplines, genres and books, or bio-bibliographical dictionaries. The oldest and most important is the *Index* of the Baghdadian copyist and bookseller *(warraq)* Ibn al-Nadim (d. 380/990 or 385/995). Mention should be made of the *Index of Books and Masters* of Ibn Khayr of Seville (d. 575/1179), and of the *Well Established Confluent of the Alphabetical Index* of the Egyptian Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani (d. 852/1449).

Scholars wished to be very accurate in the correct pronunciation of proper names: names of transmitters and authors *(rijal)*, ethnic names *(ansab)*, geographical names, and so on. For this reason many of them devoted themselves also to the writing of special books in these fields, also a branch of prosopography. The great traditionist of Marv, Abu Sa'd al-Sam'ani (d. 562/1166), for instance, composed the *Book of Genealogies and Proper Names* and two *Dictionaries of Masters*, in which we also find precise data on the localities he has visited. Special books were also written on "different and connected" names, for example, *The Connected and Different* (in the names of transmitters and the like) by al-Daraqutni (385/995), which was completed by the *Reshaping of Achievement of the Connected and Different*, by al-Khatib al-Baghdadi. Another Baghdadian, Ibn Makula (d. 486/1093, or other dates) wrote the *Perfect for Removing Doubt about the Connected and Different Proper Names or Names of Relation*.

We have, above all, spoken here of seeking knowledge in religious sciences that appear in the "direct formation" of scholars, but many of them had also what we have called elsewhere an "indirect formation," which was more personal, not passing by the usual ways of learning and not always recognized, for instance, in the "foreign sciences," coming from the Greek and Syrian legacies: philosophy, medicine, astronomy, and so on. Tabari, for instance, was acquainted with arithmetics and algebra. He had a certain mastery of logic, dialectics, and, indeed Greek philosophy *(falsafa)*. Medicine was one of his great interests. The important medical encyclopedia the *Paradise of Wisdom*, by 'Ali b. Rabban (viv. 2nd/ninth century), a Christian who converted to Islam, became Tabari's medical Bible.

Of course, it was not the case of every scholar, because many of them—often qualified as "Hanbali in theology" *(hanbali al-usul),* that is, not only people pertaining to the Hanbali law school—were not only opposed to the knowledge of the foreign sciences but also to the practice of speculative theology *(kalam)*.

Seeking knowledge remained a principle and a reality during the different periods of classical Islam. But the practice of traveling in quest of knowledge disappeared in the course of time. At the end of the Mamluk period a lack of enthusiasm for it has been noticed, and it is difficult to find a single Egyptian scholar who practiced it after Shams al-Din al-Sakahawi (d. 902/1497).

Claude Gilliot

See also Scholarship

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SELIMIYE MOSQUE, EDIRNE

The Selimiye Mosque complex was built in AH 976–982/1569–1575 CE by the architect Sinan for Sultan Selim II in Edirne, the Ottoman empire's European gateway. The new architectural foundation celebrated the recent conquest of Cyprus and was financed by its rich spoils. Regarded by most modern historians as the culminating achievement of Sinan's distinguished fifty-year career as chief architect to the Ottoman court, Sinan himself (according to the "autobiography" that he wrote with Sa'i Mustafa Čelebi) undertook the Selimiye project in a competitive frame of mind. He stated, "Those who consider themselves architects among Christians say that in the realm of Islam no dome can equal that of the Hagia Sophia… [but] in this mosque, with the help of God and the support of Sultan Selim Khan, I erected a dome six cubits higher and four cubits wider than the dome of the Hagia Sophia" (Kuran). He was determined both to outdo the size and grandeur of that venerable Byzantine monument (finished in 537) and to continue a dialogue with his own Suleymaniye Mosque that was built twenty years earlier.

The Selimiye has a magnificent presence on the skyline of Edirne—its hilltop position and imposing profile were intended to overwhelm and to suggest, through architectural grandeur, the imperial majesty of the patron. It stands on a high platform and, unlike comparable Ottoman *külliyes* (religious complexes), has few dependent buildings. The complex consists of a large enclosure with a centrally placed mosque, and a *medrese* (theological college) and Qur'an school of equal size symmetrically filling the southeast and southwest corners of the greater enclosure. The complex was entirely symmetrical until a covered market was added on the west side of the enclosure in the 1580s to provide rental income.

The mosque consists of a rectangular prayer hall and rectangular courtyard of equal size (sixty by forty-four meters) with an ablution fountain in its center. A large, single central dome dominates the prayer hall; from the prayer hall's corners rise four exceedingly slender fluted minarets that at approximately seventy meters are taller than any others in the Ottoman realm. Their soaring verticality provides a marked contrast to the massive and imposing domical structure of the prayer hall and provides a spatial frame that both draws attention to the mosque in Edirne's skyline and sets its apart. Sinan wished to make the central dome higher than the Hagia Sophia (which he had not quite outstripped in the Suleymaniye). Although from floor level the Hagia Sophia rises to 55.60 meters while the Selimiye rises to only 42.25 meters, if calculated from the base of the dome, the latter's profile is indeed steeper and higher.

The dome rests on eight enormous piers, which is a departure from Sinan's earlier four-pier plans at the Shahzade and Suleymaniye mosques. Each pier rises from a fluted, then faceted shaft that transitions, without a capital to mark the shift in architectonic function, to a great arch that springs from *muqarnas*. The piers are ingeniously pushed toward the walls of the prayer hall so that, rather than permitting their manifest architectonic function to obstruct interior space, they seem to frame and articulate it. The consequence is an extraordinarily unified interior in which there is no perceptible distinction between the space beneath the central dome and the auxiliary spaces below the half domes that fill the corners of the hall. The equidistant positioning of the piers also diminishes the sense of lateral axiality that such a rectangular space might have provoked, and the side arcades bearing galleries are pushed to the far walls, where they do not interrupt or intrude on the open interior. Instead, the dominant axis runs from the mosque's northern entrance, through the courtyard, into the prayer hall, and culminates at the mihrab. Indeed, the axis is slightly prolonged by the spatial recession of the mihrab apse. The sole interruption in the mihrab axis is a platform for Qur'an reading *(dikka),* poised above a fountain, which temporarily shifts the visual focus from the horizontal axis to the vertical, directing vision upward to the great dome overhead.

The airy interior is flooded with light from the rows of windows encircling the base of each dome and semidome. Furthermore, enormous arches of alternating red and white voussoirs relieve the supportive function of the mosque's walls so that instead of wall mass, the space is filled by thin tympana with windows. The recessed mihrab is likewise lined on both the *qibla* and side walls, with windows that filter light through windows with ornate mullions. Beautiful Iznik glazed ceramic covers much of the *qibla* wall, reflecting light and giving the interior a gleaming luminosity. A band of inscription in blue and white tile runs around the upper part, while below there are panels with floral designs that were probably intended to suggest paradise, a common theme in mosque ornament.

The brilliance of Sinan's design appears not only in the spatial plasticity of the manipulation of domes, semidomes, and arches within the prayer hall but also in the clarity of the design's structural logic from



Sinan the Great (1489–1588). Interior of dome. Built for Selim II, Ottoman sultan. 1568–1575. Credit: Vanni/Art Resource, NY. Selimiye Mosque, Edirne, Turkey.

without. Although from afar the building appears as a single mountainous dome surrounded by elegant spires, at middle distance the eight piers, capped by small cupolas and descending into mighty buttresses, have clear presence on the building's exterior, revealing a well-composed, symmetrical, and geometrically conceived figure of discrete geometrical units subordinated to a harmonious whole. The Selimiye is a tour de force of interior and exterior space.

D. FAIRCHILD RUGGLES

See also Istanbul; Suleymaniye Mosque

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SELJUKS

The Seljuk dynasty was a Turkish dynasty that ruled much of the Middle East from the late eleventh through the twelfth century CE. The eponymous Seljuk ibn Duqaq was the chief of a confederation of Oghuz Turkmen tribes that migrated in search of land, perhaps pressured by other tribes, from the area between the Caspian and Aral seas to Transoxiana in the mid-tenth century. Settling in Jand on the left bank of the Jaxartes (Syr Darya), Seljuk and the Oghuz became Muslims. In the early eleventh century, these Oghuz were caught between the expansionist ambitions of the Qarakhanids from the north and the Ghaznavids from the south. In 1040, Seljuk's grandsons, Chaghri Beg and Toghril Beg, defeated the Ghaznavids at Dandanqan near Merv. This victory opened the Middle East to large-scale Turkish immigration. Thus began the long-term movement, laden with enormous social, economic, and political consequences, of Turkish peoples from Central Asia to the Middle East, changing the linguistic and cultural zones of that region from Arabic and Persian to Arabic and Turko-Persian.

Having taken the title of sultan and proclaiming himself the protector of the ʿAbbasid caliph and defender of Sunni Islam, Toghril entered a politically fragmented Muslim world. Many areas were ruled by Shiʿi dynasties. One of them, the Buyids, held sway over the ʿAbbasid caliphs in Baghdad. From Cairo the Fatimid caliphs claimed authority over the entire Muslim world. Toghril attempted to put an end to these Shiʿi dynasties and reunite Muslims under Sunnism. In 1055, he entered Baghdad and destroyed the Buyids. In 1058, the caliph al-Qa'im formally acknowledged him as sultan and later gave him a daughter in marriage. Toghril consolidated his power in Iraq, destroying pro-Fatimid forces in 1060, while keeping the caliph under tight control, and sending various family members to conduct further conquests. The empire in turn was parceled out to these family members. Toghril thus laid the foundation of the Great Seljuk Empire. He died in 1063 at Rayy, his capital.

Toghril had no children. His nephew, Alp Arslan, succeeded him in 1064 after a brief struggle for the

throne. Alp Arslan reorganized the government and appointed the brilliant Nizam al-Mulk as grand vizier. Nizam ran the empire and tried to mold the state along traditional Persian lines. Alp Arslan was continuously in the field suppressing revolts and campaigning on the frontiers. In 1071, he defeated the Byzantine emperor Romanus Diogenes at Manzikert. Byzantine defenses collapsed and Anatolia was open to Turkmen tribes, who streamed into it. Also in 1071, another Turkmen army under Atsiz captured Jerusalem from the Fatimids. These two victories reverberated in Europe where Pope Urban II eventually called for a crusade in 1095. After Manzikert, Alp Arslan marched east to Transoxiana, where he faced a crisis with the Qarakhanids. There he was murdered in 1073.

Alp Arslan was succeeded by his son Malikshah, during whose reign the Great Seljuk Empire reached its height. Malikshah made Isfahan his capital and kept Nizam as grand vizier. Besides settling various family quarrels, he further expanded Seljuk power by bringing the Qarakhanids to terms and extending his authority down the west coast of Arabia to Yemen. Furthermore, in the early years of his reign an independent Turkmen chief, Sulayman ibn Qutulmish (r. 1081–86), founded the Seljuk Sultanate of Anatolia. In 1092, shortly after Nizam was assassinated, Malikshah died. The empire, stretching from Khwarazm to the Mediterranean, was then torn by struggles for succession. His sons Muhammad I Tapar (r. 1105–1118) and Sanjar (r. 1118–1157) were more or less able to keep the core of Iraq and Iran together, although the latter's reign ended in disaster in 1153, when the Oghuz revolted and took him captive. While Anatolia had been independent from the beginning (1081–1307), other regions of the empire broke away: Kirman (1048–circa 1188) and Syria (1078–1117). The last of the Great Seljuks, Toghril III, was killed in 1194 in the east, fighting the Khwarazm-Shah Tekish.

The major reason for the disintegration of the empire was the lack of a well-ordered means of succession. The Seljuks followed the custom whereby the state was considered the common property of the dynasty. Consequently, each member of the dynasty could claim to be the ruler. This resulted in a struggle for the throne with each passing sultan. These struggles in turn provided opportunities for the ʿAbbasid caliphs to try to reassert their worldly authority and also allowed the *atabegs*, the guardians and tutors of various princes, to take local power into their own hands. Some, like the Zankids, established their own dynasties. All of this contributed to the further fragmentation of the empire.

GARY LEISER

See also Byzantine Empire; Muslim–Crusader Relations; Nomadism and Pastoralism; Seljuk Warfare; Shiʿism; Sultan; Turks; Vizier

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SEVEN SLEEPERS

The legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, in its earliest form, relates the fabulous experience of seven (or eight) Christian soldiers who are saved from the persecution of the Roman Emperor Decius (r. 249–251) by a miraculous sleep, from which they awake only during the reign of the Christian Emperor Theodosius II (r. 408–450). The Seven Sleepers of the Christian legend appear in the Qur'ān as the "Companions of the Cave" of Chapter Eighteen (named accordingly "the Cave" *[al-kahf]*), a chapter in which narratives based on the Jewish legend of Joshua ben Levi and the Christian Romance of Alexander also appear. Louis Massignon, pointing to the fact that the recitation of this chapter is encouraged every Friday at Islamic common prayer, describes the legend of the Seven Sleepers as a point of mystical and eschatological meeting between Islam and Christianity.

The origins of the legend, however, are unclear. Although some reports credit Steven, bishop of Ephesus during the Second Council of Ephesus (449), with compiling the original version in Greek, T. Nöldeke and P. Huber argue that the legend was

originally written in Syriac. Indeed, the first extant form thereof appears in two Syriac homilies of Jacob of Sarug (d. 521), while Gregory of Tours (d. 594), author of the first Latin version, employed the services of a Syriac translator for the job. In any case, the spread of the legend into numerous languages (it entered later into English, German, Nordic, French, and Spanish literature) testifies to its attraction. Popular Christian devotion to the Sleepers, embraced as saints by both Catholic and Orthodox tradition, spread as well. Feast days were devoted to them. Chapels and shrines were dedicated to them, not only in Ephesus itself but also throughout the Middle East and Europe, including the Church of the Seven Sleepers in Rome, which is decorated with vivid paintings of the seven heroes.

The attraction of the story in the Christian context lies in the fact that it is at once edifying and didactic. On one hand, it celebrates the devotion of Christian martyrs and, more generally, the victory over paganism. On the other hand, it serves as a proof for the resurrection, as the sleep of the seven saints in most recensions is only a metaphor for death (see John 11:11 and I Thessalonians 4:13), from which they are raised by God.

In the Qur'ān, meanwhile, certain details of the Christian legend remain: the Cave as a refuge (Q 18:10) from unbelief (Q 18:14–15), the sensation of the sleepers that only a day had passed (Q 18:19), their plan to buy food with a coin they had preserved (Q 18:19), and the building of a shrine above the spot where they slept (Q 18:21). Other elements of the Qur'ānic narrative are novel: a watch dog (Q 18:18; on the model of the Greek Cerberus, protecting the domain of the dead), the insistence on "pure" food (Q 18:19), confusion over the number of sleepers (Q 18:22), and 309 years as the duration of sleep (Q 18:25; early Christian sources state 372 years). Still other elements of the Qur'ānic account present a mystery to Muslim interpreters, not least of which is the introductory line, which speaks of the "Companions of the Cave" and *al-raqīm*. This latter word is interpreted variously as: tablet, inscription, name of the sleepers, their ancestry, their religion, the thing from which they fled, the town from which they came, the mountain of their cave, or the name of their dog.

Most important, perhaps, is the particular tone with which the Qur'ān relates the legend of the cave. While in the Christian legend the Emperor Decius closes up the cave in order to kill the saints, in the Qur'ān there is no protagonist other than God Himself, and it is He who shuts in the "Companions of the Cave" (Q 18:11). In the Christian legend it is shepherds stumbling across the site of the sleepers that causes their awakening. In the Qur'ān it is God Himself who awakens them, in order to test them, by seeing if they are able to calculate the duration of their sleep (See Q 18:12, 18:19). Ultimately (Q 18:19), one of the sleepers shouts out the pious solution to the test: "Your Lord knows best how long you have tarried." In its Qur'ānic form the legend of the Seven Sleepers becomes an affirmation of human limitation before an omnipotent, and omniscient, God. Thus if this legend indeed serves as a point of contact between Christianity and Islam, it also manifests the uniqueness of each tradition.

Gabriel Said Reynolds

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SEVILLE

Seville (Ar. *Ishbiliyya*, a derivation from the Latin place name *Hispalis*) was a major town of al-Andalus on the bank of the Guadalquivir River (an Arabic name, *Wadi 'l-kabir*, meaning "The Wide River"). It was the capital of the *kura* that bore its name, a *kura* being the basic territorial division of al-Andalus.

History

Seville was conquered around 713 or 716 CE in the first wake of the Muslim occupation of the Iberian Peninsula. Subsequently, contingents of mainly Yemeni warriors settled in the city and its outskirts, and formed the core of its ruling classes until the end of the Muslim-ruled period, when the city was conquered by the Castilian king, Ferdinand III, in 1248. Overt or more concealed Islamic lifestyles, however, continued to be conducted in Seville, as in other parts of Spain, until the expulsion of the Moriscos (converted-to-Christianity Muslims) from Spain in 1609–1610, that is to say, almost four centuries after the Christian conquest of the city.

The Arab warrior elite of Seville often revolted against the central power based in Cordoba during the time of the first Umayyad ruler, al-Andalus Emir

'Abd al-Rahman I (756–788). He was succeeded in the throne by Hisham I (r. 788–796) and al-Hakam I (r. 796–822). Both reigns were periods of relative peace for Seville, according to the sources. In 844, under the Emir 'Abd al-Rahman II (r. 822–852), Seville was stormed by the Normans (named *Majus* in the Arabic chronicles). Normans pillaged the whole of Western Andalusia for almost a month and a half, until they were driven out by an army dispatched from the Andalusi capital of Cordoba.

The following years under the ruling of Emir 'Abd Allah I (844–912) saw a widespread outburst of rebellions all over Al-Andalus, including in Seville. A *de facto* autonomous state was established by the local powerful clan of the Banu Hajjaj from 889 to 913.

Seville was seiged and pacified by the first Andalusi caliph, 'Abd al-Rahman III, in 913. The period of the caliphate (929–1031) was one of certain prosperity for the city. Only an uprising instigated by the Banu Hajjaj family in 974 troubled to some extent the stability of the period.

With the downfall of the caliphal regime and the outburst of the *fitna* (civil war) in Al-Andalus from 1009 to 1031, Seville became the capital of one of the *taifa* (party) kingdoms into which Al-Andalus had split. The new dynasty of the Banu 'Abbad or 'Abbadids (1013–1090) seized power, leading the town into what is generally considered to be its cultural and economic peak. It was, objectively speaking, the moment when the greatest territory was ruled from Seville.

The most celebrated 'Abbadid ruler was Muhammad bin 'Abbad al-Mu'tamid (1069–1090), who is still widely regarded as one of the finest classical Arab poets. His verses about his concubine Rumaykiyya have never ceased to be a part of the common Arab poetic curriculum.

In the political sphere, the 'Abbadid rulers were forced to pay *parias* (levies) to the Castilian kings. This forced al-Mu'tamid and many other *taifa* sovereigns to seek the help of the Almoravid sultan, Yusuf bin Tashufin, whose territorial base was in the current territory of Morocco. In 1086 and 1088, Yusuf bin Tashufin disembarked in the Iberian Peninsula in assistance of his coreligionists. Sources tell us that he—motivated by Islamic religious scholars *(fuqaha)* and with popular spur—resolved to seize power of Iberian Muslim-ruled lands and depose the *taifa* rulers, including al-Mu'tamid. In 1090, Yusuf bin Tashufin conquered Seville and sent al-Mu'tamid to exile.

Seville remained under Almoravid rule for more than half a century. Aspects of daily life during this period can be deduced by reading Ibn 'Abdun's *hisba* (market policing) treatise. During the Almoravid period, Seville was transformed into a key port where troops were disembarked. Seville also became a gathering point for the army. Archaeological evidence implies that the last wall ring of Seville was built by the Almoravids as a compound crowned by eight fortified towers.

In 1132, the King of Castile, Alphonse VII, sacked the region of Seville and even killed the Almoravid governor. In 1147, Seville was incorporated into the Almohad caliphate, which had before replaced the Almoravids. An Almohad governor of Seville, Abu Ya'qub Yusuf, was proclaimed caliph and made his second (with Marrakesh, in Morocco) capital in the town since 1171/1172. He conducted a full public works program that included an improvement to the fortifications of the town, a new palace outside the walls, a new pontoon bridge over the Guadalquivir River that linked the town and the Triana quarter at the other side of the river, and a new Friday mosque. Construction of this new central mosque began in 1172. Its minaret is a twin of the famous Kutubia minaret in Marrakesh. After the Christian conquest, the whole site of the great mosque was dedicated to the new cathedral. The minaret is today the "Giralda" bell tower, which is recognized as the major symbol of the city throughout the world.

Frequent Castilian raids threatened the safety and stability of Seville during the Almoravid period. Additionally, the periodic floods of the Guadalquivir contributed to the unease of the population.

Since 1220, the Almohad power approached its final decline. Following a number of unsuccessful revolts, the people of Seville turned to the Ibn Hud family against the Almohads in 1229. In 1248, the Castilian King Ferdinand III conquered the city after seventeen months of siege. Soon after, the Moroccan Marinid dynasty attempted to seize control of the city, but they could only pillage the outskirts, and in 1275 made an unsuccessful siege on the city.

Islamic Heritage in Modern Seville

Although Seville was counted among the richest cities of al-Andalus, its extant Islamic built heritage is not abundant, since a myriad of new buildings in the Renaissance and Baroque styles were commissioned in the prosperous period—which lasted from the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries—as a result of Seville's key role in economic exchange with the Spanish colonies in America.

The walls that defended the city against attacks both from the navigable Guadalquivir and from the surrounding plains are a major extant that remains.

Numerous accounts in extant sources report building and repair work being conducted in the Umayyad and subsequent periods. In 1220–1221, a new angled defensive outwork was built, ending in a twelve-sided stronghold, the "Golden Tower" (*Torre del Oro* in its current Spanish denomination), which is still a landmark of the city. Originally standing three stories high, only the two lower ones have been preserved, as the upper lantern was modified after the Christian conquest.

A compound of residential palaces, known as the *Reales Alcázares*, is still the official residence for the Spanish royals when they are in Seville. It is, together with the Alhambra and the ruins of Medina Azahara in Cordoba, a fine example of Andalusi architecture. Its foundations were laid in the time of Umayyad Emir 'Abd al-Rahman II (822–852).

Before the construction of the current cathedral, the third largest cathedral in the world, the Friday or central mosque, occupied the same site. The mosque was itself a building of considerable size, probably measuring 150 meters by 100 meters. Its most relevant feature was the aforementioned minaret. In its present form, the belfry is 16.1 meters wide and 50.85 meters high.

Jesús de Prado Plumed

See also 'Abd al-Rahman III; Al-Ghazali; Al-Idrisi, or Dreses; Al-Maqqari; Almohads; Almoravids; Andalus; Berbers; Cordoba; Gibraltar; Granada; Ibn Battuta; Ibn Ezra; Ibn Gabirol; Ibn Khaldun; Ibn Quzman; Ibn Rushd, or Averroes; Ibn Tufayl; Malik ibn Anas; Mediterranean Sea; Party Kingdoms: Iberian Peninsula; Umayyads

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SHADOW PLAYS

Terminology

Many Western and Arab scholars have assumed that the Arabic term for the shadow play *(khayal al-zill)* is tautological, since both *khayal* and *zill* mean "shadow" in Arabic. The assumption is that it is a vulgar coinage, and that it should really be termed *zill al-khayal* (shadow of the vision or shadow fantasy). The term *khayal*, appearing alone, has been routinely explained or translated as "shadow play." The German Orientalist Theodore Menzel, however, objected that in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish the term is puzzling; he argued that it cannot mean shadow play unless it occurs in its complete form, that is, *khayal al-zill* in Arabic and *zill-i-khayal* in Persian.

In Arabic literature and historiography, the term *khayal* or *khiyal* was used in the Jahiliyya (pre-Islamic times) and in the first centuries of Islam in the sense of "figure" and "statue," and was given to the figure of the hobbyhorse *(kurraj)* as well (*see* Theater, Arabic). During the eighth century it came to mean "imagination," "phantom," and "fantasy," and finally it became synonymous with the term *hikaya* (imitation or pantomime, as in Hebrew *hikkuy*). When, during the ninth century, the term *hikaya* came to mean strictly "story" or "storytelling," the term *khayal* replaced it to denote "live play" or "live theatrical performance." It seems that this is the main reason that led to the conclusion that the Arabs performed only shadow plays and puppet theater, and neglected live theatrical performance because of religious restrictions. When Gypsies and Muslim merchants from southeast Asia to the Muslim world imported the shadow play during the late tenth century, the word *zill* (shadow) was added to the already established term for acting and theater, and the new term *khayal al-zill* was coined.

Performance Practice

The earliest discussion of the technique of the shadow play occurs in a scientific work on optics, *Kitab al-manazir* (Latin, *Thesaurus Opticus*), by the Arab mathematician and physicist Ibn al-Haytham (Alhazan) (Basra, ca. 965 CE, Cairo, 1039, *see* Mathematics and Optics). His description of *khayal* recalls modern cinematographic techniques: He speaks of translucent figures of characters and animals "which the performer *(mukhayyil)* manipulates so that their



Shadow play figures, translucent colored camel-leather figures from Istanbul. On the right Karakoz (30 cm × 8 cm), and on the left Hajibad (28 cm × 8.5 cm). Private collection of Shmuel Moreh, Jerusalem.

shadows appear upon the wall which is behind the curtain and upon the curtain itself" (*Kitab al-manazir* 1983:408). Other descriptions of shadow plays state that figures made of colored, translucent camel leather were held against the screen with one stick, while the limbs of the figures were moved with another. The performer, accompanied by music and singing, recited the dialogue between the *dramatis personae*. The light of candles or lamps cast the shadow of the figures upon the screen *(sitara, izar)*, which was made of muslin *(shash)*.

Significance

The extant prose and verses composed by Sufi scholars such as al-Ghazali (d. 1111), Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 1240) and Ibn al-Farid (d. 1235), as well as introductions to shadow plays, describe the hidden philosophical and religious significance of this art. They argue that "God has presented it as a parable" to this world. The presenter represents God who is the *muharrik* (prime mover); the curtain represents the hidden and secret foreordained future. The first figure represents Adam, who describes the images that will follow him as depicting the generations of mankind, who behave according to God's will and predestination. The characters of the plot are arranged according to role, in a box on the right-hand side, which stands for the womb, while the box on the left, in which the figures are placed after ending their role, represents the tomb. It is this moral parable that induced poets to use the shadow play as a symbol of this world in Arabic literature and historiography. Even the three indecent shadow plays composed by the oculist Ibn Daniyal (Mosul, 1248; Cairo, 1311) at the request of a shadow puppeteer who complained that the art had became tedious and trivial emphasize moral admonition.

According to the Egyptian historian Ibn Iyas (d. 1524), who recorded the Ottoman occupation of Egypt in 1517, shadow players used to represent actual political and social events, such as the hanging of the defeated Mamluk sultan by Sultan Selim. The latter was pleased with the plot of the performer, rewarded him, and took him to Istanbul to entertain his son. On the other hand, E. W. Lane indicates that a reversed direction of influence occurred later on. In his *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1836), he says that the shadow play "Kara Gyooz," as he calls it, "has been introduced into Egypt by the Turks, in whose language the puppets are made to speak... They are conducted in the manner of the 'Chinese shadows', and therefore exhibited only at night."

Historians and scholars of the shadow play have criticized the pornographic and frivolous aspects of this popular art. Some plays, however, satirized the tyranny of rulers, administrators, and religious officials, and it seems that this is the main reason why some Mamluk sultans and scholars prohibited the shadow play and even burned the puppets and made the performers sign an undertaking not to practice it.

SHMUEL MOREH

See also Theater, Arabic

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SHAFI'I, AL-, ABU ABDALLAH MUHAMMAD IBN IDRIS

Al-Shafi'i (767–820 CE) ranks among the most influential jurists in the history of Islamic law by virtue of his contributions to substantive legal doctrine, elaboration of hermeneutic concepts and techniques, and his jurisprudential legacy as preserved in the Shafi'i School of Jurisprudence. Al-Shafi'i was probably born in Palestine and studied law first in Mecca and then in Medina, where he became a pupil of the celebrated jurist Malik ibn Anas. He also studied with at least one prominent student of the important Iraqi jurist Abu Hanifa.

Although al-Shafi'i taught and wrote for a period of years in Baghdad, only scattered references to his doctrines from this period survive. After relocating to Egypt (ca. 814), however, he authored (or his students compiled) a number of works that became authoritative. His massive *Kitab al-Umm (The Exemplar)* covers the standard topics found in a work of Islamic law. Traditionally published with the *Umm* are a number of shorter works, including some that preserve doctrines of earlier jurists with critical evaluations of these by al-Shafi'i.

What is new in al-Shafi'i's writings is the self-conscious concern with adherence to hermeneutical principles. Al-Shafi'i insists that laws be derived exclusively from revealed sources, namely the Qur'an and Hadith. In particular, al-Shafi'i emphasizes the special importance of Hadith from the Prophet, both as a supplement to the Qur'an and as an independent source of law. Thus, al-Shafi'i sought to ground law exclusively in revelation, making Islamic jurisprudence (for him, anyway) into a field more dependent on textual analysis than on the handing down of traditional authority. This feature of al-Shafi'i's thought entailed a further development in his hermeneutics, namely the elaboration of a series of techniques for sorting through and resolving apparent contradictions in the revealed sources of the Shari'a. Al-Shafi'i's most detailed discussion of his hermeneutical principles is contained in his *Risala (Epistle)*, but they also figure prominently in his *Ikhtilaf al-Hadith (Contradictory Hadith),* in several shorter works, and in the context of discrete problems dealt with in the *Umm*.

Recent scholarship, however, has cast doubt on the attribution of all works traditionally ascribed to al-Shafi'i. Scrutiny of the works bearing al-Shafi'i's name has led some to conclude that the *Umm* and the *Risala* were subject to a process of organic growth and redaction, and it has also been argued that hermeneutical approaches found in both works fit more easily into the intellectual world of the later ninth century. These studies raise important questions that are, for a variety of reasons, difficult to resolve definitively.

Al-Shafi'i's two Egyptian students, al-Rabi' ibn Sulayman al-Muradi (d. 883) and al-Muzani (d. 877), preserved, developed, and transmitted his doctrines. It is on the basis of their efforts to preserve al-Shafi'i's teachings that the Shafi'i School of Jurisprudence was founded and began to flourish, especially in Baghdad (c. 900). In time, the Shafi'i School spread to and remains important, in Arabia, Egypt, East Africa, and Malaysia.

Joseph E. Lowry

See also Ibn Hanbal; Imam; Knowledge; Madrasa; Scholarship; Theology

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SHAH 'ABBAS I (1571–1629), FIFTH SHAH OF IRAN'S SAFAVID DYNASTY (1501–1722)

'Abbas was the great-grandson of the first Safavid shah Isma'il I (r. 1501–1524), grandson of the second, Tahmasp (r. 1524–1576), and son of the fourth, Khudabandah (r. 1578–1587), and was enthroned by an alliance dominated by elements of the Ustajl, one of the preeminent tribes of the Qizilbash tribal confederation that had provided the military backbone of the dynasty to this period.

Tahmasp's death had caused splits among different tribal factions, Tajik (native Persian), Georgian, and Circassian, at court around his sons Isma'il II (r. 1576–1577) and Khudabandah (1578–1587). These left the polity vulnerable to Ottoman and Uzbeg invasions and, accentuated by Isma'il II's flirtation with Sunnism in an effort to bolster his own position, engendered considerable domestic spiritual unrest. The alliance that deposed Khudabandah and enthroned 'Abbas in 1587 collapsed soon thereafter as key Turk and Tajik elements coalesced around other Safavid princes, including 'Abbas' two younger brothers. Further foreign invasions resulted, and certain Sufi (and especially Nuqtavi and other) elements openly challenged 'Abbas' spiritual legitimacy.

'Abbas' 1590 purchase of peace with the Ottomans by ceding them key territories allowed him to move successfully against internal rivals and, thereafter, commence a series of campaigns that by the end of his reign regained territories lost to the Ottomans and Uzbegs since Tahmasp's death.

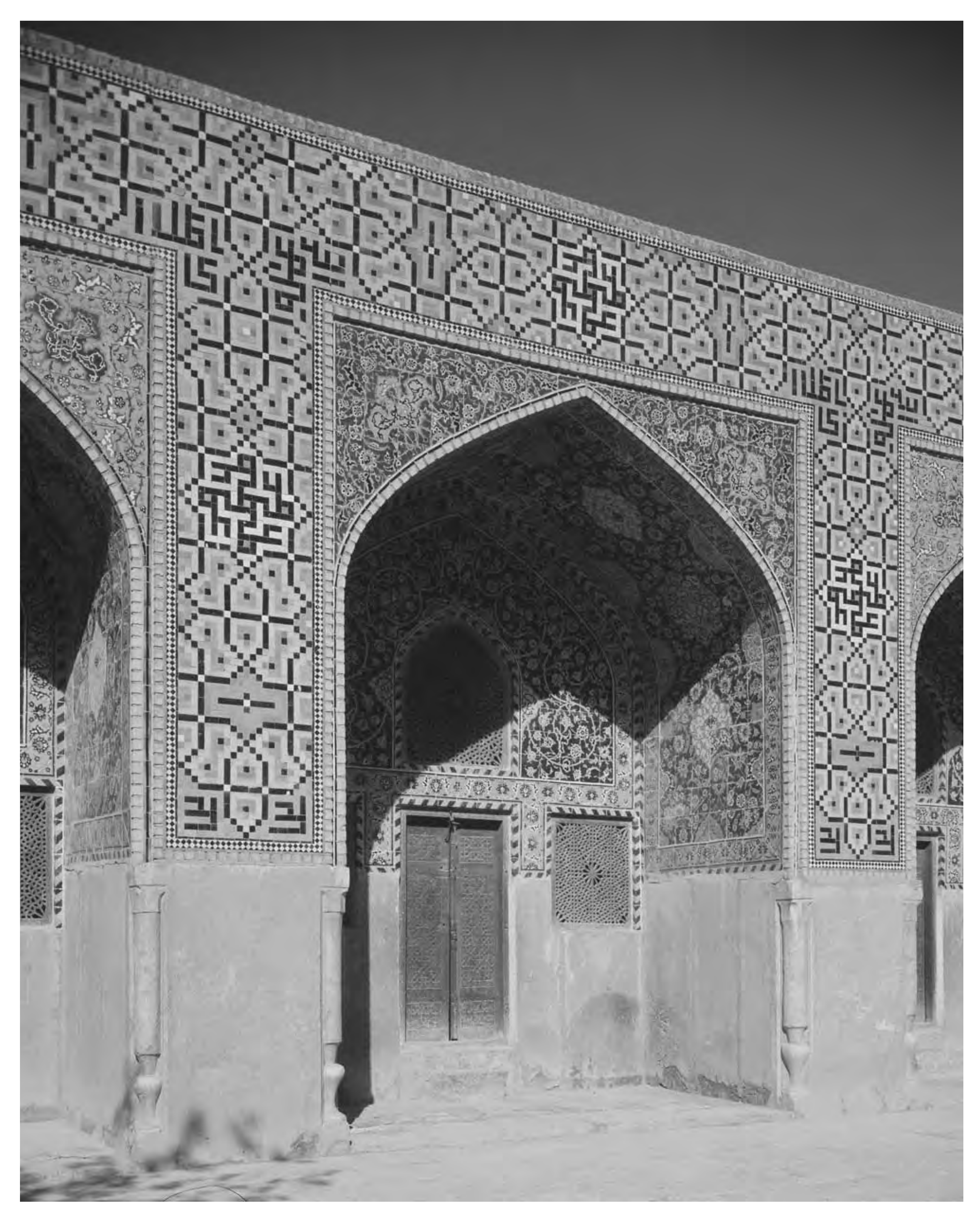
These military–political victories were achieved by forces composed of both tribal elements but also *ghulam* or *qullar* forces—non-Qizilbash Arab and Persian tribal volunteers and captured Georgian, Circassian, and Armenian youth converted to Islam whose presence in smaller numbers predated 'Abbas—who were now incorporated at the central and provincial military and political levels, albeit in positions subordinate to existing Qizilbash and Tajik elites and, more importantly, elements of Kurdish, Lur, and Chagatay tribes whose presence attests to the widening of the Qizilbash confederation.

Like his predecessors, 'Abbas further strengthened his personal position by using marriages to cement alliances with Qizilbash tribal elements, local political notables, and especially and more so than earlier shahs, prominent Tajik sayyids. The latter, including some of 'Abbas' relatives by marriage, were particularly prominent at the central and provincial administrative levels.

'Abbas' reign also witnessed a reinvigorated effort to identify the shah with the agendas and discourses of each of the realm's key component constituencies and project himself as transcendent ruler over all. Isfahan, which 'Abbas designated the capital soon after his accession, was home to many manifestations, including more secular projects such as Naqsh-i Jahan Square, whose construction created a new city center southwest of the traditional one. Isfahan's more spectacular religious projects included the 1599 'Abdallaah Shushtari school and the Lutfallah Maysi (1602 to 1618–1619) and Shah mosques (1611 to 1630–1631), the latter two both on 'Abbas' new square, but the provincial cities of Mashshad, the former capital Qazvin, and Kashan received similar attention. 'Abbas' special identification with Twelver Shi'ism was further attested to by his close association with such prominent philosopher–clerics as Mir Damad (d. 1630–1631), Mulla Sadra (d. 1640), and Shaykh Baha'i (d. 1621), the capital's *shaykh al-Islam*, his patronage of the Shi'i shrine cities of Najaf and Karbala after their 1624 capture, and his patronage of the Hijazi Shi'a. 'Abbas also carefully cultivated his image as head of the Safavid Sufi order and associated himself with such manifestations of "popular" religious feeling as the Muharram ceremonies, commemorating the martyrdom in 680 of the third Shi'i Imam Husayn, and the commemoration of the 661 martyrdom of Imam 'Ali. He also sponsored public, displayed clashes between the Ni'mati and Haydari factions, which were Iran's traditional urban factions. The commission of a never-completed, illustrated *Shahnama* attests to the center's atttentiveness to traditional Tajik Persian cultural discourse.

The development of Isfahan and the realm, aided by the center's restoration of road security, facilitated marked economic expansion, the more so in the aftermath of the forced importation to Isfahan of Armenians from war-torn eastern Anatolia beginning circa 1604, including many long-distance merchants who dominated the east–west trade routes through Iran, and the appearance in the Gulf of the Western commercial interests interested in expanding trade with the East, particularly in Iranian silk. These, with Western missionaries and political envoys, were welcomed by 'Abbas in his effort to construct an anti-Ottoman alliance.

Andrew J. Newman



Entrance to room of Qur’an students to the east madrasah (religious school). Built by Shah Abbas I, Sufavid dynasty. 1611–1638. Credit: SEF/Art Resource, NY. Masjid-I Shah, Isfahan, Iran.

See also Safavids

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SHAHNAMA

Sometimes referred to as the Iranian National Epic, the *Shahnama (Book of Kings)* is the life's work of the Persian poet Abu 'l-Qasem Ferdowsi, from Tus in Khorasan, northeastern Iran. It is a work of heroic scale and heroic character, consisting of between fifty and sixty thousand lines *(beyt)*, each containing two rhyming couplets *(mesra')* in the same meter: u - -/u - -/ u - -/u -, known as the *bahr-e motaqareb*.

Ferdowsi was born around 935 CE and died around 1020 CE. He was thus writing approximately four centuries after the fall of the ancient Persian empire and the coming of Islam. The final version was completed in 1010, dedicated to the most powerful ruler of the time, Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna (modern Afghanistan, r. 999–1020). Ferdowsi conceived his work as a memorial to Iran's glorious past at a time when its memory was in danger of disappearing for good under the twin assaults of Arabic and Islamic culture and the political dominion of the Turks. His literary masterpiece has since been used by many subsequent regimes, both imperial and provincial, to assert their rightful place in the political traditions of the country, and to legitimize their dynasty. As a result, the text survives in countless manuscript copies, often lavishly illustrated in princely court ateliers. The earliest, however, was copied two hundred years after the poet's death, making it impossible to establish with certainty exactly what he wrote.

The *Shahnama* narrates the history of Iran (Persia) from the creation of the world and the first king, Kayumars, who established his rule at the dawn of time, to the conquest of Persia by the Muslim Arabs in the early seventh century CE. The poem follows the structure of a king-list, with altogether fifty reigns described in sequence, though at greatly differing length. Therefore it has the appearance, at least, of a chronicle and is often cited as such by later medieval Persian historians as a source of information about the pre-Islamic past. This formal structure also emphasizes the centrality and importance of the role of the king (Shah) in Persian political culture, a characteristic also noted by Herodotus. Many of its early figures are mentioned in the *Avesta*, especially the *Zamyad Yasht* (on the *khwarnah*, or Divine splendor), dealing with those who held and those who sought it.

Nevertheless, the *Shahnama* is more than a straightforward celebration of the monarchical and imperial tradition in Persian history. In the first place, much of its material is ahistorical. The reigns are grouped according to four major dynasties, the Pishdadians, Kayanians, Ashkanians, and Sasanians, an ancient division that became entrenched in Persian historiography. In parallel with these divisions, the poem is generally divided into mythical, legendary, and historical sections. The first includes the formation of human society, the discovery of fire, the domestication of animals, the struggle with the forces of evil (represented by *divs*, or devils), and the definition of Iranian territory. The distinction between the mythical passages and the following legendary sections is rather fluid; the collapse of time, the pervasive presence of the supernatural, of the fantastic, magic, dragons, and heroic endeavors give a strong continuity across these prehistorical chapters.

Secondly, a significant proportion of the narrative is taken up with a discrete cycle of stories concerning the local rulers of Sistan (southeast Iran), which is grafted onto the main structure of the poem. Olga Davidson has challenged the opinion that the "Sistan cycle" represents a separate textual tradition, suggesting that both these stories and those of the royal Kayanian line entered the National Epic together, as a conflation of a "book of kings" with an "epic of heroes," both drawn from oral sources. The chief subject of these stories is the heroic exploits of Rostam, son of Zal, who was the champion of successive Iranian monarchs. Indeed, Rostam is the Iranian epic hero *par excellence,* and his adventures encapsulate more than anything else the spirit and the popular appeal of the *Shahnama*. As discussed by Davidson and by Dick Davis, the role of the hero is intrinsic to the epic, and the bravery, reliability, and loyalty of the hero form a counterpoint to the behavior of the Shahs. Davis even regards the poem as a denunciation of kingship, as increasingly unjust rulers provoke even their loyal commanders to revolt against them. Throughout the poem, however, despite his frank depiction of the shortcomings of various Shahs, Ferdowsi's didactic intentions are clear from his comments on the consequences of poor judgment, tyranny, or rashness. The misfortunes of rulers are shown to be the result of their failings, and in contrast, success and prosperity come from wisdom and justice. Many later Persian historians claimed the same exemplary purpose in their works, but few showed Ferdowsi's integrity and rigor in denouncing the bad. Rather, as noted by Shahrokh Meskoob, flattery and praise of rulers became standard.



Sohrab looking again for the tent of Roustem. Ferdowsi, Shahnama (Book of Kings). Ms. 607–1144, fol. 11v. Moghul dynasty, sixteenth century CE. Credit: Bridgeman-Giraudon/Art Resource, NY. Musée Condé, Chantilly, France.

Rostam and the Shahs he served take part primarily in the endless cycles of wars with Turan (approximately Turkestan or modern Central Asia), Iran's traditional foe throughout the first sections of the poem. The episodes that have attracted most attention are the stories of Rostam and Sohrab and of Seyavosh, both ending in the tragic death of sons due to their domineering and intransigent fathers. Both of these, and the equally powerful confrontation between Rostam and Esfandiyar, son of the tyrannical Shah Goshtasp, are available in modern verse translations. These episodes reveal the strength of Ferdowsi's poetry and his stark exposure of the human condition. Caught up in their own preoccupations and trapped by their sense of honor, obedience, pride, and ambition, the protagonists are unable to extricate themselves from the net that circumstances have made for them. Despite the importance and, indeed, his convincing portrayal of human motivations, Ferdowsi always implicates blind, remorseless Fate for the actual outcome. When one's time is up, no human action can alter events. Shortly after killing Esfandiyar, Rostam too is killed, the price to be paid for accepting the help of the mythical Simorgh to overcome his foe. Rostam's death marks the end of an era, and with it the impetus goes out of the epic narrative of the Kayanians.

The historical section, that is, when known historical events can be identified, starts only with the story of Alexander the Great, also treated as legend. It is remarkable, for example, that there is no reference to the reigns of Cyrus the Great, Darius, or the Achaemenid dynasty that preceded the appearance of Philip of Macedon on the scene. The reasons for this silence lie in the sources available to the poet. Ferdowsi followed an eastern Iranian narrative tradition, which evidently knew nothing of the separate traditions of southwest Iran and the Tigris–Euphrates valley. It is only with the coming of the Parthians (Ashkanians, Arsacids), whose long history (247 BCE to 224 CE) is treated in barely twenty verses, and during which time memory of earlier events in the southwest must have been lost, followed by the Sasanian dynasty (224–651), that Fars becomes the focus of events.

Ferdowsi provides a long account of the Sasanians, based on written sources that were also used by early Islamic historians in Arabic translations from Pahlavi (Middle Persian). The main conflicts are now with Iran's western neighbor, the Byzantine empire. Some passages, particularly in the reign of Anushirvan ("the Just") and the exchanges with his vizier, Bozorjmehr ("Great light"), are the vehicle for much moral and political wisdom. The stories of Bahram Gur and Bahram Chubina (Bahram V and VI) to some extent maintain the epic aspect of the *Shahnama*, with their heroic hunts, romantic adventures, dragon-slayings, and martial prowess. The final episode is the murder of the last Sasanian ruler, Yazdagird III (r. 632–652). Its ending echoes with the gloomy predictions of the Persian general, Rostam—killed at the battle of Qadisiyya by the Arab commander Sa 'd b. Waqqas—of the disasters about to befall Iran.

The *Shahnama* is ultimately a story of defeat, yet Ferdowsi has contrived to turn this disaster into a triumph for Persian civilization. It encapsulates and expresses, as no other work of Persian literature has been able to, the Iranians' view of themselves and their rightful place in the world.

Charles P. Melville

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SHAJAR AL-DURR

Shajar al-Durr, a Turkish slave and concubine of the Ayyubid sultan of Egypt, al-Salih Ayyub (d. 1249), became his wife after bearing him a son. The son,

Khalil, soon died, but Shajar al-Durr retained the sobriquet Umm Khalil (Mother of Khalil) for the remainder of her life. Her name can be rendered in English as "Spray of Pearls."

Shortly before al-Salih Ayyub's death in 1249, during the Fifth Crusade's invasion of Egypt, he appointed his wife and two others to safeguard the transition to the sultanate of al-Mu'azzam Turanshah, his son by another woman. Shortly after his arrival in Egypt and assumption of rule, Turanshah was murdered by his father's Bahri mamluks (military slaves), whom he had alienated. This murder took place on May 2, 1250, and two days later, Shajar al-Durr was proclaimed sultana (the feminine form of sultan) of the Ayyubid dominions, although this was not recognized by the Syrian Ayyubid princes. Shajar al-Durr subsequently ruled Ayyubid Egypt in her own name for a period of three months. The legends on coins minted in her name bore the legend *malikat al-muslimin* ("Queen of the Muslims"). Her claim to royal authority was buttressed by her status as widow of al-Salih and as mother of his son. Shajar al-Durr's assumption of rule was a rare occurrence within the medieval Dar al-Islam. Although women had exercised positions of power, usually as wives of rulers or as regents (such as the Ayyubid Dayfa Khatun, regent for her grandson al-Nasir Yusuf—see later in this entry—during his minority in Aleppo), only Radiyya, the sultana of Dehli (r. 1236–1240), preceded Shajar al-Durr as an autonomous head of a state.

Her short reign came to an official close by the end of July 1250, when she abdicated in favor of a leader of her husband's Mamluks, the amir Aybak al-Turkumani. This move was likely taken in the face of increasing Syrian Ayyubid pressure, most notably from al-Nasir Yusuf, ruler of Damascus and Aleppo. Aybak himself abdicated shortly thereafter in favor of a young Ayyubid prince named al-Ashraf Musa. Both Shajar al-Durr and Aybak, who had married at some point after al-Ashraf Musa came to the throne, were the true powers behind the child. By 1254, Aybak deposed al-Ashraf Musa and assumed the sultanate in his own name. When Aybak took steps to strengthen his position by marrying a daughter of Badr al-Din Lu'lu, the ruler of Mosul, this exacerbated his already estranged marriage with Shajar al-Durr. She arranged Aybak's murder on April 10, 1257. In the power struggle that ensued, the forces loyal to al-Mansur 'Ali, Aybak's son by another wife, emerged victorious. Shajar al-Durr was arrested, and her corpse was subsequently found lying outside the Cairo citadel on April 28, 1257. Tales of her life and death were later embellished with myriad details not found in the earliest accounts.

Warren C. Schultz

See also Ayyubid, Mamluks, Sultan

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SHAWKANI, AL-, MUHAMMAD IBN 'ALI

A Yemeni scholar, judge, and reformer, Muhammad Ibn 'Ali al-Shawkani was born in the village of Hijrat Shawkan in 1760 and died in Sanaa in 1834 CE. Shawkani saw himself as the heir of the Sunni- and hadith-oriented school that arose in Yemen with Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Wazir (d. 1436 CE) and came to full prominence with Shawkani himself in the late eighteenth century. Drawing heavily on the teachings of the Sunni Traditionists *(ahl al-hadith)*, Shawkani was a prolific author (more than two hundred words are attributed to him) in virtually every field of the Islamic sciences. The thrust of his reformist message was to inveigh against the evils of strict adherence to the teachings of the established schools of law (sing. *madhhab*)—a practice he labeled *taqlid*. Instead, Shawkani argued that Muslims had to reform themselves by reverting to an unmediated interpretation of the sources of revelation, namely the Qur'an and the Sunna (the latter being encapsulated in the canonical Sunni hadith collections). His interpretive approach stresses the practice of independent judgment *(ijtihad)* and focuses on the explicit meaning of the texts (strict constructionism). He rejected most forms of analogical reasoning, as well as the principle of juristic consensus *(ijma')*. This amounted to a radical revamping of the traditional system of law with the claim of obtaining greater certainty of God's will. Shawkani's most influential book is his multivolume *Nayl al-awtar fi sharh muntaqa al-akhbar (Attaining the Aims in Commenting on the Choicest Traditions)*. This consists of a legal manual based on the Prophet Muhammad's traditions *(hadith)* and is the principal source for Sayyid Sabiq's *Fiqh al-sunna*, perhaps the most widely used legal text among modern Sunnis. Other works by al-Shawkani that have attained prominence include his commentary on the Qur'an, entitled *al-Fath al-qadir (Victory of the Almighty)*; his work on the principles of jurisprudence,

entitled *Irshad al-fuhul (Guidance to the Luminaries)*; a legal work entitled *al-Sayl al-jarrar (The Raging Torrent)*; and a biographical dictionary entitled *al-Badr al-taliʻ (The Rising Moon)*. His works, especially on the Qur'an and on hadith-based law, are taught widely throughout the Islamic world today. For modern Muslim reformers, al-Shawkani is a towering figure, not only because of his clear and synthesized writing style but also because he was successful with his reformist project in Yemen. The dominant sect and school of law in eighteenth-century highland Yemen was Zaydism, one of the branches of Shiʻism. Al-Shawkani attacked the Zaydis in his writings, arguing that many of their theological and legal teachings had no basis in revelation and therefore had to be rejected. The aforementioned work, *The Raging Torrent*, is a point-by-point critique of the Zaydis' principal legal text, the *Kitab al-azhar (The Book of Flowers)* by the fifteenth-century imam al-Mahdi Ahmad ibn Yahya al-Murtada (d. 1436 CE). The Qasimi imams, who ruled Yemen from 1635 until the 1850s CE, had by the mid-eighteenth century established a dynastic state and began patronizing scholars like Shawkani. The Qasimis saw in Shawkani a jurist who would both legitimize their rule and lead a centralized judicial system. This is because Shawkani advocated a quietist political view that rejected the Zaydi teachings that rulers had to be exemplary men who satisfied rigorous qualifications for the position of imam and that unjust rulers had to be removed, by force if necessary. Shawkani was appointed to the position of chief judge of the state, a post he held from 1795 until his death in 1834 CE. As chief judge, he was able to push through his reformist agenda and teach several generations of like-minded scholars and jurists, many of whom were given posts in the state's bureaucracy. Shawkani's success was such that the Zaydis were never able to recover, intellectually or politically, from the onslaught waged against them by these Sunni-oriented reformers. The Zaydis claimed that Shawkani's efforts amounted to nothing more than the founding of a new school of law, with him as the ultimate authority, and that they preferred to follow their own imams, who as members of the Prophet's family *(ahl al-bayt)* were more worthy of emulation. The most forceful exponent of this position was Muhammad ibn Salih al-Samawi (d. 1825), who was executed by the Qasimi state for his criticism of the conjuncture of knowledge and power that was represented in the alliance between Shawkani and Qasimi imams. Shawkani's life and work are perhaps best appreciated if they are understood as forming a key link between premodern and modern Islamic reformist thought and action.

Bernard Haykel

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SHIʻI LAW

The juristic traditions of the three Shiʻi groups (the Zaydis, the Imamis, and the Ismailis) are best treated separately; although their traditions did influence one another, the jurists of each tradition perceived themselves as quite different from their fellow Shiʻis. In general terms, however, the Zaydis and the Imamis concentrated more of their intellectual effort on the elaboration of the Shariʻa, and consequently, their legal structures were more sophisticated than those of the Ismailis. All Shiʻis trace the beginnings of their juristic heritage to the sayings of ʻAli, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad. For Shiʻis, ʻAli was not merely the rightful leader of the Muslims, he was also the supreme interpreter of Islam. His decrees hold the same authority as those of the Prophet. Indeed, except for a section of the Zaydis, Ali's decrees have a quasi-revelatory status, not being a book (like the Qur'an) but equal to the *sunna* of the Prophet.

Imami and Ismaili jurists have also reserved a pioneering role for Imam Jaʻfar al-Sadiq (d. AH 148/785 CE), a fifth-generation descendant of ʻAli and a widely respected scholar. Jaʻfar supposedly "founded" the Shiʻi legal school, and his legal statements are taken by Imamis, Ismailis, and even some Zaydis as indicators of the Shariʻa. For example, most of the legal positions in Qadi al-Nuʻman's (d. 363/974) *Daʻaʼim al-Islam* concur with the reported positions of Imam Jaʻfar. This work, together with the same author's *Ikhtilaf usul al-madhahib* (a work of legal theory) represent the major Ismaili legal sources. For two reasons, there is little Ismaili legal scholarship after this date. First, the Ismaili Fatimid dynasty collapsed in 567/1171 and the Ismailis had already become less interested in the implementation of the law, and more interested in philosophical and mystical enquiry. Second, the Fatimid descendants led the Ismailis as present Imams, who could answer all legal questions due to their perfect legal knowledge. There was no need for jurisprudence because theoretically all legal issues could be answered by the Imam.

Imamis, on the other hand, believed their Imam to be in occultation since 329/941, and hence there was plenty of scope for scholars to study and develop legal arguments in defense of their own opinions. In

the tenth century, Muhammad al-Kulayni (d. 328 or 329/940 or 941) collected *al-Kafi*, the first significant compendium of Imami Shi'i hadith. This was supplemented soon after by Ibn Babuya's (d. 381/992) *Man la yahduruhu al-faqih* and then by al-Shaykh al-Tusi's (d. 460/1067) two works, *al-Istibsar* and *al-Tahdhib*. Together these became known as "the four books" and were used as the sources for the legal manuals *(fiqh)* written by subsequent Imami jurists. Ibn Babuyah himself wrote a legal manual (entitled *al-Muqni'*), and was followed in this by a succession of Imami scholars in the eleventh century. Around this time, there emerged Imami works of legal theory *(usul al-fiqh)*, the earliest extant being al-Sharif al-Murtada's (d. 436/1044) *al-Dhari'a*.

The centers of Imami learning were Baghdad and Qum. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the town of Hilla in southern Iraq also became an important center of Imami scholarship. Two jurists in particular further developed a distinctive Shi'i *usul al-fiqh*. In Shi'i *usul*, as in Sunni legal theory, there were four sources. The first was *al-Kitab* (*The Book,* that is, the Qur'an), though it was best understood when interpreted by the Imams. The second was *Sunna* (the example of the Prophet), though this included the example of the Imams, since they were the embodiment of the Prophet's will. The third was *ijma'* (consensus), though this was only valid if the Imam's opinion was included. The final source was *al-'aql* (reason), the natural human faculty that recognizes good and evil. The Imamis rejected the Sunni principle of *qiyas* (analogy), labeling it a "tool of Satan." Early Imamis also rejected *ijtihad*, the exegetical effort of the individual jurist to find an answer to a legal problem. There was no need to perform *ijtihad,* because there were sufficient statements of the Imams *(akhbar)* to guide the community. As time passed, Imami jurists realized that the *akhbar* were not really sufficient for developing the law, and so they introduced *al-'aql* as the fourth source of law and legitimized *ijtihad*. The jurists could not do without these tools in their search for the law. Imami law manuals (*mukhtasars* and more expansive works of *fiqh*) outlined the law in a manner very similar to that found in Sunni works. There are some significant differences though. The fact that Fatima, the Prophet's daughter, was the line through which the Prophet's descent was traced meant that the agnate and cognate relatives were considered equal in Imami inheritance law. The Imamis permitted a form of temporary marriage (*mut'a*, the "marriage of pleasure") disallowed by the Sunnis. There was to be no *jihad* during the occultation, as there was no Imam to lead it. The validity of Friday prayers, the collection of taxes, and the implementation of legal punishments were matters of dispute among Imamis well into the modern period. In the fourteenth century, al-Shahid al-Awwal ("the First Martyr," d. 786/1384) wrote his *al-Lum'a*, an extremely brief summary of Imami law. His advocacy of juristic authority and the right of scholars to interpret the revelatory texts was challenged by Imamis in the seventeenth century, but his approach continues to dominate Imami legal curricula today.

The Zaydis also developed a sophisticated tradition of legal literature. In particular, the Yemeni Zaydi state, formed by al-Hadi ila al-Haqq in the late ninth century, served as a center for Zaydi legal development. Al-Hadi was the grandson of the great Zaydi scholar al-Qasim b. Ibrahim (d. 246/860), and he developed his grandfather's teachings into a school of law, himself writing works of *fiqh*. The "Hadawi" school, as it became known, remains authoritative for Yemeni Zaydis today, and central to its teaching is the work of *fiqh Kitab al-Azhar* by Ibn al-Murtada (d. 840/1437). This latter work and its commentary serve as reference points for Yemeni law, even after the end of the Imamate in 1962. For Zaydis, any member of the *ahl al-bayt* who is a scholar can rise up and become Imam. The Imam is a legal authority because he has had political success. This is in contrast to the Ismaili and Imami views, for whom the Imam is a legal authority whether or not he holds political power.

ROBERT GLEAVE

See also al-Allama al-Hilli; al-Tusi; Ja'far al-Sadiq; Muhammad b. al-Hasan; Qadi Nu'man; Shi'i Thought; Shi'ism

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SHI'I THOUGHT

It is commonly said that Twelver Shi'ism is based on five principles. The first three, called "principles of the religion," are fully shared with the Sunnis: to believe in the uniqueness of God; to believe in the mission of the prophets and, in particular, in the mission of Muhammad; and to believe in the existence of reward and punishment in the afterlife. The two remaining principles, the so-called principles of the school (that is, of Twelver Shi'ism), are to believe in Divine Justice and to believe in the principle of the imamate. This

list, however, comes not only from a later date (seventeenth or eighteenth century) but is also extremely reductive. A look at ancient texts and at the founding sources of Shi'ism shows that things are far more complex.

Scriptural Sources

Like the Sunnis, Shi'is recognize two scriptural sources: the Qur'an and the Hadith, but definitions differ greatly in both trends. In Sunnism, the Hadith is what is called "the prophetic tradition" (that is, the sayings, sentences, and, at times, behaviors attributed to Muhammad), conveyed through texts of varying lengths and transmitted via a chain of transmitters made up essentially by the Companions of the Prophet. These traditions are collected in a number of compilations, which the Sunnis concluded to be "authentic."

For Shi'is, the Hadith is not limited to the Prophet. It is made up of the sayings and attitudes attributed to the "Fourteen Impeccables," that is, Muhammad, his daughter Fatima, and the Twelve Imams. Thus the Shi'i Hadith is broader than the Sunni Hadith. Further, when it comes to transmitting the hadith, Shi'is heed no one but the Impeccables. They therefore reject the testimony of the Companions and the authenticity of the Sunni compilations. The hadith can be transmitted only by an Impeccable, particularly an Imam. Moreover, the Shi'is began to create their own compilations of hadith; the oldest to reach us were written between AH 250 and 350/864 and 961 CE. The corpus thus created is enormous, with thousands of pages and hundreds of thousands of traditions. Obviously, the hadith collections played a key role in the creation, consolidation, and development of the doctrines. Their authors are regarded as champions of the faith and are highly respected. It is, for the most part, thanks to them that Shi'ism was able to become one of the most powerful religious trends of Islam. It is worth noting that the majority of these ancient compilers came from the two great Iranian cities of Qumm and Rayy: al-Barqi, Saffar al-Qummi, 'Ali ibn Ibrahim al-Qummi, al-Kulayni al-Razi, al-Nu'mani, and Ibn Babawayh al-Razi.

As for the Qur'an, Sunnis recognize as official vulgate the Qur'an we know today, the one that Muslim tradition eventually introduced as having been written under the reign of the third caliph 'Uthman (r. 24–35/644–656).

For the Sunni "orthodoxy," this "'Uthman Collection" represents (chronology of the revelations aside) the faithful and complete reproduction of the divine Word "descended" upon Muhammad. For Shi'is, however, as shown through texts as sacred as the hadith of the Imams, the 'Uthmanian vulgate is but a falsified, altered, and censored version of the Revelation made to Muhammad. The original, complete version, which was three times bigger than the known vulgate, included explicit passages on the holiness of 'Ali's rank and the Imams who descended from him. Those who pushed him away from power, in this case the first three caliphs and their followers, could not tolerate this original version, which they rejected because they denied 'Ali to be the only legitimate successor of the Prophet. The "integral Qur'an" thus stayed with 'Ali and was secretly transmitted from Imam to Imam, up to the last one who took it with him in his Occultation. Therefore it will only be revealed to all, as will the original version of the other Holy Scriptures, with the coming of the Mahdi at the End of Times.

Following the definitive introduction of Islamic orthodoxy and orthopraxy by the end of the third/ninth century, and the fact that from rite to institutions, including basic dogma, the foundations of the religion were from then on justified by the 'Uthmanian vulgate, the belief in its falsification was becoming truly dangerous. Indeed, from the mid-fourth/eleventh century, Shi'is would start abandoning the falsification doctrine *(tahrif)* by questioning the authenticity of the traditions that supported it and by adopting a stance similar to that of the Sunnis with regard to the official Qur'an. Ibn Babawayh (d. 381/991) seemed to have been the first great author to have adopted this stance, which would become the prevailing one in Shi'ism. Yet there still were some important but isolated authors who supported the veracity of the hadith about the falsified nature of the vulgate, from Ibn Shahrashub and Tabrisi in the sixth/twelfth century, Majlisi and Sharif 'Amili in the eleventh to twelfth/seventeenth to eighteenth centuries, up to the great religious authority of modern times, Mirza Husayn Nuri (d. 1902).

Doctrinal Specificity of Shi'ism

What is the doctrinal specificity of Shi'ism, as it appears through the teachings going back to the Imams or through the citations of the "complete Qur'an," which is found in the enormous corpus of the hadith? What makes Shi'ism stand out within the many religious trends of Islam? Its characteristic lies in the notion of the person of the "guide" represented by the Imam. The person of the Imam is the true hub around which revolves the entire Shi'i doctrine. From

theology to ethics, from law to Qur'anic exegesis, and from cosmology to rites and eschatology, all the articles of faith are determined and given meaning only by the Imam. Shiʿism specifically developed around a double vision of the world. The person of the Imam, in its many meanings, is ubiquitous.

Dual Vision

Any reality, from the highest to the most trivial, has two levels: a manifest, exoteric level *(zahir)* and a secret, esoteric level *(batin),* which is hidden under the manifest level. This fundamental creed operates within the different religious disciplines. First, in theology: God Himself has two levels of being. First is the level of the Essence, forever elusive. This is the absolute Unknowable, the forever hidden face of God. If things were to remain on that level, no relation would ever be possible between the Creator and the created. So God, in his Goodness, hatched another level within His own Being: that of the Names and Attributes through which He reveals Himself. This is the exoteric level of God, of the Unknown that yearns to be known. The Divine Names act in creation through "vehicles," "divine Organs" that are as many places of God's manifestations, as many theophanies.

The theophany par excellence, the highest point of the revelation of the Names of God, is a metaphysical being that Shiʿi literature (depending on authors and eras) has called Imam in heaven, ʿAli in heaven, Imam of Light, Cosmic Man, among others. It is the Imam (with a capital letter) in its full and universal ontological meaning. Knowing its reality is thus equivalent to knowing what can be known in God, since the true revealed God, that which manifests all that can be manifested in God, is the cosmic Imam. In turn, he too has a hidden dimension and a manifest level. His esoteric level is precisely his metaphysical, cosmic aspect. His exoteric, or apparent level, his point of manifestation, is the historical imams (with a lower case letter) from the different cycles of the Sacred History. Here we are getting into prophetology.

For Shiʿis, each great prophet is accompanied in his mission by one or more Imams. They all make up the long chain of the Friends of God *(wali, pl. awliya')*, who carry and transmit the divine Covenant *(walaya)*, a key word in Shiʿism that refers among other things to the nature and function of the Imamate. They are the points of manifestation of the cosmic Imam, his revealed face. Knowledge of God thus begins with knowledge of the man of God or, more precisely, of the Man–God because theophanic man, the ultimate mystery of the Shiʿi doctrine.

The Word of God, the Revelation, also has a double dimension. Its exoteric dimension, its letter *(tanzil),* is brought by the Prophet to the faithful. Its hidden, esoteric dimension, its spirit, or, more exactly, its spiritual hermeneutics *(ta'wil)*, is taught by each prophet's Imam to a minority of initiates. Those initiates of the Imam's teachings thus make up the "Shiʿis" of each religion. The historical Shiʿis, in Islam, are therefore presented as the last link of a long initiatory chain that goes back to Adam, first man and first prophet.

Dualistic Vision

Next to this dual vision of the world also lies a dualistic vision of History. The history of creation is that of a cosmic battle between the forces of knowledge and the forces of ignorance. Since the primeval battle between the cosmic Intelligence and the cosmic Ignorance described in the cosmogonic traditions, this war has been waged from age to age, opposing the imams and their initiates on one side to the "enemies of the imams" and their followers on the other. This universal fight will end only with the coming of the Mahdi at the End of Times and his definitive victory over the powers of Evil. Indeed, according to the Shiʿi Hadith, because of the usurpation of power by the "imams of injustice," the birth of each religion is accompanied by the formation in each community of a "majority" that, while being subjected to the letter of this religion, refuses even to believe in a spirit hidden behind the letter. This majority, ruled by ignorant people, thus amputates the religion from its most profound element. The enemy is then not necessarily the pagan or the nonbeliever, but the pseudo-faithfuls who reject the esoteric of the religion, the People of the exoteric *(ahl al-zahir)* who reject the initiatory teachings of the Imam. Complex cyclical reasons mean that contemporary humanity is still ruled by the forces of ignorance and that the initiates are but a threatened minority. This explains the need for discretion, for "keeping the secret" *(taqiyya)*, canonical duty for the Shiʿi initiate, to protect the mysteries of the teachings from those who are not worthy.

These two visions of the world determine the two constants of Shiʿi thought: the permanent initiation, provided by the Imams of each era to their faithful, and the perpetual fight between the Imams and their initiates on one hand and the forces of ignorance on the other. The first constant shows the spirituality of humanity; the second characterizes its history. The role of the Imam proves to be fundamental everywhere.

These doctrines are ubiquitous in the ancient corpus of the hadith and the different doctrinal chapters. They are inevitably tinged with esotericism, initiatory and mystical teachings, and even magical themes. They characterize what could be called the "nonrational original esoteric tradition," the prevailing tradition in Shi'ism up to the fourth/tenth century, which marked a great turning point in the historical evolution of Twelver Shi'ism. This century was indeed a crossroads for Islam in general and for Shi'ism in particular, because of two great events. The first great event is that it became the "Shi'i century" of Islam. With the Buyids in Baghdad (then the center of the 'Abbasid empire), the Fatimids in Egypt and in North Africa, the Hamdanids in Iraq and Syria, and the Qarmatians in Arabia and in the South of Iran, the most important regions of the Islamic empire were under Shi'i rule. To keep the then largely Sunni public opinion on their side, Shi'is (particularly the Buyids, who kept the 'Abbasid caliphs in place) attempted to move closer to Sunni orthodoxy, expunging or at least redefining the Shi'i doctrines deemed "heretic" or "heterodox." The second great event is that the fourth/tenth century was the century of the "rationalization" of Islam. Greek and Alexandrine works translated in Arabic during the third/ninth century were now assimilated by Muslim intellectuals seduced mostly by the logic and dialectical reason of Aristotelian tradition. Theologians and lawmakers found in it the best "weapon" for their endless arguments. The Shi'is, left without an Imam since the Occultation of the twelfth and last imam in 329/941, and with their sacred texts having many doctrines now deemed "irrational," were in an embarrassing position. Consequently, Shi'i theologian–jurists of the Buyid era, such as Shaykh al-Mufid and his followers al-Radi, al-Murtada, and Shaykh al-Tusi (fourth to fifth/tenth to eleventh century), who were inspired by the Mu'tazili (see Mu'tazilites) thought and collaborated more or less closely with the power in place, slowly took their distance from the original esoteric tradition up to its marginalization and the creation of the "rational, theologico-judicial tradition." It is within this tradition that the theologian–jurist, the Doctor of the Law, would gradually fill the empty space left by the imam, acquiring the privileges that were until then exclusive to the imam or his named delegate (that is, to lead collective prayers, apply legal sanctions, collect some religious taxes, and also declare holy war). This increasing power of the theologian–jurist on the political, social, and economic levels was done through the elaboration of three basic doctrines: the criteriological science of the hadith (which allowed them to do away with the ideologically embarrassing traditions by accusing them of inauthenticity), the practice of *ijtihad* (personal interpretation of matters of faith by the jurist, a concept explicitly forbidden by the Imams but rehabilitated by the scholars from the school of al-Mufid), and the concept of "collaboration with authority" (*al-'amal ma'a l-sultan,* theological definitions and justifications that allowed political activity also forbidden by the imams). This rationalist trend would be further developed by the scholars from the School of Hilla in Iraq, before and after the Mongol invasion of the seventh and eighth/thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It would reach its peak with the Shi'i "clergy" set up in Iran during the Safavid era (tenth/sixteenth century) and the proclamation of imamate Shi'ism as state religion. The doctrine of the "charismatic power of the jurist" *(walayat al-faqih)*, the central thesis of Khomeynism and the Iranian Islamic revolution, can thus be considered as the issue of a millennial process going from the rationalization of the Buyid era to the ideologizing of the modern era.

The original esoteric tradition was marginalized but did not disappear. Many of its doctrinal elements can be found in Ismailism, as well as in other Shi'i esoteric trends or even in Sufism. In Twelver Shi'ism, it had isolated important representatives during the Middle Ages: Ibn Shahrashub, Ibn Tawus, Irbili, Rajab al-Bursi, the philosophers from the school of Bahrayn, and the jurists from the traditionalist School (Akhbariyya). The Safavid era also saw the emergence of several trends of thought that proclaimed themselves to be faithful to the ancient tradition: some great names from the philosophical School of Isfahan and Shiraz (Mir Fendereski, Mulla Sadra, Muhsin Fayd Kashanî), from the traditionalist theologians (al-Jaza'iri, al-Bahrani), and from the masters of the great mystical Shi'i brotherhoods, which are still alive and active (Ni'matullahiyya, Dhahabiyya, Khaksr, Shaykhiyya).

Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi

See also Imam; Shi'ism

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SHI'ISM

Shi'ism is the oldest religious trend of Islam, given that what can be considered its early core goes back to the time when the problem of Prophet Muhammad's succession arose. The main minority of Islam, it is considered by the Sunni majority—also called "orthodox"—as the main "heterodoxy," if not "heresy," of the religion. Shi'is, on the other hand, regard their doctrine as the "orthodoxy" par excellence.

The Arabic term *shî'a* (party, members, faithfuls) got increasingly applied by antonomasia to what would have been the first of the religious-political parties of Islam, a party that was made up of those who claimed for 'Alî b. Abî Tâlib, cousin and son-in-law of Muhammad, and for 'Alî's descendants, the exclusive right to guide the community, on the spiritual level, as well as on the secular level. Indeed, after the death of the Prophet in AH 11/632 CE, two conflicting views of the crucial question of his succession clashed. A majority of Muslims, claiming that Muhammad never clearly named anyone to succeed him, resorted to the ancestral tribal tradition of electing a chief by which a counsel, made up of a few Companions of Muhammad plus the influential members of the most powerful Meccan tribes, chooses a wise man of respectable age. The choice fell on Abû Bakr, old Companion and one of the Prophet's fathers-in-law, who thus became the first caliph of the new community. His followers became the ancestors of those who would later be called Sunnis.

Opposite the Sunnis were the Alids, followers of 'Alî *(Shî'at 'Alî)*, who claimed that Muhammad had clearly and often named him as his successor, both by alluding to it and explicitly. They believed it could not be otherwise: How could the Prophet have left the question of his succession unsolved? Is it conceivable that he would have been so indifferent to the direction of his community to the point of leaving it in a state of hazy confusion? It would be contrary even to the spirit of the Qur'an, in which the great prophets of the past had their successors elected among the closest of their kins, those with the most privileged blood ties and who were initiated to the mysteries of their religion. It is true that the Qur'an calls for consultation in some cases, but never when it comes to the succession of the prophets, which remains an election of divine order. For those who would later be called Shi'is, 'Alî was the chosen heir, named by Muhammad and supported by the Qur'an. In this case, his youth, which was a dissuasive handicap for the beholders of the ancestral tribal customs, was of no importance. 'Alî is thus seen by the Shi'is as their first *imam* (leader, commander, chief). Referring to the true leader of the community, even if he does not hold the power, the person of the imam would become the key concept of the Shi'i religion, which never used the word "caliph" to refer to their Guide.

Shi'ism is thus as old as the dispute about the succession of the Prophet. Still, it cannot be reduced to it. Alid legitimism can only be seen as the beginning of vast doctrinal developments during which the key concept of the imamate as "prophetic legacy" would find multiple, complex meanings and would lead to the creation of varied branches within Shi'ism. These branches are characterized mostly by the line of historical imams, descendants of 'Alî, whom they regard as legitimate. New schisms and divisions would appear almost every time an imam died, and more than one hundred Shi'i sects and trends appeared during the first centuries of Islam. Three of them, still active today, can be thought of as the main spiritual families of Shi'ism: Zaydiyya, Isma'iliyah, and Twelver Shi'ism, which is by far the main branch.

Twelver Shi'ism (with twelve imams) is first of all based on the doctrine of the holiness of the Fourteen Impeccables (*ma'sûm*, as in "pure of sin," "infallible"): Muhammad, his daughter Fâtima, and the twelve imams. This group is where the Cosmic Imam manifests, as he himself manifests the Names and Attributes of God. The line of imams of the Twelver Shi'is is as follows. (The presumed sites of their grave are mentioned only to present the main holy places of Shi'ism.)

1. 'Alî b. Abî Tâlib (d. 40/661; mausoleum in Najaf, Iraq)
2. Al-Hasan b. 'Alî (d. 49/669; mausoleum in Medina, destroyed by the Wahhabites)
3. Al-Husayn b. 'Alî (d. 61/680; emblematic martyr of Shi'ism; killed and buried in Karbalâ, Iraq)

4. ‘Alî Zayn al-‘Âbidîn b. al-Husayn (c. 95/174; mausoleum in Medina, destroyed by the Wahhabites. Zayd, eponym of the Zaydiyya, was the son of the fourth imam)
5. Muhammad al-Bâqir (c. 115/732; mausoleum in Medina, destroyed by the Wahhabites)
6. Ja’far al-Sâdiq (d. 146/765; mausoleum in Medina, also destroyed. The fifth and sixth imams played a key role in the creation and development of Shi‘ism. Ja‘far is the father of Ismâ’il, eponym of the Isma’iliyya)
7. Mûsâ al-Kâzim (d. 183/799; mausoleum in Baghdad)
8. ‘Alî al-Ridâ (d. 203/818; mausoleum in Mashhad, Iran)
9. Muhammad al-Jawâd (d. 220/835; mausoleum in Baghdad)
10. ‘Alî al-Hâdî (d. 254/868; mausoleum in Sâmarrâ, Iraq)
11. Al-Hasan al-‘Askarî (d. 260/874; mausoleum in Sâmarrâ)
12. Muhammad al-Mahdî, the hidden imam and expected Savior of the End of Times. (According to the tradition, he occulted a first time after his father’s death in 260/874. During this ‘‘Minor Occultation,’’ which lasted until 329/941, he communicated with his faithfuls via four ‘‘representatives.’’ At this latter date, he declared in a letter that he would never again have a representative and that the time of the ‘‘Major Occultation’’ had begun. For the Twelvers, this Occultation is still going on and will last until the eschatological coming of the hidden imam, the living imam of our time.)

There are four great eras in the history of Shi‘ism, as follows:

1. The first era, from the first to fourth/seventh to tenth centuries, is that of the historical imams, who succeeded each other from father to son, and of their disciples—some of whom were the first Shi‘i thinkers. It ends with the beginning of the major Occultation. The end of this era is marked by the beginning of the systematic compilations of the hadîth in the main ‘‘hadîth schools’’ *(dâr al-hadîth)* of Qumm, Rayy (Iran), Kûfa, and Baghdad (Iraq), and especially by the compilers from the two Iranian cities.
2. A second era extends from 329/941 (end of the historical imams’ era) to the Mongol invasion in the mid-seventh/thirteenth century. The beginning of this era sees the continuation of the production of the great compilations and the development of the School of Baghdad, that of the rationalist jurist–theologians of the Buyid era: al Shaykh al-Mufîd and his disciples (Sharîf al-Radî and al-Murtadâ, al-Shaykh al-Tûsî). It is also the era of the great scholars of the sixth and seventh/twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such as Ibn Shahrâshûb, Fadl al-Tabrisî, and Ibn Tâwûs. It ends by the time of the great Iranian philosopher Nasîr al-Dîn al-Tûsî (672/1273) and his disciple, al-‘Allâma al-Hillî (726/1326), key figure of the theologico-judicial school of Hilla in Iraq.
3. The third era begins with Nasîr al-Dîn al-Tûsî, during the Safavid era, and the proclamation of Shi‘ism as state religion in Iran, and ends at the very beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century. The development of many schools of thought during this era heralded what would be called the Safavid Renaissance: the continuators of the school of Hilla, the philosophers from the School of Bahrayn, and also the great mystic thinkers, nourished by a Shi‘ism enriched with classic Sufism and the mysticism of Ibn ‘Arabî (Sa‘d al-Dîn Hamûnyî, Haydar Âmulî, Rajab al-Bursî, and Ibn Abî Jumhûr al-Ahsâ‘î).
4. The fourth and last era extends from the accession of the Safavids to today. This era saw the creation of a Shi‘i theocracy, gradually organized into a true ‘‘clergy,’’ initially set up by the Doctors of the Law invited from Syria or Bahrayn to legally justify Safavid power. Members of this clergy came from the ancient rationalist school of jurists *(mujtahid usûlî)*. They slowly gained great social, political, and economic powers through the gradual exercise of privileges traditionally reserved exclusively for the imams and their delegates namely designated (religious justice and enforcement of legal sanctions, leading of collective prayers, declaration of holy war, and collection of some religious taxes such as *kharâj* and *khums*). The 1978 victory of Khomeynism in Iran and the effective rise to power of the jurist–theologian is the direct consequence of this evolution.

In parallel, the Safavid Renaissance led to the emergence of powerful philosophy schools in the main Iranian cities (Isfahan, Shiraz, Sabzewar, Tehran) represented by eminent thinkers, such as Mîr Dâmâd (1041/1631) or Mullâ Sadrâ, and continuing until the thirteenth/nineteenth century. The traditional

philosophy still has a few notable representatives today: Hâ'irî Yazdî, Mutahharî, Abdol Karîm Sorûsh, and Mujtahid Shabistarî.

This is also the time of the compilation of the famous and enormous encyclopedia of Shi'i hadîth, *Bihâr al-anwâr*, by Majlisî the Second (d. 1111/1699) and of the emergence of the traditionalist judicial school of the Akhbâriyya in the twelth/eighteenth century. Lastly, mystic Shi'i societies began to develop in the eleventh/seventeenth century. First came the Ni'matullâhiyya and the Dhahabiyya, followed by the Khâksâr and the Shaykhiyya in the thirteenth/nineteenth century. Out of the schisms of the latter school came Babism, which in turn, after some division, led to the Baha'i faith. Despite the repression they endured during the first years of the Islamic revolution of 1978 in Iran, these societies still remain popular and active.

Today, Twelver Shi'is amount to about 120 or 150 million people, an uncertain number due to the unreliability of statistics in Sunni countries. Still, an estimate is not too difficult to assess: There are more than sixty million in Iran and almost as many, if not more, on the Indian subcontinent across India and Pakistan, who at times hide their doctrinal allegiance and are almost absent from official statistics. They also form a majority in Azerbaijan, Iraq, and Bahrayn. Communities of varied sizes can be found in almost all Sunni countries, especially in the Near and Middle East, Central Asia, and Afghanistan. Thus one can see that the number of 100 million touted by the media as being the total number of Shi'is, all faiths included, does not rest on solid ground. To obtain the total number of Shi'is, one would have to add to the Twelvers not only the Isma'iliyah and the Zaydiyya but also all other Shi'i groups that do not always reveal their names: Nusayris–Alaouites from Syria, Bektashis and Alevis from Turkey, and Kurdish Ahl-i Haqq. The correct number would seem to approximate 200 million.

MOHAMMAD ALI AMIR-MOEZZI

See also Imam; Shi'i Thought

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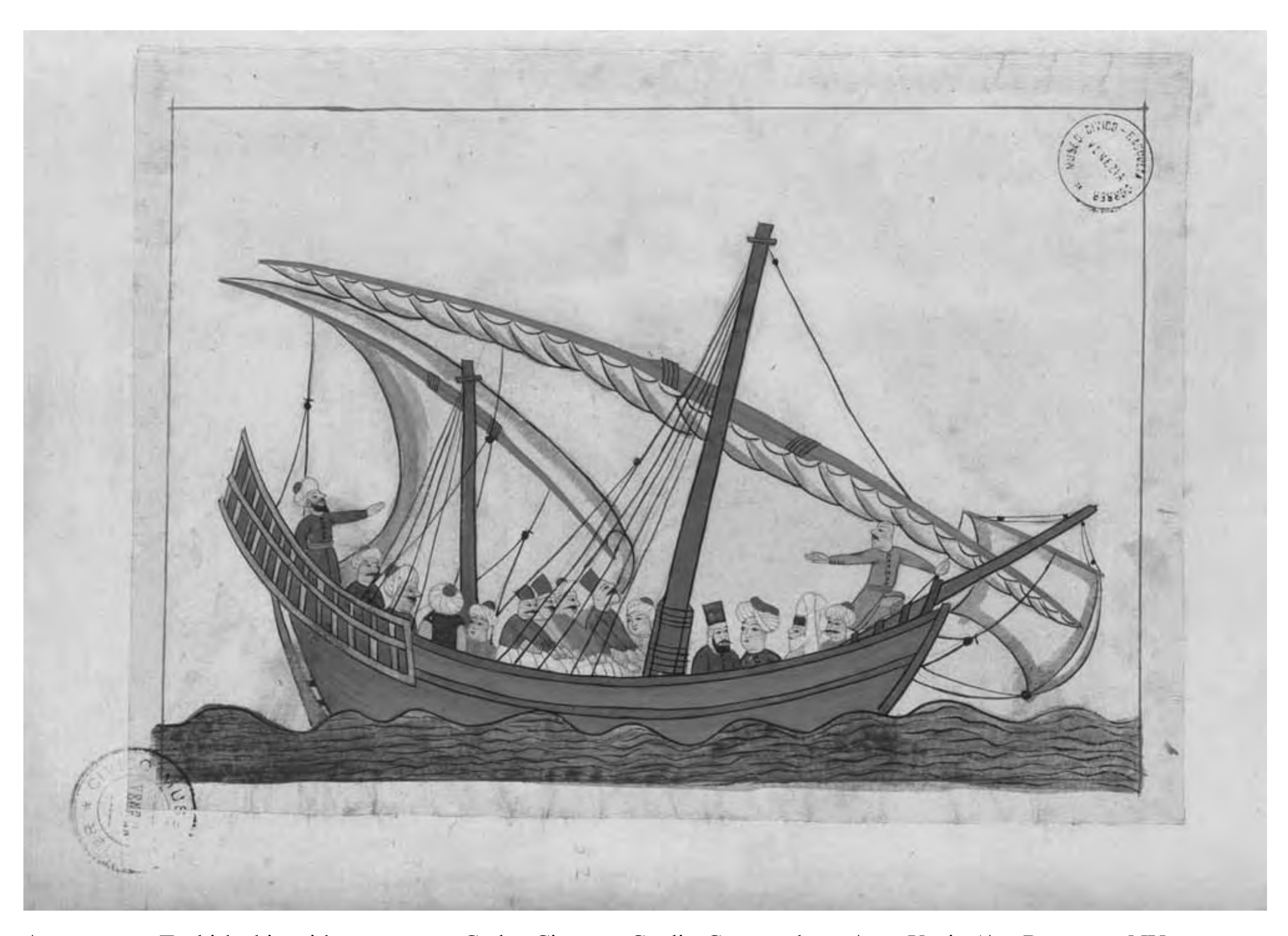
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SHIPS AND SHIPBUILDING

The ship occupies a unique position in the Islamic tradition. The *Qur'an* counts it among the *ayat* (miracles) of God and devotes twenty-eight verses enumerating its benefits to mankind. The generic Arabic words for "ship" that appear invariably in the classical Arabic sources are *markab* (lit., a conveyance or riding vessel), *safina*, and *law* (lit., a board or plank of wood); *fulk* (Ark), which is another term to denote a ship, is Qur'anic. It may be surmised that some of the variations are more linguistic than physical and that professional sailors and experienced sea travelers could appreciate the actual sailing characteristics of each type of vessel. A typical seagoing merchant vessel had to carry on board many anchors, appropriate hawsers and ropes, canvas and/or cotton sails, masts, oars, rudders, and draw bridges (for greater ease in embarking and debarking), in addition to nautical instruments, pilot books, and charts. Oversized vessels had to have service boats on board for the transport of goods to the quayside. Identical rules applied to ship sales and purchase contracts. Both parties to the contract had to specify the vessel's tackle and navigational instruments in the bill of sale. When signing a contract to lease a specific vessel for the conveyance of cargo, shippers were most concerned with the seaworthiness of the ship, besides other considerations such as the freight tariff. Seaworthiness of a ship was associated with the equipment and amount and proficiency of the crew it was required to carry. The design, structure, condition, and equipment of the ship had to be suitable for carrying goods of a particular kind and bringing them safely to their destination. Meaning, it had to be technically able to encounter the ordinary perils of the voyage. Concerning the crew, bringing the carriage into completion required a lessor to recruit a competent master and professional complement to navigate the vessel under various circumstances; a ship that was powered by unskilled mariners could certainly be regarded as unseaworthy.

The office of Islamic *muhtasib* (market superintendent) supervised, among other duties, the construction of ships at the shipyard and carriage by sea. The *muhtasib* was helped by assistants called *'urafa' al-sina'a* (arsenals' inspectors), whose main task was to insure the shipwrights' observance of technical standards and prevent them from using inferior and



Anonymous. Turkish ship with passengers. Codex Cicogna. Credit: Cameraphoto Arte, Venice/Art Resource, NY.

inadequate raw materials. Exacting and thorough inspections were carried out to avoid human and financial losses. Whoever violated these regulations was punished. While the ship was still in the yard, a comprehensive technical inspection had to be carried out by the *muhtasib* (*see* Markets), the captain, and the ship's scribe. Islamic law entitled sailors and lessees to not honor a leasing contract if a technical defect was discovered in the ship. The working hours of carpenters, including shipwrights, began late in the morning and ended before evening. Thus the inspection of commercial ships took place between sunrise and sunset, but not in the evening and prior to the loading processes. The amount of cargo the ship could properly carry was determined by the *muhtasib*. When the cargo was stowed and placed appropriately and the ship was ready to depart, an official examination to prevent overloading was requested by the *muhtasib*, or his representative, and the captain. The *hisba* manuals plainly state that "a ship can be freighted with cargo as long as the waterline (plimsoll) alongside the outer hull is visible." Islamic law requires that each ship be marked with a load line to indicate how deeply the ship could legally be submerged. The waterline mark along the outer hull could not lie more than a certain depth below the surface of the water. The provision against overloading was intended to prevent not only sinking but also the overexertion of the rowers.

Types, dimensions, and technical constructions of ships varied in accordance with their purposes and bodies of waters they plied. Nukhayli counts more than 150 nautical crafts, including river crafts, coasters, and oceangoing and seagoing vessels that differed in their structures. Recent underwater archaeological excavations off the Palestinian, Turkish, and French coasts have shed further light on the Islamic technology of shipbuilding from the seventh century CE onward. Material and written evidence show that the length-to-beam ratios of a typical size of commercial

vessel were usually 3:1 or 4:1, with a shallow keel and rounded hull; the wide beam relative to the length aimed to provide maximum storage for cargo. Shipwrights in the Islamic Mediterranean employed the skeletal-building method in all stages of the hull's construction. All the frames were in place before the wales and upper side planks were added. At some point after side planking began, the open area between the bottom and sides was covered with an odd configuration of strakes, at least three of which did not run the full length of the hull. When planking was completed, they were caulked with a mixture of pitch or tar. After all the floor timbers were in place, the keelson was bolted between the frames and through the keel at irregular intervals with two-centimeter-diameter forelock bolts. Then stringers were added to the floor of the hold, on which a removable transverse ceiling was placed. Next came the side ceiling, clamps, and deck beams. The major difference in the construction techniques and methods between the Islamic Mediterranean and the eastern part of the empire is in reference to planking. The ship's planks in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean were sewn together with ropes, while in the Mediterranean, iron nails were used. The lateen sail was a distinctive feature of the rig of Islamic ships in the Mediterranean.

The materials needed for shipbuilding were found within the Islamic domain. For instance, Egyptian shipwrights used different types of timber—lebek, acacia, fig, palm, and lotus, which were abundantly found in Egypt—in their arsenals. Later. and due to deforestation processes, cedar, pine, and other timbers were imported from Palestine, Lebanon, Asia Minor, and Europe. Furthermore, a closer look at the arsenals' locations prove that beyond strategic considerations, they were situated near forests and areas rich in mining.

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SIBAWAYHI

Abu Bishr 'Amr ibn 'Uthman ibn Qanbar, known as Sibawayhi, is the founder of Arabic grammatical science. Of Persian origin, he attached himself in the middle of the second/eighth century to a number of early authorities on the Arabic language in Basra, notably al-Khalil ibn Ahmad and Yunus ibn Habib. The dates of his birth and death are not known: He died perhaps in his early forties in around AH 180/796 CE, before Yunus (d. 182/798) but after al-Khalil, who died between 160 and 175/776 and 791.

His untitled treatise on Arabic grammar, known only as *Kitab Sibawayhi (Sibawayhi's Book)*, or simply "the Book", is the first systematic description of the language, and retains its unsurpassed authority to this day. It probably owes its survival to one of Sibawayhi's few students, al-Akhfash al-Awsat (d. between 210 and 221/825 and 835), who had his own copy of the work, which would become the basis of all subsequent versions, with one possible exception.

The *Kitab* falls into four sections, a group of seven introductory chapters setting out the main theoretical assumptions, then a long treatment of syntax (Chapters 8–284, completing the first volume as it is conventionally divided), with morphology occupying the bulk of volume two (Chapters 285–564), and concluding with seven chapters on phonetics (Chapter 565–571). The borderline between the last two is not as precise as it might be in modern linguistics and, in fact, many earlier chapters deal with what would now be called morphophonology.

The arrangement of the material, proceeding from syntax to phonology, is itself a statement of position, namely that language must first be described in its surface realization, as connected speech, *kalam*, before it can be further decomposed into its constituents in successively smaller units. Speech is therefore analyzed pragmatically as a social activity (the word *nahw,* "way [of speaking]", used frequently in the *Kitab*, later became the name of the science of grammar, but is ultimately only a synonym of *Sunna,* or "the [Islamic] way of behaving"). Hence the criteria for correctness are ethical in origin: an utterance is acceptable when it is both well-formed (*hasan*, lit. "morally good") and successfully conveys the intended meaning (*mustaqim*, lit. "morally right"). Only three parts of speech are formally identified: noun *ism*, verb *fi'l,* and meaningful particle *harf ja'a li-ma'na*, and their syntactical relationship is referred to as "operation" *('amal)*, in binary units consisting (mostly) of an active element (*'amil,* "operator") that assigns case to a passive element (*ma'mul fihi,* "operated on"). Sibawayhi names more than seventy such speech operations, and the concept is entirely unconnected with the Western notion of "governing." His morphological chapters cover the range of word patterns so thoroughly that scarcely anything has had to be added since, and his treatment of the articulation of Arabic sounds remains an invaluable source for the pronunciation of early Arabic.

Although Sibawayhi's debt to his masters is clear on almost every page, his originality is beyond question; as the first of its kind the *Kitab* is literally unprecedented, and we depend on it for our knowledge of grammar before Sibawayhi. After his death it took a couple of generations for the importance of the work to be recognized, but then its descriptive contents were quickly adapted for the prescriptive grammars needed to sustain Arab culture in its Islamic manifestation.

Michael G. Carter

See also Grammar and Grammarians

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SIBT IBN AL-JAWZI, SHAMS AL-DIN ABU'L-MUZAFFAR YUSUF B. QIZUGHLI

Sibt was a celebrated preacher and voluminous historian. He was born in Baghdad in AH 581 or 582/1185 or 1186 CE. His Turkish father was a freedman of ʿAwn al-Din Ibn Hubayra, the long-serving vizier of the ʿAbbasid caliphs al-Muqtafi and al-Mustanjid. His mother was a daughter of the famous Iraqi preacher and writer Ibn al-Jawzi, for whom Sibt (grandson) was named Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi (grandson of Ibn al-Jawzi).

Sibt is predominantly associated with Ayyubid Damascus, where he moved from Baghdad in AH 600/1203 CE, although circumstances sometimes forced him to leave Damascus for lengthy periods. In AH 603/1206 CE, he moved to Aleppo, apparently drawn by the patronage that the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Zahir extended to religious and literary scholars. Sibt remained in Aleppo for two years, breaking his stay in AH 604/1208 CE to make his first pilgrimage to Mecca via Mosul and Baghdad.

Two years after his return to Damascus, Sibt began his lengthy and significant association with al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa, then nominal ruler of the city for his father, al-Malik al-ʿAdil. Sibt's first meeting with al-Muʿazzam took place in the wake of his celebrated *daʿwa li'l-jihad* (call to holy war), which he delivered in the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus on AH Rabiʿ II 5, 607/September 26, 1210 CE. Producing a quantity of horses' hobbles made from human hair, he roused a number of the men present to cut their own hair, in a conventional gesture of ardent religious commitment. A military force was raised, with Sibt in the vanguard. After being met by al-Muʿazzam outside Nabulus in Palestine, the Muslims went on to the coast, where they pillaged some Frankish villages. Sibt remained in al-Muʿazzam's retinue for the next four years, accompanying him to Egypt in AH 609/1212 CE.

Sibt was not uncritical of his patron. In AH 615/1218 CE, after al-Muʿazzam had become ruler of Damascus, Central Syria, Transjordan, and Palestine on the death of al-ʿAdil, Sibt had occasion to rebuke al-Muʿazzam for his treatment of another scholar and friend of Sibt's. Nevertheless, Sibt left the Hanbali *madhhab* (Islamic legal school) for the Hanafi *madhhab*, which was the *madhhab* that al-Muʿazzam himself promoted. In AH 623/1226 CE, a year before his death, al-Muʿazzam appointed Sibt *mudarris* (professor) in the (Hanafi) Madrasa Shibliyya al-Barraniyya in Damascus.

Al-Muʿazzam was not the only Ayyubid ruler whose confidence Sibt gained. In AH 612/1215 CE,

he went to Akhlat in Armenia, at the request of al-Mu'azzam's brother al-Malik al-Ashraf, who deputized for their father east of the Euphrates River. Al-Ashraf wanted Sibt to look at a work written by the 'Abbasid caliph, al-Nasir. He then sent Sibt on a mission to al-Zahir in Aleppo. In AH 614–615/1217–1218 CE, he traveled extensively on behalf of al-Ashraf, who had tasked him with the supervision of the *khanqah*s (Sufi hospices) in his territory.

Sibt did not escape becoming embroiled in the disputes and rivalries that beset the Ayyubids after the death of Saladin. In AH 626/1229 CE, the new ruler of Damascus, al-Mu'azzam's son al-Malik al-Nasir Da'ud, asked Sibt to preach in the Umayyad Mosque against al-Malik al-Kamil, the ruler of Egypt, for treatising with the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II, and against al-Ashraf for acquiescing in al-Kamil's policy. Sibt delivered a stirring oration and issued a *fatwa* (religious ordinance) commanding the Damascenes to take up arms against the two Ayyubids. As a result, when al-Ashraf laid siege to Damascus and ousted al-Nasir from the city, Sibt followed al-Nasir to al-Karak, which the defeated prince had been given under the terms of surrender. He remained there until AH 633/1235 CE, when relations with al-Ashraf improved, and he was able to return to Damascus.

More trouble befell Sibt after the death of al-Ashraf in AH 635/1237 CE, and the accession to rule in Damascus of his immediate successor, al-Malik al-Salih Isma'il. The latter saw Sibt as belonging to the Egyptian camp, which was opposed to Damascus. For al-Salih Isma'il believed (erroneously) that, while in al-Karak, Sibt had persuaded al-Nasir to release from custody al-Kamil's son al-Malik al-Salih Ayyub. Al-Salih Isma'il was encouraged in this belief by his vizier, al-Samiri. Sibt left Damascus, apparently returning to al-Karak, where he remained for the next four years, with periods in Jerusalem and Nabulus.

In AH 639/1241 CE, he moved to Egypt, where he enjoyed good relations with the ruler al-Salih Ayyub, whom he had met in Jerusalem after al-Salih Ayyub's release from prison in al-Karak. Sibt returned to Damascus two years later, and resided in his adopted city until his death in AH 654/1256 CE.

While Sibt was soundly schooled in *hadith* (Prophetic Tradition), Qur'anic reading, and Arabic grammar, he was particularly esteemed as a *wa'iz* (preacher), and it is here that his career sheds revealing light on the intellectual procedures of the age, as well as on the man himself. A preacher would hold a *majlis al-wa'z* (preaching session) in the towns through which he passed, attracting and keeping audiences by means of a variety of skills: familiarity with the stories of ascetics and pietists; declamatory skill; ability to speak in *saj'* (rhymed prose); knowledge of *hadith*; knowledge of metonymy; repartee; and above all, a stirring voice. By all accounts, Sibt was well versed in each of these. The Damascenes would spend Friday night in the mosque, so that they might be assured of a place at the discourse, which Sibt used to deliver a session early on Saturday morning. His audiences would frequently be moved to tears by his words.

Sibt's most important written work is the *Mir'at al-zaman fi ta'rikh al-a'yan (The Mirror of Time in the Matter of the History of Notables)*. It is a lengthy, universal chronicle in eight parts. Where possible, the account of the events of each year concludes with the obituaries of people who died in that year. In this, Sibt followed the format of a chronicle written by his famous grandfather. The *Mir'at* is most valuable for its coverage of the events of the tenth and eleventh centuries, for which the sources include works that have been lost; and for the period of Sibt's own lifetime, where it offers an eyewitness view, especially of events in Ayyubid Syria, in which the author was often personally involved. The *Mir'at* was much drawn on as a source for subsequent histories.

The text of the *Mir'at* has survived in two ways: in manuscripts containing or based on parts of Sibt's own working draft; and in the manuscript of an abridgement of the work made by a Syrian historian of the next generation, al-Yunini. Printed editions have been published of that part of the *Mir'at* covering the years AH 448–480/1056–1087 CE, and of the period between AH 495/1101 CE and Sibt's death. Part of the latter has been translated into French.

David Morray

See also Ayyubids; Damascus; Historical Writing; Madrasa

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SICILY

The history of Muslim Sicily begins at the court of Ziyadatallah in 827, the autonomous Aghlabid ruler of Ifriqiyya. Faced with a restless and rebellion-prone army, opposition from Kharijite Berber tribes, a disenfranchised urban poor, and a hostile and critical ulema, Ziyadatallah found a solution to his problems, in the form of an external enemy. Using information from a renegade Sicilian Byzantine general (Euphemius) concerning Muslim soldiers being illegally held captive in Sicily, and galvanized by his chief judge, Asad Ibn al-Furat, eminent jurist and politically astute advisor, Ziyadatallah invaded Sicily with all the legal justification and military pageantry of jihad he could muster.

The Muslim era of Sicilian history, until the Norman Conquest was completed in 1091, was dominated by jihad. The first hundred years witnessed offensive jihad against the Byzantine forces supported by the emperors in Constantinople and the local Christian population. The latter years were marked by a defensive jihad as the Sicilian Muslims resisted the armies of the North. Jihad also had a major impact on the economy. The massive flow of booty, gold, silver, slaves, horses, and land made Muslim Sicily a powerful and wealthy state where trade and local industries, shipbuilding, arms manufacturing, textiles, and agriculture flourished. Politically, jihad was the dominant issue in acquiring, maintaining, or losing the power and legitimacy to rule.

The dynastic history of Muslim Sicily may be divided into the Aghlabid, Fatimid, and Kalbid periods. The Aghlabid period (827–909) is characterized by the long and difficult process of offensive jihad and close ties and dependence on the rulers of Ifriqiyya for manpower, arms, and logistic support. The invading army, under the command of Asad Ibn al-Furat, arrived in Mazara in 827 and captured Palermo in 831. The following decades were spent consolidating control over the central and southeast of the island where the Byzantines relocated their headquarters in Enna and Syracuse. The Northeast would not fall into Muslim control until after the fall of the Aghlabids. The Fatimid period of Sicily (909–944) saw no discernible change in the thrust, direction, and policies of the jihad movement. The new Shi'i rulers of Ifriqiyya expended vast resources on Sicily as a base to expand their naval and mercantile powers in the Mediterranean. They appointed trusted servants to rule the island, especially among the Kutama Berbers, and made efforts to spread the doctrines of their mission *(al-da'wa)* to a predominantly Maliki Sunni Sicilian populace. A violent four-year insurrection (937–941) launched by the Sicilian Muslims against their Fatimid governor, Salim Ibn Rashid, and his Ifriqiyyan-appointed backup, Khalil Ibn Ishaq, coincided with Fatimid efforts to conquer Egypt in their quest for the grand prize of Baghdad. Gradually, the island was granted greater autonomy in the appointment of al-Hasan ibn 'Alı al-Kalbı, whose father died during the uprisings in Agrigento in 938. When al-Hasan was recalled to al-Mahdiyya in 953, he left the duties of ruling Sicily to his son Ahmad, creating a dynastic process that would remain intact throughout the rest of the century.

The Kalbid period of Sicily (944–1044) enjoyed a period of political stability, economic expansion, cultural florescence (architecture, poetry, and scholarship), and military security. The Byzantines were held in check and the last Christian strongholds in the northeast of the island, not to mention fortress towns in Calabria and Apulia in southern Italy, fell under Muslim control. Kalbid success reached a high point in the rule of Abu al-Futuh Yusuf (989–998). But a stroke left him partially paralyzed in 998, and the rule of his son and successor, Ja'far, was challenged by Yusuf's second son, 'Ali, with the support of Kutama Berber factions and the slave corps. Ja'far crushed the revolt, executed 'Ali and the slaves, and expelled the Berbers from the island. As a precaution against further disturbances, Ja'far rebuilt his military forces conscripting only Sicilian troops. Ja'far's harsh policies, his illegal taxation on Muslim land and produce, and his mistreatment of members of his own family—princes themselves who were supported by entourages of wealthy and influential clients—eroded his base of support in Palermo. The Sicilians deposed him and would have executed him had it not been for the intercession of Yusuf.

A third son, Ahmad al-Akhal, pitted the Sicilians against each other, reopening festering wounds between the Arabs of Palermo and the Berbers of Agrigento on the one hand, and the old-guard "Sicilian" landed gentry against the more recent generations of "North African" immigrants on the other. This wrought devastating results, drawing energy and resources away from the jihad and tearing the threads of unity that held the Muslim Sicilians together. The political fragmentation of the island paved the way for the Norman invasion. Despite attempts by the Zirid Court in Ifriqiyya to rescue Muslim Sicily from the clutches of the Christian Reconquest, the enmity among the island's petty warlords was too strong. Abu al-Futuh Yusuf's fourth son, Hasan al-Samsan, was deposed in 1044, and in 1055, Ibn al-Thumna, warlord of Syracuse and Noto, offered the Normans a deal to deliver the island to them in exchange for their assistance in avenging his enemies. This final act of treason, reminiscent of the Byzantine renegade Euphemius two centuries earlier, who opened the way for the Muslim entry into Sicily,

paved the way for the Normans to take their turn as Sicily's new rulers.

The intellectual and cultural history of Islamic Sicily developed along the lines of those in Ifriqiyya and al-Qayrawan. Sicilian religious life was predominantly of the Sunni-Maliki sect, and its secular culture imitated the Arabo-Islamic mainstream, sharing features with both North African and Andalusian cultures. An "indigenous" Sicilian Islamic specificity came into its own and flourished at the Kalbid court in the middle of the tenth century. The academic journey *(al-rihla≈)* played a pivotal role in Sicilian Muslim scholarship and, along with commerce, war, and pilgrimage to Mecca, was instrumental in the import and export of knowledge and cultural influences to and from the island. The later Norman synthesis, the historical appellation for the great cultural eclecticism of the courts from Roger II to Frederick II in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, sprouted in good part from the seeds of Arabo-Islamic institutions that were sown in this period.

The education of Sicilian Muslims was based upon a tripartite of Arabic language, religion and ethics, and Islamic law. Sicily resembled Ifriqiyya in the composition and diversity of its religious and scholarly life. As military society evolved into a more civilian society, Sicily's institutions developed in new directions. It expanded beyond the fortress or fortified monastery to include private homes with extended mosque complexes for worship and education, pleasure palaces, and government complexes with adjoining shops and factories. Islamic legal studies, as elsewhere, evolved into a complex of subjects including methodological literature and speculative theology that assumed a degree of rationalist thinking. The study and practice of piety and asceticism gave way to a more sophisticated Sufism as a field of inquiry.

Language studies branched out into its many subsets, and poetry as entertainment became the subject of linguistic, historical, and aesthetic investigation. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, Arabic language and linguistic studies (Ibn al-Birr, Ibn Makki, Ibn al-Qattafi), as well as poetry and *belles-lettres,* competed with the traditional Qur'anic disciplines. This cultural florescence owes a great deal to the Fatimids who, through political acumen, tolerance, farsightedness, and patronage of learning, allowed the natural processes of Sicilian Islam to follow natural courses.

William Granara

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SILK ROADS

Silk Roads was a popular name for the premodern system of trade routes by which goods, ideas, and people were exchanged between major regions of Eurasia, mainly between China, Central Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. The name can denote both land and sea routes, but this survey concentrates on the land routes (for sea routes, see Trade, Indian Ocean).

More specifically, the term *Silk Roads* denotes the roads leading from North China via the Gansu corridor westward. In the Gansu corridor the road is divided in two—the northern route, passing north of the Tianshan to Semirechye, and the southern route, leading from south of the Tianshan via the Tarim basin, again splitting into two routes passing north or south of the Taklamakan Desert. The northernmost route went either west to Khwarazm and Eastern Europe, or southwest via Transoxiana to Khurasan and Iran. Of the southern routes, one led via Farghana to Transoxiana and Iran, and the other through Balkh to India or Iran. From Iran the Silk Roads continued either to Iraq and the Middle East or to the Black Sea, Anatolia, and Western Europe.

Silk was a major good carried along these roads, due to its high value and small weight, but many other goods also traveled along the way. These included other kinds of cloth and clothing; precious metals and stones; furs, hides, and animals; porcelain; glass vessels; foods of various kinds; spices; exotica; and slaves. While the lucrative items often traveled the whole route, an important segment of the trade was in necessities, usually carried for shorter distances, often along north–south routes between nomads and sedentaries. This was made possible as the commerce was normally one of multiple resales, and up to the Mongol period individuals rarely traversed the whole route. A major part in the trade was therefore taken by people living not in its ends (China, Europe, the Middle East) but along the way, mainly in Central Asia. With the gradual political and religious expansion of Islam into Central Asia, Muslim merchants

became major actors in the Silk Roads trade, supplanting the Soghdians, Jews, and Uighurs who were active in the early centuries of Islam. The profit was lucrative enough to bring prosperity to the medieval cities of Central Asia and to cause numerous wars for control of the region.

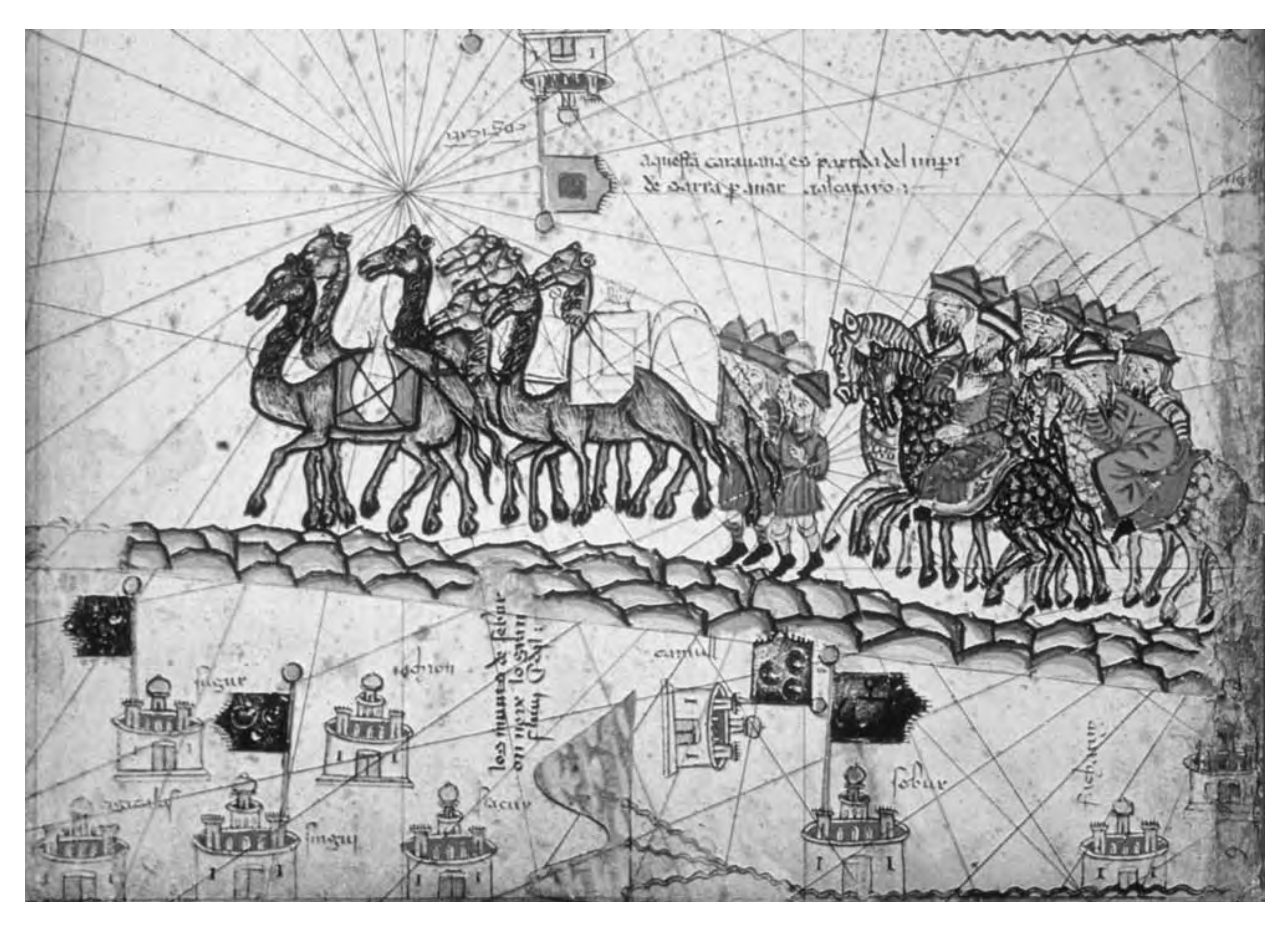
Despite the importance of the Silk Roads exchange to the history of the civilizations bordering it and to world history in general, we know little about the actual commerce, as both literary and archaeological sources are scanty. Yet camels were the main vehicles of the merchant caravans, who traveled at a pace of 12–30 kilometers per day, staying the night in the caravanserais, which supplied lodging, food, and a place for negotiations. The building and maintenance of the routes and the caravanserais was often the work of individuals, but sympathetic governments who helped to secure the roads did much to enhance the trade. While barter was not unknown, most of the trade was monitarized, and credit letters and cheques were highly developed, at least from the tenth century. Most traders worked as individuals but enjoyed connections with their coreligions or coethnics along the roads. Some used different kinds of partnership to secure capital and minimize the risk to their investments.

Chronological Survey

The Silk Roads had been active long before Islam appeared in the Middle East. The rise of Islam coincided with one of the flourishing periods of the Silk Roads, initiated by the rise of the Turkic empire (sixth to eighth centuries), and accelerated with the consolidation in China of the Tang dynasty (618–906), known for its cosmopolitanism. Tang China, whose elite was enthusiastic for Iranian and Central Asian foodstuff, clothing, furniture, and entertainment, maintained close connections with the Sasanid empire. Indeed, the last Sasanid rulers tried to find refuge there when the Arabs conquered Iran in the mid-seventh century. In the seventh to mid-eighth centuries, Tang China also controlled important segments of the Silk Road, mainly the Tarim basin and Semirechye, and extended certain sovereignty even to Transoxiana, mainly on the expense of the Western Turks. Yet most of the commercial relations by the rise of Islam were conducted by the Soghdians, an Iranian people originating in Soghd (Transoxiana), who at least from the fourth century AD built trade diasporas along the roads: in Semirechye, the different oasis of the Tarim basin, in China proper, and even in North India.

Islamic expansion into the Silk Roads began with the campaigns of Qutayba b. Muslim, the Umayyad governor of Khurasan (705–715), who conquered Transoxiana and Farghana with their commercial centers. It is uncertain whether Qutayba tried (but failed) to reach Kashgar, one of Tang's westernmost strongholds and a major station on the Silk Roads, but apparently he initiated the sending of embassies to China, which continued throughout the Umayyad period. Though probably not initiated by the caliphs themselves, these embassies had both commercial and diplomatic functions. The mid-eighth century saw the one military clash between China and Islam. The battle of Talas (near modern-day Awlia-Ata, in Kazakhstan) in 751, a skirmish initiated by local interests of the governors of the newly established ʻAbbasid empire and of Tang China, became in retrospect a turning point that determined the future orientation of Central Asia as part of the Muslim and not of the Chinese world. Whether paper arrived to Central Asia earlier with Buddhist missionaries, or only with the paper makers the Muslims took captives in Talas, certainly the battle was influential in initiating a paper industry in Samarqand. The diffusion of this Chinese technology contributed significantly to the expansion of culture and knowledge in the Muslim world and, since it rendered bookkeeping much easier, it also promoted all branches of trade and banking.

The establishment of the ʻAbbasid dynasty (750–1258), whose center was in Iraq (as opposed to Umayyad Syria), combined with a growing demand for luxuries in Baghdad and Samarra, enhanced the importance of the eastern trade in the Muslim empire, though much of it was conducted by sea. The eighth and ninth centuries were also the time of the mysterious Rāhdāniya, Jewish merchants who allegedly traveled along the whole Silk Routes from Europe to China but specialized in connecting Europe and the Near East. Another profitable channel of this age was the commerce via Khwarazm with the Rus and Khazars in Eastern Europe, where Muslim silver *dirhams* were traded for northern furs, foods, and slaves. The demand for (mostly Turkic) slaves, who from the ninth century onward played an ever-growing role in Muslim armies, enhanced the land route traffic again. Its height was under the Samanids (888–999), who, from their capital in Bukhara, conducted trade networks that reached both China and Scandinavia. The Samanids closely controlled the extremely profitable slave markets, licensed slave traders, and levied dues on all sales. Muslim geographical works describe the fruitful commerce with Baghdad, the Turks north of the Jaxartes, and Eastern Europe via Khwarazm. Trade further East seemed to have been still conducted mainly by Soghdians or Uighurs (Turks who after 840 migrated from Mongolia to Gansu and the



Caravan crossing the Silk Road. Detail of the map of Asia, from the Catalan Atlas. Spain, Majorca. Fourteenth century CE. Photo: Dietmar Katz. Credit: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, NY. Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, Germany.

Tarim basin), though there is evidence of several embassies from the fringes of China that reached the Samanid court. Samanid military, economic, and cultural prestige, combined with their missionary efforts, also resulted in the expansion of Islam eastward into the Silk Roads, and in the mass conversion of whole Turkic tribes, later known as the Qarakhanids and the Seljuks.

The fall of the Samanids, and the division of their territory between the Qarakhanids and Ghaznavids, is usually considered the beginning of a decline in the Silk Roads trade, which continued until the rise of the Mongols. Yet cross-cultural contacts continued during this period, and with quite a significant scope, though the political fragmentation and the nature of the sources make it harder to follow them closely. The Qarakhanids (ca. 992–1213), who now ruled over significant parts of the trade routes (from Transoxiana to the Tarim Basin), maintained commercial and diplomatic relations with the contemporary Sinitic states, which rose after the fall of the Tang, especially with the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), to which they sent a first commercial mission already in 1008, and with the Khitan Liao dynasty (907–1125), with whom in the early eleventh century they even concluded matrimonial relations (unlike the Ghaznavids, who refused a similar offer of the Liao). Khotan, a city on the southern Silk Road in the Qarakhanid realm, also took an important part in the trade with the Tangut Xi Xia dynasty (1038–1227), who took over the Gansu corridor. It was in this period that Muslim merchants replaced the Soghdians as the dominant Silk Road traders. Under the rule of the non-Muslim Qara Khitai (1124–1218), fugitives from the Liao dynasty who took over Central Asia and became the Qarakhanids' and Uighurs' overlords, the commercial relations with the Xi Xia improved, and certain connections existed also with the more eastern states in China, among which at least the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279) also had maritime connection with the Middle East. Central Asian Muslim traders also had contacts with Genghis Khan's forefathers in

Mongolia, and many gained considerable wealth from the long-range trade.

The rise of the Mongol empire in the early thirteenth century begins the most flourishing and best-documented period in the history of the Silk Roads. The Mongols united the whole Silk Roads under their rule and protected them, but their contribution to its prosperity went much further. As shown by Thomas Allsen, the process of state formation among the nomads in itself stimulates trade through an increased demand for luxuries, especially fine cloth, needed to assert the new empire's authority. Genghis Khan was certainly aware of the benefits of commerce (which initiated his invasion into the Muslim world), and Muslim merchants were among his earliest supporters. Moreover, after the early conquests, Mongol elites, the main benefactors of the conquests' booty, became extremely wealthy. They provided both enthusiastic consumers for the best products of the sedentary world and major investors, who recycled their wealth by entrusting it as capital in the hands of their mostly Muslim commercial agents *(ortogh)*. The establishment of a Mongol capital, Qara Qorum, also promoted trade as the resources of Mongolia could hardly support such a big city (in Mongolian terms). It also led to the growing importance of the northern route of the Silk Roads, now shifted to include Qara Qorum. Even after the dissolution of the empire into four khanates in 1260, Mongol governments continued to promote both local and international trade, which provided taxes, markets, profits, and prestige. The khanates competed for commerce specialists, provided infrastructure for transcontinental travel, sometimes even by building new cities, and were actively involved in the manipulation of bullion flow. Yet traders were only part of the lively traffic along the Silk Roads in Mongol times. The formation of the empire, its continued expansion, and the establishment of its administration required a huge mobilization of soldiers and specialists throughout the empire. Mongol policy of ruling through strangers (for example, bringing Muslims to China and Chinese to Iran), originating in Mongol numerical inferiority and in their fear of potential local resistance, also promoted mobilization and cross-cultural exchanges. To secure the loyalty of these foreign strata, the Mongols aspired to give them "a taste of home," and therefore brought foreign food, medicine, and entertainment into different parts of their empire. Moreover, the Genghisids regarded human talent as a form of booty, and the different khanates competed for specialists and exchanged them to enhance their kingly reputations. The wide-range mobilization and the expanding trade led to frequent and continuous movement of people, goods, ideas, plants, and viruses throughout Eurasia. This in turn not only encouraged integration but also created means that facilitated further contacts, such as maps, multilingual dictionaries, and travel literature, and helped the diffusion of information and technologies, such as gunpowder and alcohol distilling. In the Muslim world the fruitful exchange of commodities, scientific knowledge, and artistic techniques, mainly between Iran and China, was widely felt. Mongol policies led to a considerable infiltration of Muslims into China, creating a firm basis for the modern Chinese Muslim community. Moreover, the Islamization of the Mongols in Iran, South Russia, and Central Asia brought about a massive expansion of Islam and made it by far the dominant religion along the Silk Roads.

With the collapse of the Mongol khanates from the mid-fourteenth century, the Silk Roads never regained their former importance. Indeed, they strived again under Tamerlane (r. 1370–1405), who from his base in Transoxiana tried to revive the Mongol empire and made concerted efforts to shift the trade routes into his realm (mainly on the expense of the more northern routes passing through the Golden Horde). Spanish, Ottoman, Mamluk, and Chinese ambassadors reached Timur's Samarqand, and the gunpowder technology was brought back to the East from Europe and the Ottomans. Yet the new political boundaries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, combined with the opening of a direct sea route to India and China by Western Europeans, the rise of Europe in general, and the waning of the nomads' power, initiated the decline of the Silk Roads. The land routes between China and the Middle East were marginalized, though new channels, mainly on the north-south axis connecting India, Central Asia, and Russia, as well as a fruitful regional trade, retained certain importance until the eighteenth century.

The Silk Roads were a major channel through which the medieval Muslim world enriched itself by purchasing Eurasian—but mostly East Asian—goods, knowledge, and technologies, most important among which were paper and gunpowder. They were also a major path for the expansion of Islam, which became the dominant religion along the Silk Roads.

MICHAL BIRAN

See also Bukhara; Camels; Cartography; Central Asia; China; Genghis Khan; Merchants, Christian; Merchants, Jewish; Merchants, Muslim; Mongols; Nomadism and Pastoralism; Road Networks; Samarqand; Slaves and Slave Trades, Eastern Islamic World; Spices; Tamerlane; Trade, African; Trade, Indian Ocean; Trade, Mediterranean; Transport; Transoxiana; Travel; Turkestan; Turks

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SINAN (1490–1588)

Sinan was the chief architect of the Ottoman court from 1538 until his death in 1588. He is known to have designed more than 450 buildings throughout the Ottoman empire, although the majority of buildings cluster around the imperial Ottoman capital of Constantinople (Istanbul).

Although other Ottoman architects are known by name, the number and quality of buildings attributed to Sinan make him preeminent not only among Ottoman architects but also a major figure in the history of world architecture. Sinan's significance as an architect was greatly enhanced by the fact that for most of his career he worked for the most famous Ottoman sultan, Sulayman the Magnificent (r. 1520–1566), whose career saw the expansion of the Ottoman empire throughout the Middle East and North Africa, and saw the Eastern Mediterranean becoming effectively a Turkish lake.

In view of Sinan's undoubted significance for the Turkish and Muslim culture, it is ironic that he was born in Salonika and brought up as a Greek Christian until the age of twenty-one, when he was recruited into the Janissary core. Nevertheless, it is clear that he embraced Islam wholeheartedly once he had entered Ottoman service. During these early years of service Sinan worked as a military engineer building and repairing bridges, forts, aqueducts, and cisterns. During the winter and when he was not on military campaigns, Sinan was involved in the construction of mosques, madrasas, and other religious buildings in the Ottoman capital. From the early 1530s, it is clear that Sinan had become an architect, and from 1538, the main architect of the Ottoman court. The list of buildings attributed to Sinan comes principally from three sixteenth-century works; *Tadhkirat al-bunyan* and *Tadhkirat al-abniya* by Mustafa Sa'i, and an anonymous work, *Tuhfat al-mi'marin,* that may have been written by Sinan himself. It is likely that for some of the buildings in this list, Sinan supplied no more than drawings and written instructions and that he did not oversee the work himself. It is unlikely that he was directly involved in the construction of Sulayman's pilgrimage complex (1554–1555) in Damascus and the Melek Ahmad Pasha in Diyarbakir.

Sinan's first major work was the construction of a mosque and *turbe* (mausoleum) commemorating Sulayman's son Mehmed, who died in 1543. The most remarkable part of the complex was the mosque, which, though employing traditional Ottoman forms based on a square domed box and derived ultimately from Orthodox churches, was revolutionary in its construction. The most notable feature of the Shehzade mosque was that it was flanked by four



Sinan the Great (1489–1588). Exterior. 1550–1577. Credit: Vanni/Art Resource, NY: Suleymaniye Camii (Mosque), Istanbul, Turkey.

semidomes instead of the usual two seen in mosques, such as the Bayazid II mosque (1501–1505), also in Constantinople. The Shehzade Cami was not the first mosque to use four semidomes, as this formula had been used previously by the Fatih Pasha Mosque (1516–1520) in Diyarbakir. However, the Shehzade was a different order of scale and sophistication. In the first place, Sinan pierced the supporting walls with successive tiers of arched windows, compensating for this with thick internal and external buttresses. This created a large, light, interior space that marked a departure from the mysterious dark interiors of many earlier Ottoman mosques. The change in architecture was also apparent on the exterior where the roof has a pyrimidical appearance with a high central dome flanked by semidomes, which in their turn are supported by smaller semidomes, each one tier lower. The massing of the domes is complemented by the four corner towers or minarets, which enhance the upward thrust of the building and detract from the heaviness of the roof system. Other early works by Sinan were the Mirimah Sultan Mosque at Uskudar (1540–48) and another mosque dedicated to Mirimah Sultan at Edirnekapi, also built during the 1540s. All three mosques share the same basic design principle of a central dome descending in curved surfaces (domes and semidomes) to near ground level, presenting a hierarchical order. Also, all three mosques have multiple fenestration set between tall relieving arches that admit plentiful light to the interior and on the exterior reduce the heavy appearance of the roofing system.

These three early mosques (the Shehzade, Edirnekapi, and Uskudar Mirimah Sultan mosques) may be seen as a preparation for Sinan's most famous building, the Suleymaniye, which was built between 1550 and 1567. The vast complex, built on a high hill overlooking the harbor, comprised more than fourteen different buildings arranged around the mosque, which still dominates the skyline of Istanbul. Sinan's first problem was to produce a design that overcame the sloping nature of the site without compromising the unity and order required in a complex of this size. The fact that Sinan was able to accomplish this is a testament not only to his architectural abilities but also to his skills as a civil engineer acquired during his earlier military career. The mosque that forms the

centerpiece of the complex was built to rival the former cathedral of Hagia Sophia, which had served as the architectural nucleus of Constantinople/Istanbul for more than a thousand years. Sinan's mosque adopted the same principle of a large central dome flanked on two sides by a series of smaller (and lower domes), though semidomes are used on the north and south (qibla) axis. Although the span of the central dome is slightly less than on the Hagia Sophia (twenty-six meters instead of thirty-two meters), the internal area appears larger because of the size of the flanking domes, which produce a vast covered area only interrupted by the corner piers supporting the main dome.

While the Suleymaniye is probably Sinan's most famous building, his masterpiece is probably the Selimiye in Edirne, built between 1564 and 1575. Like the Shehzade and the Suleymaniye mosques, the design of the Selimiye was characterized by the desire to achieve the maximum interior space. With the Selimiye, Sinan adopted a novel approach to increasing the internal space by supporting the vast central dome (thirty-six meters) on an octagonal system of eight piers. Sinan had already experimented with hexagonal plans in buildings such as the Sinan Pasha mosque in Besiktash (1555), the Semiz Ali Pasha mosque at Basaeski (1561–1565), and the Sokollu Mehmet Pasha Mosque (1570–1571) at Kadirga in Istanbul. The main advantage of the octagonal plan was that it was possible to build a larger dome spreading the downward thrust on eight piers instead of four. The other advantage of this system was that the weight resting on the curtain walls could be reduced, allowing an even larger number of windows creating a vast area lit by natural light. One of the problems of this design was that it reduced the emphasis on the qibla axis. Sinan compensated for this by setting the mihrab within a deep recess. The exterior of the mosque is equally impressive, with its four slender minarets, which attain a height never surpassed in Ottoman architecture. Also notable is the polychrome stonework of the exterior (in particular, the projecting mihrab recess), which provides a change from the somber stonework of the Sulemaniye.

The Selimiye was Sinan's last major work, although he continued to build a number of mosques that are evidence of his continuing architectural creativity. Examples of Sinan's later mosques include the Sokullu Mehmet Pasha Mosque at Azakapi (1578) and the Mesih Mehmet Pasha (ca. 1580), both of which use the octagonal base first used in the Selimiye.

Although from the 1540s, Sinan's name is mostly associated with mosques, he is also known to have designed secular and functional buildings such as the aqueduct at Maghlova that, with its two-tier design and diamond-shaped piers, displays unusual elegance.

Sinan is buried in a small plot decorated with a small, domed monument near the Suleymaniye mosque in Istanbul.

ANDREW PETERSEN

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SINDH

The word *Sindh* comes from the Sanskrit *sindhu*, with the meaning of "river, ocean." In the Middle Ages, Sindh was the southern part of the valley of the Indus River, which included the present-day province of Sindh, as well as the southern part of Punjab. Sindh was the first Indian territory to be conquered by a Muslim army led by Muhammad bin Qasim in 710–711.

When Muhammad bin Qasim invaded Sindh, he defeated Raja Dahir, son of the Hindu usurper Chach. According to architectural remains and Chinese pilgrims, southern Sindh was dominated by the Buddhists, while the north was under the control of the Shivaite school of the Pashupatas. The history of medieval Sindh is usually divided according to the different dynasties who ruled it. Up to the eleventh century, Sindh was ruled by governors sent by the ʻAbbasids from Baghdad, and after 372/983, by Fatimid governors from Cairo who settled in the city of Multan.

In 1010, a Somra leader, apparently from the Rajput stock, put an end to the Arab rule. The Somra dynasty, which may have converted to Isma'ilism, was succeeded in 1352 by the Sammas, another Rajput clan. The resistance of both the Somras and the Sammas opposed to the sultans of Dihli, for instance, ʻAla' al-Din Khalji in 697/1297, was to be the core of Sindhi literature. The sultan Muhammad Shah Tughluq, while in pursuit of a rebel governor, arrived in Sindh in 1351, where he died. He was buried in the *darbar* of La'l Shahbaz Qalandar. His cousin and successor Firuz Shah Tughluq (d. 1388) invaded Thatta twice, in 1365 and 1367. In the fifteenth century, after Tamerlane's (*see* Tamerlane [Timur]) invasion of the Indian subcontinent, Sindh was ruled by Central Asian dynasties, the Arghuns and the Tarkhans. The sixteenth century saw many disturbances in Sindh. First is the sack of the wealthy

city of Thatta by the Portuguese in 1555. Secondly, the Mughul emperor Akbar (1556–1605) sent his army to secure his control on Sindh, which was achieved in 1593. It is only in the seventeenth century that a new Sindhi dynasty seized power, the Kalhoras, replaced in 1783 by a Baluch dynasty, the Talpurs, which was to be defeated by the British in 1843.

There is no evidence the population of Sindh converted to Islam before the thirteenth century, when the Sufi *tariqa*s became well organized and efficient. More relevant is the question as to whether the people really converted to Islam when one knows that many Hindus were still affiliated to Muslim *pir* at the time of the British colonization. The main cleavage was more between Sharif (from external origin) and Desi (indigenous), than between Muslims and Hindus. The study of La'l Shahbaz Qalandar's pilgrimage, a thirteenth-century Sufi saint, in Sehwan Sharif, gives evidence that a consensus based on the *qalandar*'s charisma was reached among the different communities of Sindh, including the Hindus and the Muslims, as well as the Animists, and also the Sayyids and non-Sayyids. The Sufis, following the Ismailis, can be named as the great integrators who gave birth to Sindhi culture.

Persian was the language used by the chroniclers in Sindh. Vernacular literature appeared through the devotional poetry of Qazi Qazan (d. 1551). Even if the Ismailis claimed their own *pir* have composed their canticles *(ginan)* in the fourteenth century, Sindhi literature really began to flourish with Shah 'Abd al Karim (d. 1624), and his great-grandson Shah 'Abd al Latif (d. 1753). In his compiled work *Shah jo Risalo*, 'Abd al Latif uses Sindhi folk narratives for symbolizing the mystical quest. For him, there is no difference between the Hindu yogis and the Sufis, who are both seekers on the path of God. Makla, located in the neighborhood of Thatta, can be seen as a conservatory of the cross-cultural legacy of medieval Sindh. The mausoleums built by the different dynasties give a last evidence of the location of Sindh at a crossroads among Persia, Central Asia, and India.

MICHEL BOIVIN

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SINGING

The voice has always been central in Middle Eastern music. Very little is known about preIslamic singing or the songs of the common people, but early medieval Arabic texts describe the contemporary elite (court) tradition of vocal music in detail. Legal texts on the permissibility of singing and music and on the regulation of markets provide glimpses of the musical practices of the common people. (In Islamic tradition, recitation of the Qur'an and the call to prayer fall outside the category of "singing.")

The origins of the court tradition of music-making go back to pre-Islamic Bedouin songs (such as camel-drivers' chants) and other types of folk singing on the one hand, and to a lighter, more refined urban style performed by slavegirls on the other. In the Umayyad period, singers from the Hijaz assimilated elements of Sasanian, Byzantine, and possibly other traditions felt to be compatible with the Arabic musical idiom and the Arabic poetry, which furnished the lyrics. Singing became an art practiced by men and women, generally slaves or of humble origin, and appreciated by members of the ruling elite, including some caliphs. Vocal technique became more sophisticated, and singers took to accompanying themselves on the lute. Light-hearted love poems like those of 'Umar ibn Abi Rabi'a (ca. AH 23–93/644–712 CE) provided ideal lyrics for songs, and singers and poets often associated closely with each other.

With the music-loving caliph al-Mahdi's (158–169/775–785) invitation to singers to perform in Baghdad, vocal music acquired an established place at court. The singer, or *mughanni* (a term that also includes composition and accompanying oneself on an instrument), was expected to have an all-around culture and, in particular, to be well versed in the Arabic language and poetry, as well as being an agreeable and entertaining companion. He should possess a

fine, trained voice, have a good grounding in the theory of rhythmic and melodic modes, and be thoroughly familiar with the repertoire of songs. One key to success was the capacity to improvise; the modes of a setting were given, but skill in improvising on them and inducing a feeling of ecstasy *(tarab)* among the audience was an individual gift. The training of singers was very demanding, as can be seen from Ishaq ibn Ibrahim al-Mawsili's (150–235/767–850) account of his education. Some members of the governing elite were noted amateur singers and composers, as were a few rulers; the first such royal music-maker was the Umayyad caliph al-Walid ibn Yazid (d. 126/744 CE), the last the Ottoman sultan Selim III (d. 1808 CE).

Whereas most leading singers in the ʻAbbasid period were men, a few women were also famous composers. Most women singers, however, belonged to the category of singing-girls *(qaynas)*, who simply performed other people's songs. The best women musicians were acquired by the caliph, governors, or eminent dignitaries and lived a secluded life at court; less gifted ones entertained music lovers of humbler status. The owners of *qaynas* often derived profit not only from the girls' musical skills but also from their physical charms, and the dividing line between singing-girl and prostitute was not always clear. Women singers played an important role in preserving and handing down the repertoire.

Songs were performed in contexts from the highly ritualized to the informal. Singers might be summoned to the caliph's formal audience and asked to perform in turn; often a prize would be offered for the song that most appealed to the caliph. Or a singer would be expected to attend court on one particular day each week. The most informal gatherings, by contrast, were those of singers entertaining themselves and their friends. While many songs celebrated love, poems of praise and congratulation, elegies, wine poems, descriptions of nature, and even the occasional satires were also set to music. Regardless of theme, however, the lyrics never exceeded more than a handful of lines.

From the ʻAbbasid period on, singing was a part of court culture, with rulers and their ministers patronizing singers and writers of music. Some dynasties, such as the Fatimids, were particularly noteworthy for their patronage of singers. Where a class of wealthy merchants emerged, they, too, often encouraged forms of art music and singing. Regional traditions developed, for instance, in al-Andalus, where a suite form, the *nuba*, evolved with vocal pieces incorporating strophic *muwashshahat* and *zajals.* In the East the ʻAbbasid and Mongol court musician and theoretician Safi al-Din al-Urmawi (d. 693/1294 CE) was the author of an authoritative compendium on music, reflecting practice in Iraq and Persia, which was translated into Persian and Turkish. He mentions different kinds of songs, simple and more sophisticated, the latter being combined in suites *(nawbas)*. Safi al-Din's writings became the basis for musical practice in Persia and later the Ottoman court, which developed differently from that found in Egypt and Syria. One can thus speak of Persian and related Turkish traditions of singing distinct from the Arabic one in the later medieval period.

Besides the court and wealthy urban classes, certain Sufi brotherhoods that appeared from the twelfth century on preserved, transmitted, and contributed to the elite musical tradition. Mystical poetry, or poetry that lent itself to mystical interpretation—whether anonymous or by poets such as Ibn al-Farid (576–632/1181–1235 CE), Hafiz, Saadi, Rumi, or the Turkish Yunus Emre (d. 720/1320–1321 CE), was set to music and sung during *dhikr* ceremonies or "spiritual concerts," with the aim of inducing in the hearers a state of mystical ecstasy, the *hal*; the most famous ceremonies were and still are those of the Mevlevis. This Sufi musical tradition guaranteed continuity in the art of singing even during times of political instability, and in the Ottoman empire the Mevlevis played a role comparable to that of the court in fostering art music.

Finally, a specifically Iranian phenomenon was the chanting of Ferdowsi's *Shahnama* during physical-training sessions in what became known as the *Zurkhana,* or "house of strength."

Hilary Kilpatrick

See also Adab; Ferdowsi; Music; Musical Instruments; Mystical Poetry; Poetry; Women Poets

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SIRA

Sira, meaning "the way," is, for the student of Islam, synonymous with biography, and particularly the biography of the Prophet Muhammad. The *Kitab sirat rasul Allah*, which tells of the life of Muhammad from birth to death, is the title given by Ibn Hisham (d. AH 218/834 CE) to his edition of three compilations of traditions regarding ancient legends, Muhammad's birth, early life and mission, and the expeditions of Muhammad (d. 11/632) right up to the moment of his death, that had been brought together by the greatest compiler of 'Abbasid times Muhammad ibn Ishaq (d. 150/767) under the titles, *Mubtada', Mab'ath*, and *Maghazi*. On the other hand, biographical narratives on other historical personalities, such as *Sirat Mu'awiya*, were also written, but these postdate the *Sirat rasul Allah* by Ibn Hisham and have never commanded as much interest.

Orientalists have disputed the exact meaning of the term *sira*. Writing in 1899, Hartmann concluded that, "Ibn Ishaq hat keine sira geschrieben." Nevertheless, they were Ibn Ishaq's compilations that were brought together by Ibn Hisham as *Sirat rasul Allah*. Importantly, the *Maghazi* portion of the Prophet's biography is considered most significant, for it is this portion that tells us, through more recognized traditions, of Muhammad's last years and his achievements in Yathrib/Medina. Indeed, the earliest traditions concerning the life of the Prophet are believed to come from *Maghazi* works, those compiled by 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr (d. 643/710) and Wahb ibn Munabbih (d. 654/728): In this regard, the *Kitab al-maghazi* by al-Waqidi (d.207/823) has won a considerable reputation, as is indicated by the fact that the two most significant sources cited by al-Tabari (d. 310/923) for his narrative concerning the life of the Prophet, in his *History of Prophets and Kings*, come from the compilations of al-Waqidi and Ibn Ishaq. It seems to me that the title *Sira,* first used by Ibn Hisham, applies, in particular, to biographical material that progresses from birth to death. It does not take away from the premise that *Maghazi* compilations tell of the life of the Prophet, as well, albeit only the last ten years after his emigration from Mecca.

The significant issue raised by biographical literature on the Prophet concerns its reliability. Is this information historical and verifiable? Does it, for instance, provide the necessary context for understanding the Qur'an? Importantly, such compilations are based on a system of transmission that communicates both the piece of information *(matn)* and the names of those who communicated it *(isnad)*. Regarding the traditions communicated by Ibn Ishaq, Ibn Hanbal (d. 241/855) is reported to have condemned his handling of isnads; Ibn Hanbal's denunciation of al-Waqidi as a liar is probably based on the same grounds. Yet, several of these traditions are found among the exegetical compilations on the Qur'an.

Modern historians such as I. Goldziher, J. Schacht, and J. Wansbrough have rejected the majority of early Islamic traditions as unreliable: They suggest that these are the prejudiced creation of a later generation of believers. More recently, Marsden Jones has exposed the numerous chronological discrepancies that exist in *Sira-Maghazi*, while P. Crone opines that many of these narratives are the result of a desire to explain Qur'anic verses. As obvious are the parallels to the New Testament stories of miracles performed by Jesus. Nevertheless, scholars such as Montgomery Watt, Alford T. Welch, and H. Motzky continue to insist that these materials may be used to extract a basic biography of Muhammad. On the other hand, significant Muslim scholars, such as W. N. Arafat, have objected to the notorious tales concerning the expulsion and execution of the Jews of Medina that form an integral part of the *Maghazi* as "unislamic."

Tradition informs us that the compilations of Prophetic traditions were first arranged by Ibn Ishaq in response to a command from the 'Abbasid caliph al-Mansur. Concerned to explain the practices of the Prophet of Islam as based on teachings of the Qur'an, Ibn Ishaq informs us through his compilations that these Qur'anic revelations came to Muhammad as inspiration, from the time of his Prophethood, after his fortieth year, and especially in moments of crisis. According to Ibn Ishaq, the final verses of the Qur'an were communicated during Muhammad's pilgrimage to Mecca. The compilations include legalistic traditions, poetry, and genealogical information concerning the Prophet's Companions. Carefully learned and transmitted by his students, the books of Ibn Ishaq were soon to spread throughout the empire to be accepted and acclaimed by the Muslim community.

RIZWI FAIZER

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SIRHINDI, AHMAD (ca. 1564–1624)

The eponymous founder of the Mujaddidi branch of the Naqshbandi Sufi order named after his title, known to posterity, '*Mujaddid-i alf thani*' (the religious renewer of the second millennium), Shaykh

Ahmad ibn ʻAbd al-Ahad Faruqi Sirhindi was born in the Punjab in around 1564. From an *ashraf* family claiming descent from the second caliph ʻUmar, he was given a firm education in the literary and religious sciences in Sialkot and Agra, where he joined the court, disputing with Abu'l-Fadl and collaborating with Fayzi on literary projects.

In 1600, Sirhindi met the Naqshbandi Khwaja Baqi billah and became committed to the discipline and didactic method of that order, which he now promoted at court and beyond. He became a leading master of the order, and his writings were influential in defining a new Naqshbandi path of critical engagement with the Mughal rulers and contemptuous attack upon the heterodox (such as the Shiʻis) and non-Muslim Indians. Although there is a historiographical debate concerning the "Naqshbandi reaction" and his role in establishing Jahangir as the successor to Akbar, no doubt because Sirhindi (and the Naqshbandis) was hostile to Akbar's religious innovations, it is clear that Jahangir failed to live up to Sirhindi's expectations of an orthodox ruler. Following conspiracies at court, Jahangir had him imprisoned in 1619; the Naqshbandi hagiographies blamed his treatment on the Shiʻi notables at court. Released the following year, Sirhindi continued preaching until his death in 1624. After his death, his son Khwaja Ma'sum succeeded him as head of the Naqshbandiyya.

The historiography pits the inflexible Naqshbandis associated with Sirhindi against the peaceable Chishtis in the "battle" for Sufism in India. But such a picture is misleading. Although Sirhindi did write polemics such as *Radd-i rawafid* against the Shiʻis, attack non-Muslims in his letters, and criticize the Sufi doctrine of the unity of being *(wahdat al-wujud)* attributed to Ibn ʻArabi and his followers, a careful reading of his letters suggests a more nuanced picture. His own doctrine of *wahdat al-shuhud*, a critique of the ontological monism of *wahdat al-wujud* that instead considers there to be a unity in mystical vision, is not far removed from Ibn ʻArabi's views. His opinions on the continuing need for the role of the heirs of the Prophet are not dissimilar to Shiʻi doctrines. As a thorough-going elitist, he considered all issues and texts to be read at two distinct hermeneutical levels: At the exoteric level, there could be no compromise on persecuting non-Muslims and attacking "deviant" monist Sufis; however, on the mystical level, Islam and infidelity were no longer pitted against each other but different levels on the path to God. These two levels became two trends opposed to each other in his legacy.

Sajjad H Rizvi

See also Akbar; Mughals; Sufism

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SLAVERY, MILITARY

Forms of military slavery have existed in the Islamic world since the early ninth century, and variations of this institution were found in many Muslim countries at different times up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Military slaves, known variously as *ghulam*s (lit. "youths"), *mamluks* ("owned ones"), and janissaries (from Turkish *yeni cheri*, "new army"), had a tremendous impact on the military and political life, as well as economic and social aspects, of the societies in which they were found.

There is still a significant debate among scholars as to the origins of this institution, and the reader is referred to the studies later in this entry for opinions different from that presented here. Military slavery had its origin in the convergence of factors: the withdrawal of the Arab tribes from military service (a process encouraged by the government); the perceived lack of dependability of troops from Khurasan, hitherto the bulwark of the ʻAbbasid state; the precedent of hundreds, perhaps thousands of clients of slave provenance or freed prisoners of war, known as *mawali*, in the court and army, many from eastern Iran, Transoxiana, and even the Eurasian Steppe region; and contact with the Turks of the Eurasian Steppe, with their well-known military qualities, including hardiness, horsemanship, and archery. The first unit of military slaves, composed mainly of Turks, was founded by the future caliph al-Muʻtasim (r. 833–842), during the reign of his brother al-Ma'mun. Soon after his ascension to the throne, al-Muʻtasim decided to move his formation from Baghdad to Samarra, about two hundred kilometers to the north, to limit tension with other units and to keep his new formation isolated. This unit

was originally envisioned as a guard corps but soon began participating in campaigns in the empire and on the frontier. It soon became the mainstay of the ʻAbbasid regime. Al-Muʻtasim's son and second successor, al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–861), eventually became disenchanted with these Turkish guardsmen, their commanders (also Turks), and the power that they wielded at court, and moved to weaken them. The Turkish commanders moved first and assassinated the caliph, setting a pattern for future officers, not only of slave origin. The Turkish slave soldiers and officers played a significant role in the political unrest that characterized Iraq in the next several generations, at least until the coming of the Buwayhids in 944, and sometimes afterwards. In spite of the problems inherent in importing new Turkish slaves from the Steppe, the expenses involved, and the problems of discipline, the institution of military slavery spread throughout the eastern Muslim world. The quality of the Turkish soldiers and the loyalty, at least accorded to their original patron, evidently had enough to commend them to various rulers and generals. The basic idea of the military slave, which we will henceforth call *Mamluk* for convenience, if somewhat anachronistically, was that they were more or less cut off from the local population and its political and religious concerns, and therefore loyal primarily to their patron who bought and educated them (and continued to support them), and to each other. We have here a classic client–patron relationship, institutionalized through the mechanism of slavery.

Over the generations, we can see that this institution developed several principles, most of which were articulated in various forms by Muslim historians and other writers (see the famous statement by the fourteenth-century historian Ibn Khaldun in the translation by B. Lewis, *Islam: From the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople* [New York: Walker and Company, 1974], 1:97–99), as follows:

1. Young slaves (mainly Turks) were brought from pagan areas to the north of the Islamic world, mainly the Steppe region.
2. These slaves were converted to Islam and underwent several years of military training (and often religious education) in the barracks.
3. On completing training and reaching manhood, the slaves were enrolled in the army of their patron (often they were formally manumitted), mainly as mounted archers.
4. In theory, and usually in practice, this was a one-generation system, meaning that the sons of military slaves could not themselves be such slaves, but rather new military slaves had to be brought continually from the Steppe. The idea behind this principle was that the descendants of *Mamluk*s would not have the same toughness and military qualities as their fathers, as well as the lack of connections to the surrounding society.
5. Military slaves were to be loyal to their patrons, who educated and supported them, as well as to their comrades, slaves of the same patron.

It is interesting to note that the Turkish Seljuks, who came to power in the eleventh century with the assistance of the Turcoman tribesmen, soon set up a large formation of Turkish Mamluks. They realized that with all due respect to the emotional ties to the Turcomans, and their clear military skills as mounted archers, they could not always be depended upon, and therefore an alternative force that was both loyal and effective was needed. This use and dependence on Turkish Mamluks was passed on to the various successor states of the Seljuks, including that of the Ayyubid established by the Kurd Saladin. From the beginning of Saladin's reign, Turkish Mamluk units played the major role in the war against the Crusaders. The role of the Mamluks was increased by his great-nephew al-Salih Ayyub (r. 1238–1249), who established the famous Bahriyya regiment, which first came to prominence at the victory at Mansura over the Crusaders under Louis IX of France. Subsequently, this unit and other Mamluks took over the rulership directly, establishing the Mamluk sultanate, which ruled in Egypt and then in Syria until the Ottoman conquest of 1516–1517. The Mamluks gained renown for their victories over the Mongols in a war lasting more than sixty years, from the battle of ʻAyn Jalut (1260) onward, as well as eradicating the Crusader presence in Syria (1291). Even after their subjugation by the Ottomans, Mamluks continued to play an important role in Egyptian politics until they were eliminated by Muhammad ʻAli at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It should be mentioned that the Ottomans also erected an institution based on military slavery, the aforementioned Janissaries, although this was somewhat different from the classical Mamluk institution.

Reuven Amitai

See also ʻAbbasids; ʻAyn Jalut; Ayyubids; Mamluks; Mongols; Ottomans; Warfare

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SLAVES AND SLAVE TRADE, EASTERN ISLAMIC WORLD

As in the Roman Empire, the slave *('abd)* was the cornerstone of the domestic workforce in medieval Islam and provided a lucrative source of revenue for Islamic infrastructure. The Prophet Muhammad accepted slavery as a fact of life, but he mitigated it by insisting upon kindness to slaves. According to the Qu'ran, anyone who mistreated his slave would be damned, something that Muhammad's early followers took seriously. The early caliph Abu Bakr, for example, ransomed slaves.

Methods of Enslavement

Muslims practiced slavery freely during the Middle Ages. Slaves were an important element in the Islamic world, one that required constant replenishment through trade, war, raids, and the birth of new slaves to old ones. A large segment of the urban population, they could also be found working the fields in some places. However, they did not make up a large section of the agricultural workforce. Slaves in Islam, as in Christian lands, tended to be skilled labor.

Legally, slaves were supposed to be war captives or the children of already existing slaves, though reality did not entirely reflect theory. Like Christianity and Judaism, Islam frowned upon enslaving coreligionists, but in practice, Muslims did occasionally enslave each other. Under Sunni law, a man could be enslaved for defaulting on his debts. Muslims enslaving Muslims, however, most frequently occurred during wars between hostile sects, or rebellions against civil authority, where women and children spared from death were sold into slavery instead, as an example to other potential rebels. In 1077 CE, for example, the women of a Berber tribe were sold in Cairo as punishment for the tribe's revolt. Frontier raiders tended not to scruple over their captives' religion either, enslaving whomever they caught in their *razzias* (raids).

A great source of Christian slaves came from these *razzias* into the Dar al-Harb, the "Land of War." In the East this area was usually the Byzantine empire or Eastern Europe. The Dar al-Harb provided the source of the most famous Muslim slaves of the Middle Ages—the Mamluk slave–soldiers of Egypt. These were Christian boys kidnapped mainly from Eastern Europe or the Steppes and raised to fight in private or state armies. Through them the slave trade had considerable influence upon local political dynasties, since slave–soldiers sometimes overthrew their masters and ruled in their place. The Mamluks, for example, overthrew the Ayyubid Egyptian sultanate in 1250 and ruled as sultans in Cairo until 1517. Another large group of male slaves (frequently Slavs from Russia) were castrated and made into eunuchs. These were usually employed as domestic servants and some wielded considerable power. Not all eunuchs lost sexual function completely. Some were able to marry and occasionally, depending on the nature and skill of the operation, could still father children.

The Slave Trade

Piracy and privateering also supplied slaves from as far west as the Iberian Peninsula. Muslims frequently found themselves enslaved by Christians, particularly in Spain, Latin Palestine, or in the Byzantine empire. In the tenth century, the Byzantine emperor had a ritual of inviting Muslim slaves to his banquet. However, increasing numbers of slaves came from Africa in the late Middle Ages. The trans-Saharan slave trade with West, Central and East Africa was the precursor to the later trans-Atlantic slave trade. This differed from that in the northern Mediterranean trade in significant ways. While some of the trans-Saharan trade

resulted from raiding, much of it came from peaceful trade in slaves and other goods with local, slave-raiding tribes. These tribes sold off criminals, war captives, and debtors—the latter two categories being the same criteria for enslavement as in the Islamic world—but the desire for profit fueled the trade on both sides. Similarly, the Venetians traded lucratively in Christian slaves to the Muslim world from the eighth century onward, despite papal censure about selling coreligionists to the infidel. Christians and Muslims were not the only groups engaging in the slave traffic. Some Jewish merchants were also instrumental in the trade of Slavs (who were favored for becoming eunuchs) via Eastern and Central Europe, though how involved they were—particularly later on in the early Modern era—is subject to academic controversy.

Types and Functions of Slaves

Not all slaves had the same value. White slaves were considered more valuable than black slaves, for example, though it is difficult to say how strong this prejudice was, particularly in how it influenced the origins of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Different slaves from different regions were favored for different functions. Women, particularly if they were young, beautiful, well educated, and skilled, were favored over men because they made good housekeepers, nursemaids, and concubines. Men could be slave–soldiers, eunuchs, bodyguards, field workers, officials, or domestic slaves. They might also transact the master's or mistress's business outside of the house, as merchants and representatives of the master's affairs, sometimes with considerable freedom. Some male slaves served their masters or mistresses sexually, just as female slaves did. This practice could be extremely dangerous for male slaves, however, since a mistress was usually committing adultery when she took a slave as a lover and the penalty was death for both partners.

Manumission

There were several roads to manumission. Muslims, Christians, and Jews all ransomed coreligionists from slavery in hostile territory. Ransoming was a lucrative by-product of the slave trade for slave owners. A slave might buy his freedom, or win it through negotiation with his master or if his master mutilated him, or if he contracted blindness, leprosy, or paralysis. A slave's master might also free and marry the mother of his child, but this was not automatic upon the birth of the child. However, if she and her child survived her master, she won her freedom at the price of her sale, taken out of her child's inheritance.

Conversion to Islam did not automatically win freedom either. The concubines of the Ottoman sultans, for example, were converted to Islam upon their sale to their royal master but remained slaves. Almost all of them were originally Christians from Central and Eastern Europe, or Russia. The frequency and acceptability of relations between masters and slaves introduced a not-inconsiderable ethnic mixing into all levels of slave-holding society, even the highest. Because the child of a slave and a free person was born free, a slave's son could therefore inherit the throne. Muslim slaves were more likely to find manumission than Christians or Jews, and conversion tended to precede freedom, particularly in the case of concubines who were freed for bearing heirs to their masters. As with so many other aspects of his or her life, the freedom of a slave depended on the whim of the master.

PAULA R. STILES

See also Mamluks; Slaves and Slave Trade, Western Islamic World; Slavery, Military; Trade, African

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SLAVES AND SLAVE TRADE, WESTERN ISLAMIC WORLD

Legal texts are the greatest, most precise, and biggest sources of information about slavery. The predominant legal school in the Islamic West was the Maliki, providing a wealth of works of different genres: legal

practice, compilations of legal opinions, legal rulings, record of notaries, and so on. These works have a great abundance of information in the chapters devoted specifically to slavery—often called Law of Slavery—whose main focus was the issue of manumission. But they also contain a number of references scattered in the other chapters that form the book.

In addition to these sources, whose contents deal with the domestic slave, more news is dispersed in historical chronicles, biographical dictionaries, and literary works. Although they are not long stories, nor is the aim of the author to describe the slave, those passages help to enhance the information about what slavery was actually like. It must be emphasized that, despite all bibliographical sources, theoretical information about slavery in the Western Islamic world during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance is far richer than the references to legal practice of this subject.

Slaves: Types and Circumstances

According to all the legal schools, anybody born as a slave, being a son of a female slave, could be considered a slave no matter whether or not he was Muslim. A war prisoner could also be enslaved given that he was not a free Muslim, but professed another faith. However, it was forbidden to enslave a member of another religion who lived in Islamic territory and therefore enjoyed the protection of the *dhimma* status. This privilege was obtained by means of paying a tax. Only if this status was lost by any reason, such as cooperating with the unfaithful enemy in a battle, might the *dhimmi* become a slave. Nor was abandonment considered a valid origin of slavery: If anybody found a deserted child *(manbudh)* and took him in, that child was considered a free person. In fact, there were Muslim slaves, both born in such condition, as well as those who wished to convert to Islam after having acquired that status. Conversion was not a reason to obtain freedom.

The Maliki school considered the same kinds of slaves as other legal schools: a common slave *('abd, jariya, ama)*; concubines *(milk al-yamin, jariya, ama)*; a concubine who gives a son to her master *(umm walad)*; a slave having completed the conditions for a manumission contract *(mukatab)*; and the slave to be released after his master's death *(mudabbar)*. Moreover, it included a new kind, the slave who was authorized to trade *(ma'dhun bi-l-tijara)*, who needed to have free movement and certain economic means to conduct business. The possibility of being manumitted in the future provided some of these slaves with a number of rights and legal obligations that placed them close to the status of free persons, thus acquiring an intermediate status between slavery and freedom.

In the Islamic world a slave could be married legally and create his own family structures with previous authorization of his master. Still, in order to perform the legal act of marriage he had some limitations that the free man lacked. According to Maliki law, a slave could have four legal wives, the same as a free man, whereas for the other legal schools, only two were allowed. On the other hand, the slaves' capacity to form their own families was restricted to the servants of very rich people, or else to those slaves who paid their manumission in installments by means of a contract signed up with their master. Both kinds of slaves had a right to enjoy a certain degree of independence in order to have a job that enabled them to pay for their freedom.

A master was not allowed to marry one of his concubines legally. However, if one of them became pregnant, she acquired a new status that provided her with certain rights common to a free woman. These *ummahat al-awlad*, or mothers with child, might not be sold and acquired freedom after their master's death. On the other hand, their children were free according to the principle on which nobody may be his father's slave, despite slavery being a condition inherited from the mother.

A slave was not considered an object of law by himself, like in Roman law, but a subject of legislation. Consequently, he had civil and criminal rights, as well as obligations. His master could not kill him nor impose any arbitrary penalty on him, although there are examples of this being made in practice. Likewise, a slave was subject to penalties that were half the amount of those imposed on a free person, because his responsibility was considered to be less.

As for property rights, law provided that the goods belonging to a slave pertained to his master, so that the slave was the usufructuary only as long as the master permitted it. Nor had he rights to inherit, even from free relatives. Nevertheless, Maliki law emphasized that a slave's manumission had to include enough possessions for the slave to survive with dignity; otherwise, to give him freedom would not be a generous deed but a concealed abandonment. When the slave was released, a client bond was established between him and his master. Although he acquired all the rights and duties of a free person, his former master and his agnates preserved the right to become heirs to the slave. Consequently, slaves were not only members of the medieval Islamic family—and must be included in every study concerning it—but after their manumission, they continued to be bound to the

master's family unit through a client bow *(wala')*. In such a way, they contributed to perpetuate its patrilineal structure, a fact that had important social and economic consequences.

Maliki jurists established a number of legal principles concerning slave property, trade, and their liberation that were considered when dealing with the matters of law. First, the rights of a free person—especially property rights—were secured because, as texts repeated once and again, "slaves are goods, just as cattle is." Respect for the property of a free person might have priority over the religious element. Likewise, it was important that a manumission or sale did not damage the interests of any free person. Secondly, there were the fundamental rights of the slave to be considered: respect for his legal condition as an individual and therefore for the rights applying to that particular type of slave. Other aspects were his manumission and kind treatment; the concession of an amount of money for his use after liberation; and some sexual rights of female slaves, as the forbiddance to be rendered, rented, and so on, to another person.

Slave Trade

The most common way of acquiring slaves must have been, on the one hand, by birth at home of the children of other slaves. On the other hand, captivity at war, particularly in places such as al-Andalus, where there was continuous struggle against Christian territories throughout many centuries, provided prisoners. Since the tenth century there was an institution created for the release of captives, the redeemer *(al-fakkak)*.

Captives, such as other slaves imported from diverse places, were sold in the market. Their transaction was subject to controls in which the fulfillment of the legally established criteria were secured, the same as with other goods (cattle, luxury items). Among the many questions Maliki jurists dealt with, two were worth special attention: the slave's possible physical defects or blemishes—where the possibility of selling a pregnant female slave was included, since it might give rise to claims and conflicts between the parties involved—and possible frauds related to the legal status of the slave, which would result in the annulment of the sale once it had been carried out. The texts dealt extensively with the question of slaves owned by several masters, because the lack of whole property of a slave restricted the rights of the masters over that person. For example, during a sale or rent, there had to be a unanimous agreement among all the proprietors; or, in the case of female slaves, they could not have sexual intercourse with her.

Up to the twelfth century there existed an intense slave trade between al-Andalus and the Christian kingdoms, in which Jews living in the Christian lands played an active role. During this period, different commercial products were exported from al-Andalus to other Islamic countries, either in the West or in the East. Among the products that were in great demand Christian slaves stood out. Since the ninth century, Radhanite merchants had traded with "Andalusian slave women," who had become very popular in North Africa and the Orient. The Verdun merchants are also referred to in the sources as people trading slaves between both territories.

The drastic territorial withdrawal of al-Andalus in 1212 brought about a radical change in the commercial relationships of all the products. Al-Andalus stopped being an importer, and most of the trade is addressed to the north of the peninsula from the thirteenth century onward. In the case of Muslim slaves, the Nasrid sultans were forced to prohibit their sale to the Christians.

Most of the slaves were destined for domestic use, although their numbers are unknown. The different genres of written sources refer to privileged social groups living in an urban environment, without any information about the rural world and other urban contexts, so it is difficult to determine the absolute social and economic weight of the slave population. The use of slaves was infrequent in the armies of Western Islam, both in al-Andalus and North Africa. As for some high-ranking officers of the army whose status as slaves has been assumed, it is difficult to say whether they were so, or else they had slave origins but had been enjoying freedom for several generations already, so they would rather be clients than slaves.

Eunuchs should also be mentioned briefly. Their existence is known by means of historical chronicles. Their destination, according to these sources, was only the royal palace and some very wealthy families. They were mainly assigned to manage the harem, but some of them had high positions in the administration, and even in the army of the Umayyad court of al-Andalus.

Nowadays, one of the most debated issues in the field is the ethnic origins of the slaves in Western Islam. The confused state of terminology at some point when, for instance, the term *saqaliba*—which was used to designate only slaves of Slavic origins—started to be used to call any palace slave, makes a systematic revision of Arabic sources very necessary. It seems that the sources indicate that slaves came mainly from captivity, so in al-Andalus, Christians from the Northern Iberian Peninsula must have been abundant. On the other hand, a great number of black slaves of sub-Saharan Africa must have been

acquired in North Africa, especially since the expansion of the Berber dynasties of Almoravids and Almohads, in the eleventh century. On their part, the treatises on market rules and the very few treatises of slave trade allude to ethnic origins in a merely theoretical way.

CRISTINA DE LA PUENTE

See also Andalus; Concubinage; Eunuchs; Human Geography; Land Tenure and Ownership; Law and Jurisprudence; Malikism; Markets; North Africa; Slavery, Military; Trade

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SOCIALIZING

Socializing outside the family was not mixed. Socializing took place either in a context where one person played host to a number of guests, or else in a place where people gathered spontaneously. Examples of the former are the tribal leader's council, the ruler's court, and the prominent official or scholar's literary or academic salon; the most common Arabic term for these institutions is the *majlis*. Very little information exists about women's socializing, although it was apparently organized partly on the same lines as men's; some princesses, for instance, are known to have had their own salon.

Rules of correct behavior in social gatherings existed; they included showing proper respect to the host and to older and more important people present. Thanks to this formal etiquette, sensitive and controversial subjects, including religion, could be discussed with considerable freedom. The *majlis* were also places where reputations were made and unmade. Young secretaries (*see* Bureaucrats) who favorably impressed a ruler with their eloquence or technical knowledge, and budding poets whose odes received a patron's praise or a philologist's stamp of approval (*see* Poetry), could find themselves launched on a successful career after attending *majlis*. However, someone who betrayed ignorance, failed to parry a

rival's attack, or allowed himself to be made a laughingstock might lose his position and standing (*see* Adab).

The character of the gathering was determined by the host's interests and mood; a ruler could discuss affairs of state with his courtiers and then invite musicians to sing. The host set the tone; the 'Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. AH 232–247/847–861 CE), for instance, was known for his barrack-room sense of humor and enjoyed humiliating his courtiers. Intellectually minded rulers, such as al-Ma'mun (198–218/813–833), sometimes invited experts in various fields to give short talks on subjects they wanted to learn more about. Al-Tawhidi's (d. 411/1023) account of evenings of conversation with the vizier Ibn Sa'dan, *Delight and Entertainment*, gives an idea of the intellectual level and breadth of interests that were current in some courts.

A scholar's salon—whether at his home or in a shop or mosque—was often the setting for more or less formal teaching. Hence the existence of a genre of books, sometimes termed *majalis* (salons, or sessions), recording the pronouncements of prominent philologists on linguistic topics. The subjects of less specialized conversations among cultured people have been preserved by the Baghdadi judge al-Tanukhi (d. 384/ 994) in his *Table-Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*.

Socializing served more than to affirm one's status, advance one's career, or improve one's mind. Friends would invite each other to spend a pleasant time together; this almost always involved the recitation of poetry and often, singing, with musicians being invited if necessary. Such gatherings could be accompanied by wine, and the more attractive the setting and attendants the better.

The second (spontaneous) type of socializing took place in mosques, bathhouses, or taverns. The mosque was, and is, a kind of community center where people gather not only to pray but also to chat and discuss matters in neutral surroundings, without anyone having to play host. In medieval times a stranger arriving in a city where he knew no one would make some first contacts at the mosque. Conversations were usually dignified and serious in the mosque's tranquil, meditative atmosphere, but they were not necessarily devoted to religious matters; in his *Book of Misers,* al-Jahiz (d. ca. 255/869) portrays a group of men who regularly gathered in a mosque in Basra to exchange tips on how to save money.

The public baths, too, were a socially acceptable place to meet, although unlike the mosque they were not free and therefore seldom became a regular rendezvous for friends. They offered physical relaxation, and their informal atmosphere encouraged conversation. Since ritual purification accompanies Islamic rites, including important stages in the life cycle such as weddings (*see* Marriage), a visit to the baths was an integral part of many celebrations. Women had far fewer opportunities than men of socializing outside the house, and for them in particular going to the baths was often synonymous with a party to which they brought their own food. Baths were (and are) not mixed; they were open to women and men on separate days.

The third meeting-place, the tavern, was reprehensible from the religious point of view since it sold wine; it was also associated with gambling, sexual immorality, and unseemly behavior. Yet taverns counted poets and singers among their customers, and they offered a setting for creative artistic activity.

The coffeehouse appeared at the end of the medieval period (*see* Beverages), first in Yemen and the Hijaz and then in the wider Ottoman empire and Iran. Offering the advantages of the tavern (food and conversation) without its drawbacks, it rapidly became popular.

Hilary Kilpatrick

See also Adab; Baths and Bathing; Bureaucrats; Courtiers; Gambling; Al-Jahiz; Al-Ma'mun; Marriage; Poetry; Al-Tawhidi

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SONGHAY EMPIRE

Origin

Islam began to spread in the Songhay empire some time in the eleventh century CE, when the ruling Za or Dia dynasty first accepted Islam. It was a prosperous region with a booming trade from the city of Gao.

In fact, a Songhay kingdom in the region of Gao had existed since the eleventh century, but it had come under the control of Mali in 1325. After the decline of Mali, the kingdom of Gao reasserted itself as the major kingdom in the *Sahel*. By the late fourteenth century, Gao reasserted itself as the Sunni dynasty, the other name of the Songhay empire.

Songhay would not fully eclipse Mali until the reign of Sunni 'Ali Ber, who reigned from 1464 to 1492. He aggressively turned the kingdom of Gao into an empire under his leadership, and the most important towns of the Western Sudan came under the Songhay empire. The great cities of Islamic learning, such as Timbuktu (captured from the Tuaregs) and Jenne, also came under his power between 1471 and 1476. The empire stretched across the Niger valley, west to Senegal and east to Agades (modern-day Niger). With his cavalry and a highly mobile fleet of ships, 'Ali Ber pushed the Berbers who had always played such a crucial role in the downfall of Sahelian kingdoms, far north.

The Sunni Kings

The '*ulama* have condemned Sunni 'Ali, the first real founder, in spite of his contribution in founding the Songhay empire. They claimed he was a nominal Muslim and compromised between paganism and Islam, although he prayed and fasted. Once he punished the famous scholar Al-Maghili—to whom is attributed the introduction of the *Qadiriyya* fraternity of Sufis in Africa—by calling him "a pagan." He believed in magical practices and local cults. This, however, was not something new in the Songhay only. Almost the same practice continued in other parts of West Africa until the time that various revivalist movements took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Sunni 'Ali's syncretism was soon denounced by the eminent Muslim scholars in Timbuktu. Timbuktu had an established reputation as a center of Islamic learning and civilization of West Africa. Members of the famous *Aqit* family of Berber scholars were enjoying the post of the Grand *Qadi* (Chief Justice) at the time and were known for their fearless oppositions to the rulers. Sunni 'Ali did not take such criticism lightly. In his lifetime he suppressed the scholars of Timbuktu, but after his death the situation completely changed and the Muslim scholars triumphed. Muhammad Touré, a military general, asked his successor, Sunni Barou, to make a public appearance and make a confession of his faith in Islam. When Barou refused to do so, Muhammad Touré ousted him and established a new dynasty in his own name, called the *Askiya* dynasty. Sunni 'Ali may be compared with Sundiate of Mali and Askiya Muhammad Touré to Mansa Musa, a champion for the cause of Islam.

An ardent Muslim, when Muhammad Touré (r. 1493–1528) came to power, he established Islamic law and extensively drew upon the expertise of his Timbuktu scholars in matters of the state. He also arranged for a large number of Muslims to be trained as judges *(qadis)* and he replaced native Songhay administrators with Arab Muslims in a bid to stabilize the empire. Timbuktu gained fame as an intellectual center rivaling many others in the Muslim world. It had the credit of establishing the first Muslim university—Sankore University—in West Africa, the name of which is commemorated still today in Ibadan University, where a certain staff residential area is named Sankore Avenue. Learners from various parts of the world came to study a wide array of sciences, ranging from language and politics to law and medicine (apart from the city's more than 180 *madrasahs* where one could undertake strictly Islamic studies). Medieval Europe sent emissaries to the University of Sankore to witness its excellent libraries with manuscripts and to consult with the learned mathematicians, astronomers, physicians, and jurists whose intellectual endeavors were said to be paid for out of the king's own treasury.

Muhammad Touré continued Sunni Ali's imperial expansion by seizing the important Saharan oases and conquering Mali. From there he conquered Hausaland. He also further centralized the government by creating a large and elaborate bureaucracy to oversee his extensive empire. Merchants and traders traveled from Asia, the Middle East, and Europe to exchange their exotic wares for the gold of Songhay. As in Mali, there was a privileged caste of craftsmen, and slave labor played an important role in agriculture. Gold, kola nuts, and slaves were the main exports, whereas textiles, horses, salt, and luxury goods were the main imports.

Touré also standardized weights, measures, and currency so that culture throughout the Songhay began to homogenize. These programs of conquest, centralization, and standardization were the most ambitious and far-reaching in sub-Saharan history until the colonization of the continent by the Europeans. Songhay reached its greatest territorial expansion under Askia Dawud (r. 1549–1582), when the empire stretched all the way to Cameroon. With literally several thousand cultures under its control, Songhay was the largest empire in African history.

Touré, on his pilgrimage to Makkah, came into close contact with various Muslim scholars and rulers

in the Arab countries. He visited the caliph of Egypt, who proclaimed him caliph of the whole of Sudan. Sudan, at the time, was a loose term for a large area in sub-Saharan Africa usually embracing Mali, Chad, northwest Nigeria, and Niger. In Makkah, the King accorded him great respect, turbanned him, and gave him a sword and the title of *Khalifah* of western Sudan. On his return from Makkah in 1497, he proudly used the title of *al-Hajj.* Askiya took such a keen interest in the Islamic legal system that he asked a number of questions on Islamic theology from his personal friend, Muhammad al-Maghili. Al-Maghili wrote down the answers in detail, which Askiya circulated in the Songhay empire. The questions pertained to the fundamental structure of the faith that later served as the chief source of 'Uthman Dan Fodio's revolution in Hausaland a few years thereafter.

Although most of the people in urban areas had turned Muslim, the majority of those living in the rural areas still followed African traditional religion. Some aspects of traditional religion have been preserved to this day, including the sacred drum, the sacred fire, and the old types of costume and hairstyle.

Overall, the appearance of Islam in western Sudan was important for much more than religious reasons. It introduced the culture of scholarship to countries beyond Egypt and the *Maghrib* and stabilized trade between her and the lands beyond the Sahara. It also, however, left terrible religious conflicts between the various tribes who did or did not accept Islam, and created a different kind of unrest.

Decline

After Askiya Muhammad Touré, the empire began to crumble. His sons who had shared power with him deposed him since there was no fixed law of succession to the throne. During a period of sixty years (1528–1591), eight Askiyas came to power consecutively.

Songhay had gotten too large by this time; it encompassed too much territory to control. After the reign of Askia Dawud, subject peoples began to revolt, even though Songhay had an army of more than thirty five thousand soldiers. The first major region to go was Hausaland. In 1590, al-Mansur, the powerful and ambitious sultan of Morocco, decided that he wanted control of the West African gold trade badly enough to send his army all the way across the Sahara. The spears and swords of the Songhay warriors were no match for the cannons and muskets of the Moroccan army. The Moroccan invasion destroyed the Songhay empire. It contributed, along with such other phenomena as the growing Atlantic trade, to the decline of the trade routes that had brought prosperity to the region for hundreds of years.

Trade routes fell under local control and deteriorated beyond recovery. The Moroccans also took Timbuktu in 1591 and ruled over the city until about 1780, supervising its ultimate decline. During the early nineteenth century, Timbuktu passed into the hands of a variety of West African groups, including the Tuaregs and the Bamabra, who founded the Bamabra kingdom of Ségou farther to the south. In the late nineteenth century, as European powers invaded parts of Africa, French colonizers took over the city.

In 1612, the remaining cities of Songhay fell into anarchy and the greatest empire of African history came to a sudden close. No African nation since has risen to prominence and wealth as did the mighty Songhay.

KHALID DHORAT

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SOUTHEAST ASIA, HISTORY AND CULTURE

Although never conceived of as a unitary region in Arabic accounts, Southeast Asia was a maritime contact zone for Indian Ocean trade with China from antiquity. The shippers who plied this route, such as Ibn Khurradadhbih, recorded the names of several of the harbors at which they called for water, victuals, and trade. The most famous of the trading ports were located in the vicinity of the Isthmus of Kra (Kalah), in the locales of North Sumatra (Ramni), East Sumatra (Zabaj), Tioman Island (Tiyuma), and the coasts of Cambodia (Qmar) and Champa (Sanf)—the last being the collective name for the Austronesian kingdoms once located in central Vietnam.

The majority of the Southeast Asian ports gained advantage from this passing India trade, and their

organization and culture reflected Indic modes. The Buddhist (or at times Saivite) kingdoms of Java; Angkor in Cambodia; the Cham cities in Vietnam; and Srivijaya in the Straits of Malacca all maintained cults of divine kingship and the use of Sanskrit for official proclamations. Because of this, most medieval accounts placed Southeast Asian toponyms in general descriptions of India.

The region was not always a stable constellation of states. Eleventh-century attacks by the Tamil Cholas weakened Srivijaya and may have led the Khmers to play a stronger role on the peninsula. Further, the Mongol conquests of the twelfth century saw a reorientation of Southern Song networks involving Java as a more active agent of interoceanic trade. The Javanese state Singasari, and then its thirteenth-century successor Majapahit, exercised hegemony over Sumatra. The general view of a Java-dominated island world seems to have led to the nascence in the Arabic texts of this toponym, as in the encyclopedia of Yaqut, who stated in his *Mu'jam al-buldan* that Java was one of the first of the kingdoms of China. Ibn al-Mujawir also made reference, in his *Ta'rikh al-mustabsir* (ca. 1228), to rough passage to "the region of Jawa." When Marco Polo visited the region in 1292, he referred to Sumatra as *Java Minora*. Similarly, when Ibn Battuta returned from China circa 1345, he named Sumatra as a part of *Jawa*.

The Mongols had also invaded mainland Burma in 1258, and their impact in Asia was a catalyst for the southward movement of the Tai peoples at the expense of the mainland Mon and Khmer populations. After slow beginnings on North Sumatra, and between the exertions of Singasari and Majapahit, Islamization would spread westward to other parts of the Malay Peninsula and the spice islands before the arrival of the Portuguese, who took the port of Malacca in 1511 and attempted to monopolize the collection of spices in the region. This allowed for the rise of the Sumatran state of Aceh under 'Ali Mughayat Shah (r. 1514–1530). Whereas the Portuguese apothecary Tomé Pires, stationed in freshly conquered Malacca between 1512 and 1515, could write of a largely non-Muslim Java, by 1527, Majapahit had been defeated by the coastal sultanate of Demak, ushering in a long-term process of Islamization from above.

Muslims were also an increasingly notable presence in mainland Southeast Asian courts, such as Siam and Cambodia, but their influence was shortlived. With the rise of Atlantic commercial power in the seventeenth century, Sumatran Aceh and West Java's Banten constituted the leading Muslim competitors for trade in the region. Their territories, like those of many Southeast Asian states, were slowly being eaten away over the course of the coming centuries by Western colonialism. At the same time, Islam became ever more linked with many of the cultures of the archipelago while Theravada Buddhism became ever more entrenched as that of the mainland.

MICHAEL LAFFAN

See also Ibn Battuta; Ibn Khurradadhbih; Java; Silk Roads; Southeast Asia, Languages and Literatures; Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula; Yaqut

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SOUTHEAST ASIA, LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Ever since Southeast Asia began to feature in the accounts of Muslim mariners, it is clear they had dealings mainly with the Austronesian peoples of the archipelago and coastal harbors of the mainland, for whom Malay served as the *lingua franca*. Ninth-century Arab accounts referred to the Malacca Straits as Salaht, from the Malay *selat* (strait), while the *'Aja'ib al-hind* of al-Ramhurmuzi (ca. 1000) made reference to the practice of sitting deferentially before a local king by using the Malay verb *bersila*. The use of Malay along the main artery of trade was often commented on by later travelers. Jean Baptiste Tavernier (1605–1689) reported that the languages of the cultured world included Malay as that "of educated people, from the flooding Indus to China and Japan, and in most of the Eastern isles, much like Latin in our Europe."

Although Malay played an important role in interethnic communication, there is a dearth of inscriptions in that language as compared to those of the cultures of Java and Cambodia, whether in the once widespread Indic-derived scripts or in the Arabic script that supplanted them in the Muslim islands of Indonesia and the Malay Peninsula. Equally, there is a paucity of manuscript holdings—again as compared with the palm-leaf texts of those kingdoms that remained substantially Hindu–Buddhist in outlook when the Europeans arrived; most notably the Southeast Asian mainland and the islands of Java and Bali.

Nonetheless, the holdings that remain indicate that the pre-Islamic Malay literature, like most of the literatures of the region, consisted of a rich selection of royal epics, declamatory poetry, and morality tales, suffused with stories from (or complete reworkings of) Indian epics, such as the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. With Islamization, these were both supplemented or replaced by Islamic tales drawn from Arabic and Persian literature, such as the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyya*, and many indigenous compositions in the form of poems—sometimes brief, sometimes epic—known as *syair* (from the Arabic).

Malay also played a leading role in the inculcation of Islamic norms in the archipelago, first mystical and then primarily for the transmission of knowledge of Shafi'i *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence). The first known Malay author, Hamzah al-Fansuri (d. 1527), wrote in one of his poetic works that he had done so in Malay in the hope that "those of God Almighty's servants unacquainted with Farsi and Arabic will be able to discuss its contents." Again, in 1601, Shams al-Din of Pasai, wrote in his *Mir'at al-mu'min* that he had written "in the Jawi language in order to render words of the principles of religion for those unable to understand Arabic or Farsi," and al-Raniri, the chief Qadi to the Acehnese court in the late 1630s, composed his compendium on Shafi'i *fiqh*, the *Sirat al-mustaqim;* he did so in Malay.

Malay literature has also been strongly influenced by that of Java, which shares in the corpus of Indian stories that were often recast with specifically Javanese admixtures (such as the powerful clown characters or the cultural hero Panji).

Furthermore, with the Islamization of Java and closer contacts between its sultanates and those of the Malay world, there was an increasing trend toward polyglossia among Islamic scholars. Perhaps for this reason one of the great Malay exponents of the Sufi tradition, and the author of the first Malay exegesis of the Qur'an, 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Sinkili (1615–1693), noted in his *Mir'ât al-tullâb* that he made specific recourse to *al-lisan al-jawiyya al-samutra'iyya* (the Sumatran Jawi tongue), perhaps implying that there were indeed other Southeast Asian languages.

Michael Laffan

See also Java; Scriptural Exegesis, Islamic; Sufism and Sufis; Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula

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SPICES

When comparing the simple fare and the paucity of ingredients of pre-Islamic Bedouin (or even sedentary) Arab food with the sophistication displayed in 'Abbasid or Mamluk cookbooks, one is struck by the quantities and diversity of the spices, herbs, and condiments employed by the latter. These books reflect the aristocratic cuisine of the courts and the rich rather than the populace. It may not be superfluous to point out that the often-heard assertion that the lavish use of spices was generally meant to mask the odor of badly preserved meat is a slanderous insult to a highly refined cuisine. The choice of a particular seasoning was naturally guided by matters of taste and culinary delight, but at the same time a coherent theory of dietetics and medicine would give guidelines for the selection of ingredients appropriate to the dish, the eater, his or her circumstances, and the time of the year. Medical treatises deal with the theory and practice of this, but the cookbooks, too, may include dietary recommendations for the preservation of a balanced constitution.

Medieval Arabic texts sometimes differentiate between various categories of spices, herbs, aromatics, and condiments. The terminology is fluctuating but will usually include *abazir* (mostly seed-based), *tawabil* (other seasonings), and *afawih* (aromatic substances); *bahar* is another general term for "spice." The precise definitions often overlap, and the distinction between herbs and vegetables (Ar. *buqul*) is not strict. Some items are multipurpose: saffron, for instance, is used for its fragrance in food and as a perfume, in addition to its use as a coloring agent. In a thirteenth-century cookbook, cinnamon and coriander are used in approximately eighty percent of all dishes, followed by cumin, mastic, pepper, and ginger. An introductory chapter of the tenth-century cookbook from Baghdad, by Ibn Sayyar al-Warraq, lists the spices, herbs, and fragrances that are indispensable for any cook. They include musk, ambergris, rosewater, saffron, cinnamon, galingale, cloves, mastic, saltwort, cardamom, sugar, honey, treacle,

pepper, coriander, cumin, caraway, ginger, spikenard, asafoetida, salt (allegedly called by the Prophet Muhammad "the lord of condiments"), onion, vinegar, olive oil, garlic, celery, cress, leek, dill, fennel, rue, mint, and thyme, not to mention numerous fruits, pickles, nuts, aromatics, and vegetables. Other chapters give the digestive properties of these ingredients. Almost any kind of dish, savory, sweet, or sour, including kinds of bread, pastry, and drinks, could and should be enhanced by the addition of spices and herbs. Recipes are often amazingly complex, as if simple ones were to be disdained by the wealthy. The correct use of spices and herbs was an art, and anecdotes in literary sources show the disgrace resulting from sinning against the rules, even though the consequences would not always have been as severe as in the story told in the *Thousand and One Nights* (in the story cycle of "The Hunchback"), in which a man annoys his lover by using an excess of cumin.

Naturally, the use of spices was not uniform and there are many local differences or shifts in time. Striking in all periods is the frequent use of sugar and other sweeteners in meat dishes. The various condiments and pickles, called *kawamikh*, which are used either as side dishes or as ingredients in the cooking process, are in a special category of seasoning. Among the most often mentioned of these is a briny concoction based on fish, like the Roman *liquamen* or *garum*; another is based on barley. Recipes for these relishes describe a very complicated and lengthy process taking several months. Both kinds may be called *murri*, which seems to be derived from Latin *muria*.

The spice trade, both within and beyond the Muslim territories, was a flourishing business. Pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cloves, cardamom, mace, nutmeg, and musk were among the products imported from India, China, and Black Africa. In due course, even before the time of the Crusades, Europe became greatly interested in the Eastern spices, with Venice being at the hub of the spice trade with the Middle East, with Egypt in particular. The spice trade in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods was dominated by a group of merchants known as the Karimi, who were active in the major centers of trade and sent their fleets over the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Their power dwindled in the course of the fifteenth century due to the policy of the Mamluk sultans and the economic crisis in Egypt. The end of the Middle Ages coincided with the taking over of much of the spice trade by European powers.

Geert Jan van Gelder

See also Food and Diet; Trade, Indian Ocean; Trade, Mediterreanean

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SPORTS

Engagement in various types of sports was undoubtedly a favorite pastime of medieval Muslims throughout Islamic territories. However, given both the extremely scattered data and the relatively poor research on this subject the information that follows is bound to be incomplete. In addition, since our sources report next to nothing on the sport activities of the common people, this entry deals with a limited number of sports and of the medieval Islamic elite in particular.

We first learn of horseracing, an expensive pastime and a sport of princes, in the Umayyad period, although it stands to reason that it took place also in pre-Islamic Arabia. It appears from our sources that its apogee was in the eighth century CE, in the reigns of the Umayyad Hisham to the ʿAbbasid Harun al-Rashid. Probably at some point after the ninth century, it went into decline, although it certainly did not disappear altogether. Being also part of equitation *(furusiyya)*, horseracing was always essential for military training and an object of entertainment for the rulers, dignitaries, and others. Long hippodromes *(maydan)*, sometimes stretching for several kilometers, were set apart for this purpose in major Islamic towns. Horses that participated had to undergo a period of training that lasted a few weeks. According to the rules, a race could take place only between horses of the same class, age, and other defined criteria. Prizes for winners were part of this sport activity. As for the defeated competitors, some sources tell of the custom of placing a monkey on the back of their horses with a whip to lash the horse, thus putting the masters to shame. Due to the high costs of horse breeding for competition, the common people had to satisfy themselves with alternative sorts of races, such as camel, donkey, or dog races. Especially popular was pigeon racing.

Polo (*sawlajan* and *jukan*, from Persian Chawgan), originally a Persian sport, was another pastime limited

to the higher echelons of the society that became favorable under the early ʻAbbasids and contemporary local dynasties. Some of the caliphs are reported playing polo with their boon companions. In later periods, polo was exercised on festive occasions such as the visit of foreign ambassadors. This was the case in AH 660/1262 CE, when the Mamluk sultan Baybars I received a Mongol delegation. When, in the last years of the Mamluk reign in Egypt, Sultan Qansuh al-Ghawri received Ottoman and Safavid delegates, he entertained them with polo games. The status of polo in the Mamluk court is demonstrated in the establishment of the post of the *jukandar*, a high official in charge of supervising polo exercises.

The wide practice of polo games among the Mamluk elite was based on the assumption that it was suitable for keeping soldiers and horses in good physical condition. Polo was usually played on horseback. Players were divided into two teams, each carrying a long-handled stick with one end bent back. One of the players started by throwing a leather ball (but sometimes a ball of silver) high into the air, another player struck it, and thereafter the ball passed from player to player. Each team tried to get the ball between two posts defended by the opponents, the posts being located at the end of a pitch so large that it gave ample freedom of movement for the mounted participants. The polo game is repeatedly reported for the Ayyubid and Mamluk courts, where it was played in special hippodromes constructed for that purpose. It appears that in the Mamluk state, at least under the reign of Barsbay (825–841/1422–1437), a special season of polo games was fixed. The favor that polo gained in the Mamluk state can be gauged from its recurrence as a theme in artistic objects. Similar to polo, and also a favorite pastime of the early ʻAbbasids, was the sport of *tabtab*, which was played on horseback with a broad piece of wood or a racket to hit the ball.

Qabaq, or gourd game, entailed shooting arrows from a moving horse at a gourd target at the top of a high pole, where a pigeon was placed. It was popular in the early Mamluk period and was occasionally played during feasts for the birth of a Mamluk prince, or his circumcision. Sultan Baybars I constructed for it the grounds known as Maydan al-Qabaq, which were used till the reign of al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalawun (ca. 700/1300).

Finally, on equestrian sports, one should mention archery competitions. These simulated a duel between mounted horsemen with the use of imitations to shoot at from a distance of a few hundred yards. Betting was part of the game. Many manuals were written to guide participants through the numerous techniques. Shooting with the crossbow was known as *bunduq*. Flight and target shooting with arrows was a sport as much as a basic part of military proficiency.

Wrestling matches took place at Islamic courts. A fragmentary lustre plate, probably from eleventh-century Egypt, has a painting of a wrestling match, most likely serving as a royal theme. We laconically know of popular wrestling matches in Cairo during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Their referees were versatile entertainers and street performers. In the same vein one should mention weightlifting.

A report about the ʻAbbasid al-Muʻtasim (218–227/833–842) notes that he lifted weights during exercise. Fencing, riverboat racing, swimming, and games with lances were also in vogue, due to their low costs. Among the sports of the ʻAbbasid period, contests of animals and bird fighting were notable. The rulers and the common people alike favored them. Dogs, rams, and cocks, among others, were used in competitions, and thus Ma'mun's (198–218/813–833) servants were on one occasion busy watching cock fighting at the court. A duel of lions and buffaloes is reported for al-Muʻtasim's court.

Also related to the present discussion is the subject of falconry (hunting with trained falcons), an ancient sport practiced in different parts of the world, which was introduced into Arabia many centuries before the Christian era. It seems to have been of special appeal there. It was sanctioned in the Qur'an and after the conquests became a favorable pastime with the ruling elite and a symbol of high status. It is first associated with the Umayyad Yazid (680–683 CE) and later the ʻAbbasids maintained falconers on official posts with lavish expenses. When Marco Polo, the famous Venetian traveler, visited the Mongol Khan Kublai in 1275 CE, he was astonished to see as many as ten thousand falconers. All that enormous interest resulted in sanctuaries for falcons and hawks and a flourishing literature on falconry.

One of the best descriptions of hunting practices is provided by the "aristocrat" Usama ibn Munqidh (1095–1188 CE), who was a member of an Arab petty dynasty from northern Syria. In his memoirs he describes some hunting expeditions in which he himself participated.

Boaz Shoshan

See also Hunting

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STORIES AND STORYTELLING

See Popular Literature

SUDAN

Bilad al-Sudan, the "land of the blacks," was the name used for the savannah regions south of the Sahara from the Atlantic to the Red Sea. It can be divided into the Western Sudan (present-day Senegal to Mali), the Central Sudan around and to the northeast of Lake Chad (today Niger, northern Nigeria, and Chad), and the Nilotic Sudan (today the northern part of the Republic of Sudan). Western Sudan was sometimes also given the generic name "Takrur."

The Muslims' relation to the Sudan was initially one of trade. The origins of trans-Saharan trade is not known, but it did predate the Arab presence in North Africa, and it must have seen a marked expansion when the Maghrib was included in an Islamic world market, at least from the eighth or ninth century. Muslim traders traveled across the desert to market towns in the Sudanic belt, such as Tadmekka, Walata, and Awdaghost, where they met with local long-distance traders that had brought gold, ivory, and slaves from forest regions of the south. Eventually these Sudanic traders also started to make the journey across the desert to the trade centers that grew up on the northern side, such as Aghmat, Sijilmasa, and Wargala.

The Muslim traders did not, by and large, make any attempt at proselytization of their faith. Instead, they kept apart in separate quarters, often somewhat outside the main Sudanic towns. But the lucrative trade did in itself attract local elites to the civilization and thus the religion of the strangers. The rules of the Shari'a formed a legal framework necessary for more elaborate commercial networks, and those Sudanic traders that wanted to insert themselves directly in the transdesert trade would find conversion a major benefit for participation in it.

The trade also led to the growth of large empires in the Sudanic region. The first was Ghana (or Wagadu). It collapsed, perhaps after an Almoravid attack, in 1076, and was succeeded by Mali on the Niger bend (early thirteenth century). Mali became famous in the Muslim world for its wealth based on the gold trade, a reputation entrenched when its ruler, Mansa Musa, made a resplendent *hajj* in 1324. In the fifteenth century, the power of Mali was overtaken by the Songhay empire (c. 1460–1591), slightly to its east, with the capital of Gao.

Unlike Ghana's rulers, those of Mali had converted to Islam. However, it was initially only a partial conversion, as they also had to retain their religious legitimacy as divinely ordained rulers according to the popular faiths of their subjects. As Islam spread among the socially dominant classes of the population, however, Muslim religiosity also became important for the ruler, and the *askiya* rulers of Songhay, such as Askiya Muhammad, sought a reputation for piety by inviting Muslim reformers from the north to deepen knowledge of Islam in his lands.

Local traders also spread Islam southward from Jenne and other riverain centers, embodied by scholarly lineages such as the Suwari teachers and traders (the Jahanke and Juula).

The western trade routes were initially the most important ones across the desert. But the first major Sudanic king to convert to Islam was not of the west, but the ruler of the Kanem empire east of Lake Chad. He had already in the eleventh century made the transition to Islam. Kanem was also the first and only Sudanic kingdom to colonize a part of the Maghreb when it invaded Fezzan (today southern Libya) and established a local capital there at Traghen in around 1258. This expansionism from the south lasted about a century before weaknesses at home caused contacts to the colony to be cut off and it eventually withered away.

The traders that first brought Islam across the desert were mostly Ibadis or other Khariji groups that dominated such northern centers as Sijilmasa and Wargala. Thus Sudanic Islam was initially an Ibadi Islam, and it may have been this school to which the Kanem king converted. However, in this period Islam was still an elite and trader religion. By the time it spread to a wider audience from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Malikism reigned supreme in the north, and although some Ibadi desert retreats (Ghardaia, Wargala, Ghadames) remained important trading centers, it was Maliki Islam that came to dominate the Sudan, and all traces of an Ibadi past were lost to posterity.

The history of Islam in the Nilotic region differs from the western and central ones, because the Nile River allows a continuity of population from north to south. It also differs because Christianity had gained a firm foothold in the Nile valley, such as in the Nubian kingdoms of Maris, Muqurra, and Alwa. Muqurra, with its capital of Dongola, came under Egyptian Muslim control under the Mamluks, and its cathedral was turned into a mosque in 1317. The

kingdom of Alwa to the south (near modern-day Khartoum) fell apart around the same time. The immigration of Arab tribes, together with Arabization of the local population groups, made Arabic the dominant language, and Islam dominated the Nilotic Sudan by the end of the sixteenth century. At the end of this period, a dynasty of the Funj people established the kingdom of Sennar, which included most of the Nilotic Sudan and lasted until the nineteenth century.

In spite of its geographical closeness to Muslim Egypt, Islamic scholarship was much less developed in the Nilotic regions than in the western Sudan. There, desert-side centers such as Timbuktu and Walata, as well as scholarly tribes of the desert proper, produced an extensive Islamic literature and became focuses of learning that later came to influence not only their own region but also the central lands of Islam. More militant expressions of religious mobilization, such as the Almoravid movements that had some roots in the south, also showed the impact that the Sudan had on the Maghreb and beyond.

KNUT S. VIKØR

See also al-Bakri; Berber or Tamazight; Ibn Battuta; Mahmud al-Kati; Slaves and Slave Trade; Sunni ʻAli; Trade, African; Waqwaq

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SUFFERING

Various discussions that relate to the theme of suffering can be found in several genres, including discussions of pain, evil, misery *(shaqa')*, affliction *(bala')*, and torment *(ʻadhab)*. Traditionally, humans (including prophets), animals, and jinn are liable to suffer, to the exclusion of God and angels. As with pleasure and happiness, suffering may be experienced in this world and the hereafter; and it is generally accepted that "the torment of the hereafter is greater" (Q 68:33). The entry discusses this-worldly suffering only.

The Qur'an and *hadith* literature approach suffering in various ways. Some suffering is explained as punishment deserved by those who commit unbelief or disobedience, and is cited to draw people toward piety. The worst cases involve the violent and humiliating annihilation of an individual or a people (for example, the peoples of Noah and Lot), leading to more severe torment in the hereafter. Those with greater prudence should perceive these cases as a warning and as lessons through example. Where the sufferer survives, he or she will have the opportunity to recognize his or her own suffering as a directive to mend his or her ways.

Equally, suffering may be cathartic and thus a reason to rejoice. It may redeem the sufferer by purging him or her of sin, bringing relief from greater torment in the hereafter. According to one *hadith*, any Muslim who suffers harm, even the prick of a thorn, will have his or her sins expiated, "shedding from him as a tree sheds its leaves." Suffering may also draw one nearer to God (Q 7:94), or serve as an ordeal that tests the individual's faith (Q 2:155–157). Another *hadith* describes the plague as representing divine punishment upon some people, and divine mercy upon the believer, who will be rewarded for his or her patience in enduring a plague-ridden town. The Qur'an presents Prophet Job as the patient believer *par excellence*, who passed the test of severe adversity.

As regards the moral and spiritual virtues associated with the experience of suffering, the main religious traditions in Islam are in general agreement but differ on details. The central cathartic virtue emphasized throughout the Qur'an is patience, which (in contrast to stoic endurance) should be based on faith in, and reliance on, God's goodness and power. This basis is explained in various ways, for example, by reference to the eventual happiness that the patient should expect, or the insignificance of mundane pain to the believer, who is absorbed in his or her relation with God. To be truly patient, one should also conceal one's suffering, turning to none but God.

A spiritually advanced person will go beyond patience and reach the station of acquiescence and approval *(rida)* of whatever God decrees. This stance led some Sufis to take the non-mainstream view that, at this stage, one should not supplicate God to relieve suffering, which would imply disapproval.

Certain rituals—most notably fasting—induce moderate suffering in the believer and are thus

considered cathartic. Ascetics typically went further by undertaking forms of mortification, which serve a similar purpose. In Imami Shi'ism, great importance is attached to commemorations of the events of 'Ashura', partly as means to participating in the suffering of al-Husayn and his supporters in the battle of Karbala.

Theological Tradition

The rise of rational theology witnessed the development of systematic solutions to the problem of evil, which is essentially as follows. God is good, and good beings do not perform evil acts; yet God created the world, including at least some of the evil it contains.

According to the Mu'tazila, evil is justified rationally in the framework of their moral realism, whereby moral value can be intrinsic to acts and knowable to unaided reason. We are therefore able to make moral judgments in relation to both human and divine acts, for example, God is obligated to omit bad acts, including those that harm creatures. However, they argued, the act of creation is good, since it allows humans to attain great reward in the hereafter. Human suffering in this world, though *prima facie* bad, becomes good on account of afterlife compensation that God will provide. As for unjustified harm caused intentionally by other humans, it is their own moral responsibility (as they have free choice), not that of their Creator. It is thus incumbent upon God to deliver retributive justice by punishing wrongdoers. Though Mu'tazilism did not survive as a school, this theodicy was adopted in Zaydi and Imami Shi'ism.

By contrast, most Sunni theologians took an antirealist metaethical stance. Members of the Ash'ari school advanced an increasingly sophisticated criticism of Mu'tazili ethics and argued that ordinary moral judgments stem from emotion and social convention, rather than reason. God, therefore, is not obliged to adhere to any moral rules or duties. Though He creates everything, including human suffering and its causes, none of His acts are bad or morally justifiable. Yet God is compassionate and, out of favor, promises reward to believers who suffer patiently.

The Philosophical Tradition

According to Abu Bakr al-Razi (d. 313/925), an early maverick philosopher, pain is real, whereas pleasure, being mere relief from pain, is unreal. In reality, therefore, creatures experience only pain and anguish. Al-Razi argues that God, being absolutely good, could not have produced such a wretched creation. Rather, this world came into being when the preeternal Soul, out of sheer ignorance, desired to unite with matter (also, in his view, preeternal). Having witnessed the result of this union, God ameliorates it as much as possible and introduces reason, which serves to emancipate the Soul from matter, gradually as it advances through metempsychosis.

By contrast, Ibn Sina (d. 429/1037), the most influential Muslim philosopher, advances a Neoplatonic, purely ontological analysis of the problem of evil, which aims to prove that God, the absolutely good First Cause, produces a good world. Evil, he argues, refers either to imperfection in an entity (such as blindness), in which case it is nonexistent, or to a cause thereof, which is a quality in another entity (such as burning in fire). Such qualities are necessary features of the best possible cosmic order and serve greater good than the harm they cause accidentally. Pain, for Ibn Sina, is ontologically insignificant and deserves little justification; time, after all, erases most memories of pain from the mind. God, therefore, should not be judged morally on account of creaturely suffering—higher causes never act for the sake of lower beings. Ibn Sina lambastes the Mu'tazila who fail to comprehend this and take the subjective human experience of pain at face value in their theodicy.

This standard Neoplatonic theodicy became influential on later philosophical Sufis, most notably Ibn 'Arabi (d. 638/1240). But Ibn Sina was seriously challenged by Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d. 606/1210), who argues that a theodicy that disregards the human experience of suffering merely circumvents the real problem of evil, which concerns the ordinary understanding of evil in terms of pain. This world, he retorts, contains much more pain than pleasure. Yet (reiterating the prevalent Sunni view) this has no moral bearing on God.

Ayman Shihadeh

See also Afterlife; Ash'aris; Ethics; Mu'tazilites

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SUFISM AND SUFIS: SOUTH ASIA

Sufism, or the mystical component of Islam, in South Asia constitutes a critical component of Muslim society in the medieval period. Alongside the religious learned class *('ulama')*, Sufis had developed sophisticated institutions of learning, networks for merchants, charitable organizations, and contributed immensely to scholarship. In South Asia, just as their counterparts in the Middle East and North Africa, Sufis were scholars of law, philosophy, theology, literature, medicine, mathematics, and astronomy. Sufis obtained prominent political positions as advisors to statesmen on jurisprudence and on policy decisions, and they also were influential members in all of the major Islamic Sunni and Shi'i legal schools. Sufi scholars in South Asia were responsible for developing major intellectual trends, philosophical schools of thought, and devising legal interpretations that were historical in nature.

Many of the major educational institutions that taught traditional Qur'ānic, legal, linguistic, and hadith and seerah studies had incorporated Sufi studies into their curriculum. As scholars, Sufis developed new ways of defining and transmitting spiritual knowledge and authority and simultaneously devised their own methods of legitimation. By the medieval period, Sufism evolved as the main expression of Islamic piety by being patronized either by the Delhi sultanate or the Mughal dynasty. Their popular religious appeal simultaneously was connected to the intellectual growth and exuberance of Muslim scholarship.

Emperor Akbar's erudite historian, Abu Fazl, recorded in *A'in-i Akbari* that there were fourteen major Sufi orders in South Asia. In Abu Fazl's analysis of Sufism, he outlines the subbranches of each of the orders, the founding Sufi masters, the genealogies, and their primary areas of influence. The fourteen Sufi orders that were dominant in the medieval period were: Chishtī, Hubairī, Zaidī, Habibī, Karkia, Suhrawardī, Taifurī, Junaidī, Firdausī, Tasuia, Gazrunī, 'Iyazī, Adhamī, and Saqatia. Each Sufi order constituted its own rituals, meditation practices, prayer manuals, literature on Sufism, and independent institutions that lodged members and senior Sufi masters.

A review of two major Sufi orders, the Chishtis and Suhrawardīs, will illustrate the major religious practices of Sufis in South Asia. Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī, commonly called *Khwaja Gharib Nawaz* ("The Patron Saint of the Poor") established the Chishti Sufi order in India. Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī was born in Sijistan, an eastern province of Persia, was forced out of his town by invasions, and became itinerant until he settled in Ajmer, India. Chishtī studied in a variety of prestigious Islamic colleges *(madaris)* in Baghdad, Samarqand, Tabriz, and Bukhara, where he mastered languages, philosophy, law, and ethics and then concentrated on an internal mystical approach to religion. It is recorded that Chishtī met prominent Sufis, such as 'Abdu'l Qadir Jilānī, Najm ud-dīn Kubra, and Abdul Qadir al-Suhrawardī, and studied under the eminent Usmān Baghdadī for twenty years. Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī reached Delhi in 1193, and then settled in Ajmer to establish his teachings and the Sufi order. Like earlier prominent Sufi masters before him, Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī implemented a hierarchical master–disciple *(pir–murīd)* structure for spiritual training, and he also successfully assimilated local customs into the order. Chishtī understood the benefits of cross-religious exchanges and shared many Hindu *yogi* practices, such as bowing before an elder, shaving the head of new members, presenting water to guests, and the use of devotional music *(samā')* for worship. The distinguishing features of Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī's teachings and practices are assimilating Sufi practices within the Indian religious context, while other contemporary Sufis and legal-minded scholars were interested in maintaining boundaries between Islam and the Hindu tradition.

Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī's beliefs were a combination of Islamic mystical beliefs with an emphasis on social reforms. Chishtī Sufi mystical practices are rooted in the theory of the unity of being *(wahdat al-wujūd)*, which stressed that the presence of the Divine is manifested in everything in the universe and one is able to access the divine through spiritual exercises. In contrast to the legal-minded scholars or *'ulamā'* who claimed they had the exclusive rights to interpreting divine knowledge through the laws of the Qur'ān, Sūfī masters like Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī emphasized that the ability for each individual, regardless of class and educational training, was to be able to experience the ecstasy of divine union. Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī's esoteric path involved a disciple in relentless sacrifice and love to God. Like many Sufis before him, Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī believed that the individual needed to be guided by a master in order for the disciple to be completely immersed in living for God and cultivate a special kind of inner love *(muhabbat-i khass)*. This involved striving to a higher spiritual level where the disciple developed an emotional and spiritual relationship between himself or herself and the Divine. At this ideal state nothing else existed but a complete spiritual union.

The difficult social and political conditions under which Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī lived influenced his emphasis on incorporating social services with his Sufi theosophy. With a corrupt sociopolitical and economic system under the Delhi sultanate, Chishtī's rejection of all worldly material *(tark-i dunyā)* was the foundation of his ideology. Any possession of property was considered a compromise of faith. According to Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī, "The highest form of worship to God was to redress the misery of those in distress, to fulfill the needs of the poor and to feed the hungry." Chishtī Sufis lived on charity *(futuh)* and practiced several mystical breathing techniques, engaged in spiritual confinement in a cell for meditational purposes, and involved themselves in devotional music gatherings *(samā')*. The more advanced Sufis tied a rope around their feet and lowered their bodies into a well for forty days for prayer *(chilla-i ma'kus)*. Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī preached that fasting from food was a good method for increasing one's faith, and if one desired food it should be a vegetarian diet. The Chishtīs had a reputation of having a large section of lower classes and the dispossessed in society as members. Since the Chishtīs accepted any member without discrimination of religion, class, ethnicity, and gender, the order rapidly became eclectic. When an individual became a member of the Chishtī Sufi order, which did not require religious conversion, he or she needed first, to choose an elder as a spiritual guide and second, to commit themselves to maintain the grounds of the shrine *(dargāh)*. Mu'īn al-dīn Chishtī's blend of a mystical life and social services for the poor profoundly changed the Islamic mystical institutions in the Indian subcontinent. His Sufi order served as an alternative form of popular spiritual expression because it empowered individuals to develop a spiritual discipline within a meaningful framework.

Another significant Sufi order in South Asia during the medieval period was the Suhrawardī Sufis, mainly located in Punjab and Sind. Baha' al-dīn Zakariyya Multanī (1181–1262) was Shihāb al-dīn 'Abū Hafs 'Umar al-Suhrawardī's (d. 1234) primary successor *(khalīfa)* to establish the Sufi order in Multan. Zakariyya successfully made his Sufi center *(khānaqāh)* an important center for both secular and religious activities as prominent royal families would visit and attend Suhrawardī rituals. A well-known poet and disciple of Zakariyya was Faqr al-dīn 'Irāqī, who wrote on the experience of divine union in his book *Lama'āt (Divine Flashes)*. Zakariyya's son and primary *khalīfa*, Sadr al-dīn 'Arif (d. 1285), continued the Suhrawardī order's mission, and his conversations were recorded by his successor, Zia al-dīn. Another important Suhrawardī successor of 'Umar al-Suhrawardī was Qādī Hamīd al-dīn Nagauri, who was based in Delhi. Nagauri wrote on the principles and practices of Sufism in *Usūl ut tarīqāt (The Principles of the Sūfī Path),* which was widely used in most Suhrawardī centers in the Indian subcontinent. Nagauri served as *Shaikh-al-Islām* for the Delhi sultānate and was considered a leading scholar in his period. An extensive *tafsīr* is attributed to Nagauri called *Tafsīr-i Para-i 'Amma*. Works pertaining to Nagauri's ideas on mystical experiences connected to the larger cosmos. Another eminent Suhrawardī master and teacher was Jalāl al-dīn Bukhārī (d. 1291), who wrote *Sirāj al Hidayāh (Rays of Guidance)* in which he discussed the establishment of the Suhrawardī order in Ucch and in the Sind province. Most of this information is recorded by one of the major Suhrawardī chroniclers, Hamīd ibn Fazl Allāh Jamalī (d. 1536), author of *Siyār al 'Arifīn*.

Since its early history in Baghdad, the Suhrawardī Sufi order maintained the principle of embracing the world with the esoteric practices of Sufism. That is, the early theosophist of the Sufi order, 'Umar al-Suhrawardī, emphasized the necessity of becoming politically active and building networking alliances in order to be active members of the community. Part of al-Suhrawardī's basic creed was to adhere to and fully recognize the caliph's rule, or perhaps to obey general state authority, because this authority was a manifestation of divine authority on earth.

Suhrawardīs understood the Sufi path as the way to perfect one's devotion and the journey where one can fully embrace divine beauty; at the heart of the Suhrawardī Sufism was the reconnection with the divine the human soul had previously experienced in a preexistent time. This did not mean that Suhrawardīs could not lead a practical life; rather, they were encouraged to enjoy the benefits of this world and to not reject the world. They understood that the Prophet Muhammad established a balanced code for Suf living, and this example was the model for Suhrawardīs. According to the Suhrawardīs, there were only a few advanced devotees who were able to pray all night and work all day. The majority of believers needed to maintain prayers and specific Sufi practices, such as meditational spiritual exercises *(dhikr)*, as part of their daily routine. On the controversial issue of whether Sufis should maintain a celibate lifestyle, Suhrawardīs argued that only advanced Sufi masters were qualified to judge whether their disciples were spiritually equipped to take on that challenge. But there was a consensus that the lifestyle of the antinomian nomadic begging Qalandars was not acceptable in the Islamic tradition.

The overwhelming stress on proper moral conduct *(adab)* is mainly connected with his concern that

Sufis develop an internal and external discipline that mirrored the Prophet's life. For the Suhrawardīs the physical world is very much related to the spiritual world, and in order for Sufis to perfect their spirituality their physical customs must reflect their internal condition. Most South Asian Suhrawardī masters connected *adab* as way to obey the law completely because it was a manifestation of divine order. Some suggested that in the process of creating a perfect harmonious society, it required an intensely structured model. *Adab* was a critical element in this ideal world because all the minute details of an individual's behavior could be controlled. However, Suhrawardīs believed they were practicing more than spiritual purity, but in the larger scheme, Suhrawardī Sufis were attempting to reunite with the divine, and this required them to uphold Islamic law. One needed to be prepared to carry out this extraordinary responsibility by having one's thoughts and actions planned for every moment.

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SUHRAWARDI, AL-, SHIHAB AL-DIN ‘UMAR (1145–1234)

Shihab al-Din Abu Hafs ‘Umar al-Suhrawardi belonged to a prominent Persian Sufi family and was responsible for officially organizing the Suhrawardi Sufi order. At an early age he was initiated into Islamic mysticism by his renowned uncle, Abu Najib al-Suhrawardi (d. 1168), and he studied jurisprudence, philosophy, law, logic, theology, Qur'anic studies, and hadith studies. He studied theology under the eminent scholar and Sufi teacher ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (d. 1166), and at a young age al-Suhrawardi mastered the Hanbali and Shafi‘i branches of Islamic law in Baghdad.

The ‘Abbasid caliph al-Nasir li-Din Allah designated al-Suhrawardi the *Shaykh al-Islam* or Minister of Religious Affairs to supervise political and religious affairs for the ‘Abbasid administration. As a political theorist, al-Suhrawardi advocated the supremacy of the caliph because he was the capstone who mastered the Islamic sciences, who commanded knowledge of law, and who was the mediator between God and creation. For al-Suhrawardi, since humanity was incapable of returning to God on its own, the caliphate was the temporal overseer and the representative of God on earth. His political theories did invite their share of criticism from legal scholars of his time, who felt he was too closely connected to legitimizing the policies of the state.

Al-Suhrawardi's legacy is primarily within Sufism, where he asserted that living according to

Sufi principles and beliefs was the perfect way for devotion and to enjoy divine beauty. According to al-Suhrawardi, the Sufi tradition was rooted in the life of the Prophet Muhammad, who embodied human perfection and divine guidance. It is the goal of Sufis to mirror the Prophet in order to discipline their entire inner and outer selves. His Sufi theosophy stressed proper moral conduct *(adab)* because the physical world is very much related to the spiritual world, and in order for Sufis to perfect their spirituality to meet the divine their physical customs must reflect their internal condition. Al-Suhrawardi's ideas on proper moral conduct stem from the belief that it is necessary to obey the law completely because it is a manifestation of divine order. *Adab* was a critical element in his ideal world because all minute details of an individual's behavior could be controlled, a practice the Sufi novice needed to master. For al-Suhrawardi, Sufis were practicing more than spiritual purity, but in the larger scheme, Sufis were attempting to reunite with the divine in their lifetime, and this required them not to abandon or neglect the law. According to al-Suhrawardi, one needed to be prepared to carry out this extraordinary responsibility by having one's thoughts and actions planned for every moment, at every place.

One of al-Suhrawardi's best extant Sufi texts, *‘Awarif al-Ma‘arif (The Knowledge of the Spiritually Learned)*, was one of the more popular Sufi books of his time, and posthumously it became the standard preparatory text book for Sufi novices around the Islamic world. One of the many reasons for its esteemed reputation in the Sufi world was that the manual attempted to reconcile the practices of Sufism with the observance of Islamic law. To later generations of Sufis and to a wide cross-section of Sufi orders, al-Suhrawardi's Sufi treatise became one of the most closely studied and memorized texts in the tradition. Al-Suhrawardi's contribution to Sufi thought, to Islamic piety, and to living a holy life was to ensure that Sufis fully comprehended *adab* as a transformative medium between the inner and outer worlds. For him, *adab* was grounded in theology that is less about the physical, psychological, and temporal dimensions of moral conduct; rather, it is more concerned with accentuating the constant opening of the heart that inspires a real journey toward encountering God.

Qamar-ul Huda

See also ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani; Sufis and Sufism

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SULAYHIDS

The Sulayhids, a Yemenite dynasty in close relationship with the Fatimid caliphate of Egypt, ruled Yemen between AH 439/1047 CE and AH 532/1138 CE. The earliest Fatimid base had been in Yemen when the Isma’ili da‘i Ibn Hawshab Mansur al-Yaman declared his mission at Mt. Masar near San‘a’ in 268/881 and started conquering many parts of northern Yemen in preparation for the advent of the Fatimid caliphate there. However, the Fatimid al-Mahdi chose North Africa for the establishment of his caliphate, and Yemen, on purpose, was abandoned politically, although a mission *(da‘wa)* continued to exist there. When, in the eleventh century, to face the Seljuk challenge, the Fatimids entered into a thick confrontation with the ‘Abbasid caliphate, their interest in Yemen was revived as a base for its trade with India to compete with that of the ‘Abbasids in that region, and also because the Fatimid Mediterranean trade declined because of the Zirid defiance in North Africa in league with the ‘Abbasid–Seljuk entente. This brought the Sulayhids into prominence, helped by the Fatimids, to establish themselves in Yemen on their behalf.

‘Ali ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Ali, of the Sulayhi family, belonging to the Yam branch of the Hamdan tribe, was the son of a Shafi‘i *qadi* in the Haraz region west of San‘a’. He was converted to Ismailism by the then incumbent of the Fatimid *da‘wa* in Yemen, Sulayman ibn ‘Abd Allah of the Zawahi family. In 429/1038, at a pilgrimage at Mecca, ‘Ali gathered enough followers to declare his mission on behalf of the Fatimids and to embark on a campaign of conquests that culminated in the taking of San‘a’ in 439/1047 from the Yu‘firids. By 455/1063, he had conquered all of

Yemen. About this the near-contemporary historian Umara wrote: "By the end of 455 H. he had conquered all the plains and mountains; all the lands and waters of Yemen, the like of which had not been seen either in the *Jahiliyya* or Islam."

Exactly at that time, Fatimid Egypt was passing through a great crisis because of a long-drawn-out famine *(al-shidda al-'uzma)* and the ravages of a soldier of fortune, Nasir al-Dawla. 'Ali sent a prolonged embassy under his *da'i* Lamak ibn Malik al-Hammadi from 454/1062 to 459/1067 to the court of the Imam–Caliph al-Mustansir bi-Allah (427–487/1036–1094) at Cairo. Lamak was lodged at the Dar al-'Ilm (Academy of Science), the headquarters of the Chief Da'i al-Mu'ayyad fi al-din al-Shirazi (d. 470/1077). It seems that this embassy was responsible for many decisions. 'Ali wanted to visit the Fatimid court as a savior from its crisis, but he was prevented from doing so. 'Ali had wanted to control Mecca and its Sharifate. He was dissuaded from it and was instead encouraged to conquer Hadramawt. 'Ali wanted that his family would be confirmed in the *da'wa* as da'i-kings. This was agreed upon, but an autonomous *da'wa* was set up under the Sulayhid sovereigns. It is possible that the process of transferring the *da'wa* literature to the Yemen began at this time, and so also the strengthening of the *da'wa* in India under Yemeni control, thus securing the Egypt–Yemen–India trade route.

Without waiting for the Imam's permission, 'Ali started on his journey to Egypt via Mecca, where he went for pilgrimage at the end of 459 (early 1067). He was assassinated there by the forces of Sa'id, the Najahid king of Zabid. 'Ali's wife, Asma bint Shihab, was taken prisoner.

'Ali was succeeded by Ahmad al-Mukarram, his second son. His first son, Muhammad al-A'azz, had predeceased him by a year. Al-Mukarram rescued his mother by defeating the Najahid Sa'id in a battle that also resulted in his paralysis. In 467/1074, he had to retire to Dhu Jibla near Ibb, leaving the affairs of the state in the hands of his wife, al-Sayyida al-Hurra al-Malika Arwa, who resided probably in Haraz, while San'a' was put under the charge of 'Imran ibn al-Fadl al-Yami, along with Abu l-Su'ud ibn As'ad ibn Shihab, the brother of queen-mother Asma. Asma died later in the same year (467/1074).

That year also saw the establishment of the absolute power of the Armenian military leader Badr al-Jamali in Egypt. From then until his death in 470/1078, the Chief Da'i al-Mu'ayyad fi l-din al-Shirazi was probably responsible for bringing Badr al-Jamali and Queen Arwa in close collaboration with each other. Badr needed the adherence of Yemen, and the queen needed her autonomy. The maintenance of this Egypt–Yemen entente explains the acceptance by the Yemeni *da'wa* of the caliphate of al-Musta'li, the nominee of Badr's son al-Afdal after the death of the caliph al-Mustansir. The older son of al-Mustansir, Nizar, was bypassed in Fatimid succession but was supported by the Da'i Hasan ibn Sabbah who established a rival Nizari Da'wa at Alamut in Iran.

When al-Mukarram died in 477/1084, the queen faced a rivalry between the two Qadis—'Imran ibn al-Fadl and Lamak ibn Malik. Imran was stationed in San'a' and was the commander-in-chief of the Sulayhid army. However, he once insulted the memory of al-Mukarram's father and fell out of grace of the king and the queen, although he later fought with the Sulayhids against the Najahids and was killed in battle. 'Imran's family would later control San'a' and found a Hamdanid kingdom there. The queen, on the other hand, was supported by the *da'wa* under Lamak and then under his son, Yahya. Although the queen was the sole *de facto* ruler, the official ruler was her minor son, 'Ali 'Abd al-Mustansir. However, she was at this time given by Imam al-Mustansir the title of *Hujja,* making her the highest religious leader in her region. The queen was supported by two military chiefs—Amir Abu Himyar Saba ibn Ahmad of the Sulayhid family and Amir Abu l-Rabi' 'Amir ibn Sulayman of the Zawahi family—both in constant conflict with each other, thus weakening the Sulayhid state. In the years 491–492/1098–1099, the two Amirs died. The da'i Lamak ibn Malik and the queen's two sons, 'Ali and al-Muzaffar, also died about this time, leaving the queen at the mercy of another Amir, al-Mufaddal al-Himyari, who guarded her treasure at the fortress of Ta'kar but was also responsible for creating many enemies against her by his constant warfare. On his death in 504/1110, Egypt sent an Armenian commander, Ibn Najib al-Dawla, as a *da'i* to reign in the chaotic situation in Yemen. Soon the local tribes revolted against him and the authority of the queen was much constrained by him. In any case he was drowned in the Red Sea, probably at the unavowed instigation of the queen. Another administrator was appointed at this time from the Sulayhid family, 'Ali ibn 'Abd Allah, with the title of Fakhr al-khilafa. The queen, however, relied on the *Da'wa* under Yahya ibn Lamak and its military arm, Sultan al-Khattab ibn al-Hasan al-Hamdani, the baron of Jurayb in the Hajur district. He is also called a *da'i*, for many works of the Yemeni *da'wa* were authored by him. He became the queen's defender of faith and the protector of her realm. He never attained the position of a *Da'i mutlaq* under the queen as a Hujja, which went to his mentor—the Da'i Dhu'ayb ibn Musa al-Wadi'i—on Da'i Yahya's death in 520/1126.

In the meantime, in Egypt, the imam–caliph al-Mustansir was followed by al-Musta'li (487–495/1094–1101), and then by al-Amir (495–524/1101–1130), who was assassinated by the Nizaris. On Amir's death, Queen Arwa recognized his minor son Tayyib as imam, thus severing her ties with the new Fatimid ruler al-Hafiz and his successors. Tayyib, in hiding, was then never heard from. Two years later, in 526/1132, the Tayyibi da'wa was declared in Yemen with da'i Dhu'ayb as the first *da'i Mutlaq*—a rank that continued to signify the headship of the da'wa in Yemen and India, independent of the Fatimid caliphate. The last years of Queen Arwa saw the disintegration of her empire. She died in 532/1138, leaving in her will a large fortune to the absent Imam Tayyib, that is, to the da'wa. Soon after, in a year's time, her chief military supporter, the da'i Khattab, also died.

The Hamdanid dynasty of San'a' and the Zuray'id dynasty of Aden supported the Hafizi da'wa of the Fatimids till all three of them were terminated by the Ayyubid conquest of Egypt and Yemen during 567–569/1171–1173. Under Ayyubid rule, the Tayyibi Ismailis remained as a community, not involved in politics, and thus survived till today in Yemen and India, preserving the *Da'wa* structure and the Fatimid literary heritage.

Abbas Hamdani

See also Arwa; Ismailis

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SÜLEYMANIYE MOSQUE

The architect Sinan (AH 895/1490 CE–996/1588) built the great Süleymaniye *külliye* (socioreligious complex) for his patron Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (926–974/1520–1566) in the years 957–965/1550–1557. The mosque complex dominated the eastern skyline of Istanbul, occupying the third of its seven hills. The choice of such a site was intended to enhance the building's grandeur, so that the mosque, and by identification its patron, had visual prominence in the Ottoman capital. Moreover, it commanded dramatic panoramic views from its elevated platform, which on its eastern side was raised so high that one could gaze over the rooftops of the Salis and Rabı Medreses to the Golden Horn and the Sea of Marmara below.

The architectural construction, maintenance, and the huge support staff of 748 needed for the daily running of the complex was financed, as typical for such enormous imperial Ottoman commissions, by an extensive *waqf* endowment of farms and other income-producing properties, taxes on villages, and the rents produced by the assorted shops and cafes around the perimeter of the site. The seven-hectare complex consisted of a centrally placed mosque, a courtyard, and a cemetery enclosed within a walled esplanade that was surrounded by six *medreses* (colleges), a Koran school *(mekteb),* soup kitchen *(imaret)*, hospital *(daruşşifa)*, baths, a Sufi hostel *(tabhane)*, and various coffeehouses and shops. The *medreses* were self-contained schools with small rooms for students, residences for the academic directors, and lecture halls organized around large open courtyards. A residence for Sufis was a central feature of earlier *zawiya*-mosque complexes, but here, its position outside the walls of the main mosque precinct was a sign of the diminished importance of Sufi sheikhs and the imperial subordination of the Sufi orders to the orthodox and increasingly centralized Sunni state.

The centerpiece of the hilltop complex is the great domed mosque, erected on sloping ground artificially leveled at great expense. The prayer hall and mosque

courtyard together form a rectangle, with a second courtyard beyond the mosque's *qibla* wall that contains the simple yet imposing, double-shell-domed, octagonal tomb of the sultan. The location of the founder's tomb here firmly and permanently attached his identity to the great *külliye*. Off center stood the smaller tomb of his favorite wife, the Haseki Hürrem Sultan (d. 1558). Surrounded by a roofed colonnade and adorned with inscriptions referring to paradise and tile panels with garden themes, Süleyman's tomb bore a resemblance to the late-seventh-century Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, and by extension evoked an association with Solomon's Temple, which was particularly appropriate since the sultan was sometimes called "The Solomon of the Age." Although earlier Ottoman complexes, such as the Ulu Cami in Manisa (776/1374), included the founder's tomb beside the mosque, its placement directly beyond the mihrab at Süleyman's mosque followed the example of the Fatih Cami (867–875/1463–1470), an ideologically important mosque built just after the conquest of Constantinople, that trumpeted the realization of the Ottoman imperial dream.

Visually dramatic and mathematically rational, the Süleymaniye mosque is one of the sublime achievements in Islamic architecture. A peristyle *(revak)* with twenty-four domes runs around the interior of the courtyard (forty-four by fifty-seven meters), which has a central ablution fountain. The courtyard is marked by four minarets that vertically extend its dimensions, the sharp spikes contrasting and competing with the majestic dome of the prayer hall. The minarets at the courtyard's outer wall have two balconies, whereas those at the juncture of the courtyard and prayer hall are taller, with three balconies. The change in height and elaboration contributes to a sense of acceleration that culminates in the dome, a huge fifty-three-meter-high half sphere that rises above a host of smaller and lower half and full domes. The central dome is raised on a high drum buttressed at the north and south ends by great half domes, which are, in turn, supported by smaller half domes fitted neatly into the corners of the rectangle thus formed by the great central and half domes. The dome rests on four massive piers that inscribe a central area of 26.5 square meters, a dimension that is exactly half of the dome's height. To the east and west sides of the central dome, galleried secondary spaces are vaulted by a rhythmic succession of large and small domes. The result is not so much an accumulation of discrete domical units but a single, continuous space that crescendoes at its apex. Goodwin, who has traced the relative proportions of the domical units, the interior volumes of the prayer hall, and the mosque's plan, asserts that Sinan had a sophisticated understanding of mathematical and geometrical harmony: "These measurements conform absolutely to the symbol of the perfect circle in the perfect square and it is so satisfactory a definition of space that it dominates the complexities which modulate the rigid form of the rest of the mosque. . . ." (p. 213).

The mosque was built with luxurious materials: marble, porphyry, glazed tile, gold, richly hued paints, and even ostrich eggs. The interior furnishings once included crystal mosque lamps, handsomely inlaid wooden chests, and carpets. The mihrab wall was the first of Sinan's works to be extensively decorated with red and blue Iznik tiles. The brilliantly colored glass windows on the *qibla* wall were the work of Sarhoş Ibrahim. The bright painting of the mosque's interior seen today is largely the work (recently retouched) of the Fossati brothers in the mid-nineteenth century. Between the dome's immense piers, four massive red granite columns form lateral screens that run perpendicular to the *qibla* wall. Their provenance was charged with territorial and political symbolism, for according to reports, one each came from the old Ottoman palace (the site on which the Süleymaniye was built), Kiztaşi in Istanbul, Alexandria (Egypt), and Baalbek (Lebanon), which itself was associated with a palace built by Solomon. However, modern historians point to the impossibility of obtaining four perfectly matched columns of such prodigious size from such disparate sources; although architectural spolia (reused material) was no doubt extracted from those places, it is more likely that all four of the columns were specially commissioned for the mosque from the same quarry and workshop.

If the Süleymaniye mosque made sophisticated reference to numerous earlier buildings at the symbolic level, it also was clearly the architectural progeny of the Hagia Sophia. Both are enormous religious buildings with expansive interior spaces that, through the careful massing of domes and half domes, had elongated axes in which vision was unimpeded by vertical supports. The concentration of architectonic support on corner piers liberated the walls so that they could be filled with windows, flooding the interior with light. Sinan had plenty of opportunity to study the great sixth-century Byzantine church that had been converted to a mosque immediately after the conquest of Constantinople of 857/1453, and appears to have deliberately striven to equal and eventually exceed the venerable monument. The Hagia Sophia's patron Justinian was reputed to have proclaimed, "Solomon, I have surpassed you!" at the church's inauguration, but a thousand years later Süleyman could claim to have surpassed Justinian.

D. Fairchild Ruggles

See also Istanbul; Madrasa; Sinan

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SULTAN

The Arabic word *sultan* is derived from the noun *sulta*, defined as authority in medieval Arabic dictionaries such as Ibn Manzur's (d. 1312) *Lisan al-'Arab* or al-Fayuzabadi's (d. 1414) *al-Qamus al-muhit*. A sultan is thus one who holds authority. In the Qur'an, the word *sultan* is linked to the concept of spiritual power, but use of the term *sultan* soon spread to other aspects of the medieval Islamic world, most notably in governmental and nongovernmental areas. Thus, for example, a master of poetry or a Sufi shaykh could receive the honorific appellation of *sultan* from his devotees. However, it is the use of *sultan* in the political and governmental spheres with which this entry is concerned.

In political spheres the term was given to (or claimed by) rulers, primarily derived from the military classes, who achieved independent power and control over the regions they ruled. Its use in this context emerged during the periods of Buyid (c. 932–1062) and Seljuk (c. 1038–1194) domination of the Central Islamic lands of Iraq and Iran, although after the Seljuks it was used primarily in regions where the rulers were Sunni. A representative list of the polities who used this title for their preeminent ruler would include the Ayyubid (1169–1250), Delhi (1206–1555), Ghaznavid (977–1186), and Mamluk (1250–1517) sultanates. It was the highest title such a military warlord could claim, as titles such as caliph or imam were reserved for those who possessed religious authority. It is worth noting that while it is commonplace to mention that there is no Islamic precept similar to the Christian idea of "rendering unto Caesar that which is Caesar's and unto God that which is God's," the regnal titles *(laqab, alqab)* adopted by many of these *sultan*s often took the form of a phrase such as "*sayf al-dawla wa-l-din*." While *sayf* is easily translated as sword, translations of both *dawla* and *din* are heavily dependent on context and difficult to translate into only one English word, but in a context such as this, *sayf al-dawla wa-l-din* may be rendered as "sword of the polity and the faith." Thus while sultans would not have the authority to rule on matters of faith, they would be charged with upholding Islamic belief and defending and ensuring justice for the Muslims they ruled.

In many cases, while sultans were the *de facto* rulers of their regions, they often sought the *de jure* recognition of their authority from the 'Abbasid caliphs. The decline of the actual power of the 'Abbasid caliphate and the rise of military leaders as sulṭans did not go unnoticed by medieval Islamic jurists. Al-Ghazali (d. 1111), al-Mawardi (d. 1058), Nizam al-Mulk (d. 1092), Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328), and Badr al-Din Muhammad ibn Jama'a (d. 1333), to name but five, wrote normative treatises on government that discussed, among other things, the rise and power of sultans, and the impact this had on Sunni principles of Islamic government. The reader is referred to the respective entries for the first four; the remainder of this entry will briefly discuss the ideas of the last.

Prior to the Mongol sack of Baghdad and murder of the 'Abbasid caliph al-Musta'ṣim in 1258, most Sunni political thought had been concerned with maintaining the primacy of the caliph (the title "imam" is often used). Normative thought legitimized the authority of sultans by arguing that while the sultans held power, the caliph was suzerain, although it is probable that most jurists recognized that such suzerainty was theoretical only. After 1258, and despite the creation of the oft-called "Shadow" 'Abbasid caliphate in Cairo by the Mamluk Sultan Baybars—whose authority few jurists recognized—this theoretical suzerainty was abandoned by jurists such as Badr al-Din ibn Jama'a. In his work *Tahrir al-ahkam fi tadbir ahl al-islam*, whose title echoes the *Ahkam al-sultaniyya* of al-Mawardi, Ibn Jama'a instead "was prepared to transfer to the *de-facto* ruler the constitutional theories worked out by earlier jurists and to recognize [the *de facto* ruler] as imam, holding that the seizure of power itself gave



Sixteenth century CE. Courtyard. Built around 1570 by Sultan Mulay Abdullah. Credit: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY. Madrasa Ben Yusuf, Marrakesh, Morocco.

authority" (Lambton, p. 139). Even the seizure of power by a bad ruler, according to Ibn Jama'a (although the idea is not unique to him), was preferable to the absence of a government. In order to provide just rule and protection to his subjects, however, Ibn Jama'a wrote that the sultan should by necessity consult with the *'ulama'*. In this, of course, Ibn Jama'a was following a well-developed line of Islamic thought.

WARREN C. SCHULTZ

See also 'Abbasid Caliphate; Ayyubids; Baybars; Buyids; Al-Ghazali Ghaznavids; Ibn Taymiyya; Mamluks; al-Mawardi; Nizam al-Mulk; Seljuks

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SUNNI ALI, SONGHAY RULER

In the thirteenth century, Mali extended its sovereignty to include the Songhay area and, according to the chronicles (most of them by African writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), took two noble hostages. One of them, Ali Kolon, escaped and returned to found the Sunni (Sonni) dynasty. Ali Kolon's far descendant, Sunni Ali (Ber), is known as a powerful and combative Songhay ruler who laid the foundations of an extensive empire, among others by conquering Timbuktu during his reign from 1463 to 1492. Islam's influence in the area, with a flourishing base in Timbuktu, appeared as an obstacle to Sunni Ali Ber's plan to exert more complete control over the entire region. According to the chronicles, he was a lukewarm Moslem at best. However, there is good reason to consider such descriptions as either

biased by political points of view from regions with growing links to Islamic Northern Africa or as the product of a literary model, since both these chronicles and present-day oral traditions picture Sunni Ali in contrast to his illustrious successor Askia Muhammad.

JAN JANSEN

See also Askia Muhammad; Mali; Songhay Empire

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SUNNI REVIVAL

The Sunni revival occurred during the eleventh century when the ʻAbbasid caliphate in Baghdad and the Turkish–Seljuk Sultans actively supported Sunnism. During this period Sunni Islam became the dominant branch in the Muslim east. Sunni Islam is based on the approved standard or practice introduced by the Prophet Muhammad, as well as the pious Muslim forefathers. Sunnism first gained prominence during the eighth century when reports on the sayings and deeds of the Prophet were collected. During its early days, Sunnism stood in opposition to the ʻAbbasid caliphate, which favored more rationalist schools of thought, like the Qadarites, Murji'ites, or Muʻtazilites. The most prominent figure of early Sunnism, Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 855), withstood the persecution of prominent Sunni leaders during the *mihna*, the "inquisition" instituted by the Caliph al-Ma'mun (r. 813–833). After the end of the *mihna* in 848, ʻAbbasid caliphs are said to have paid homage to Ahmad ibn Hanbal and his followers, but they still did not support their traditionalist Sunni views. As the ʻAbbasid caliphs became more and more marginalized during the ninth and tenth centuries, the real power came into the hands of the emirs and grand-emirs of the Buyid family, who openly supported Shiʻism in Iraq and Iran.

During the beginning of the eleventh century, the twenty-fifth ʻAbbasid caliph, al-Qadir, who reigned the long period between 991 and 1031, managed to pursue a religious policy in Baghdad that became increasingly independent of the Buyid grand-emir in Shiraz. Al-Qadir found support among the well-organized group of traditionalist Sunni scholars of the Hanbali school and their local militias (ʻayyarun). In 1018, al-Qadir published the so-called Qadiri Creed, in which he attempts to set a standard for Muslim orthodoxy. The Qadiri Creed, inspired by Hanbali Sunnism, is the very first document of its kind and it was repeatedly read in public throughout the eleventh century. In it, al-Qadir condemns Shiʻis and Muʻtazilites and declares that rationalist theological positions such as the belief in the createdness of the Qur'an are unbelief *(kufr)* and liable to punishment by the state authorities. The open alliance of the Caliph al-Qadir and his grandson and successor, al-Qa'im (r. 1031–1075), with the conservative Hanbali branch of Sunni scholars led to violent tensions between the equally powerful Sunni and Shiʻi militias in Baghdad that often exploded in outbursts of civil war.

The arrival of the Seljuks in Baghdad in 1055 completely changed the balance of power in favor of the caliph and his Sunni allies. The Seljuks were Turkish nomads from the plains of Central Asia (in today's Kazakhstan) who had adopted Islam and crossed the border to the Muslim empire in about 1025. With their superior horsepower they destroyed the Buyid principalities one by one and aimed to establish amicable relations with the ʻAbbasid caliph in Baghdad. In 1055, they rescued the Caliph al-Qa'im from what was almost a successful Shiʻi-supported coup d'état by an Iraqi military leader. Under the leadership of their Sultan Toghilbeg (d. 1063) and his Grand Vizier al-Kunduri (d. 1065), a Hanafi jurist from Nishapur in northeast Iran, the Seljuks pursued a religious policy that favored the conservative branches of Sunnism, who were loyal to the caliph. In Baghdad and Iraq they followed a middle way that acknowledged the rights and customs of the moderate Shiʻi population and made a halt to the excesses of the radical Shiʻi and Sunni militias.

The politics of a middle path in order to establish moderate Sunnism as the dominant way of Islam was most forcefully pursued by al-Kunduri's successor, Nizam al-Mulk (r. 1019–1092). He served as grand-vizier over a period of almost thirty years, between 1063 and his violent death in 1092. Second in power only to the Seljuk Sultans Alp Arslan (r. 1063–1072) and Malikshah (r. 1072–1092), both of whom he served, Nizam al-Mulk formulated the religious policy for an area that stretched from Asia Minor to Afghanistan. In the big cities he founded religious *madrasas* (so-called *Nizamiyyas*) that institutionalized the teaching of Sunni jurisprudence and theology. In theology, he favored the Ash'arite school tradition of Nishapur and mentored such outstanding scholars as al-Juwayni (1028–1085) and al-Ghazali (1058–1111). His religious policy was successful because it combined tolerance toward the moderate groups of Shiʻism with intolerance toward the radicals in all camps. Under the leadership of Nizam al-Mulk, the

Seljuks continued to persecute Ismaili Shi'is, who often acted as agents of the Shi'i Fatimid caliphate in Cairo. Some Sunni groups, such as the populist Karramites, who were powerful in the province of Khorasan in Northeast Iran until the end of the eleventh century, lost much influence during Nizam al-Mulk's reign, while particularly the Ash'arites came to dominate the scholarly activities in the Muslim east.

FRANK GRIFFEL

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SURGERY AND SURGICAL TECHNIQUES

The art of healing wounds, *djiraha*, was derived from the Arabic root *djurh,* meaning injury or wound. The term *'ilm al-djiraha* was used from the ninth century on, meaning knowledge of wounds, operation of ill organs, and surgical treatment and instruments. Surgical operation, *'amaliyya djirahiyya,* was expressed as *'amal bi'l-yad* or *'amal al-yad,* that is, work performed by hand. The one who treated wounds was named *djarrah*, while the bonesetter and bonehealer (Ar. *mudjabbir*) and *sınıkcı* (in Turkish) and the oculist *kahhal* were both regarded as practitioners of special fields of surgery.

Surgical development started in the ninth century following the translation of the ancient Indian, Greek, and Roman surgical works into Arabic. Hunain ibn Ishaq (d. 874) highly contributed to Arabian surgery by translating works of Hippocrates, Galen, and above all Paulus Aegineta (d. 690). We find chapters on surgery in the books of known physicians, for example, *al-Mansuri, al-Jami,* and *al-Hawi* of Zakariya' ar-Razi (d. 925); Kamil as-sina'a of 'Abbas al-Madjusi (d. 994); *Qanun fi't-tibb* of Ibn Sina (980–1037); *Tadhkirat al-kahhalin* (about 1000) of 'Ali ibn 'İsa; *Dhakhira* of İsmail al-Jurjani (d. 1136); and *al Mujiz* and *Sharh Tashrih al-Qanun* of Ibn an-Nafis (d. 1288). The first known monograph on surgery, titled *al-'Umda fi sina'at al-djiraha,* was compiled by Ibn al-Quff (1233–1286) in the thirteenth century.

The greatest surgeon of the medieval ages was Abu' l-Qasim az Zahrawi (d. 1010), a most important representative of the Andalusian school. Called Albucasis in Europe, Zahrawi is mainly known for the thirtieth chapter on surgery, *fi'amal al-yad* in his encyclopedic book *at-Tasrif liman ajiza.* The sources of Zahrawi were classical Greek and Latin authors, Paulus Aegineta being the immediate source. However, Zahrawi inserted his own experiences, not following any author in the description of some new pathological conditions and methods of treatment, for example, ptosis and its method of cure; removal of ranula beneath the tongue; removal of a leech sticking in the throat; treatment of fracture of male and female private parts; hunchback; wounds of the neck; various pathological conditions affecting the adult uterus; and lithotomy incision in the female case; and the designs and ways of using various instruments, such as the tonsil guillotine and its use, the concealed knife for opening abscesses, the trocar for paracentesis, vaginal speculum, and obstetric forceps. The illustrations of surgical instruments and the sketches of several incision and excision techniques are the earliest addition of these operative elements to a book. In the second half of the twelfth century, Gerard of Cremona translated the chapter on surgery into Latin as *Liber Alsaharavi de cirurgia*. Zahrawi's surgery was utilized as a main source in the Islamic and European worlds through eight centuries.

From the fourteenth century on, Arabic and Persian medical books started to be translated into Turkish; consequently, Turkish medical literature began to develop. In the fifteenth century a comprehensive chapter in *Dhakhira-i Muradiye* (1437) of Mu'min b. Mukbil, and the exhaustive book *Murshid* (1483) by Mehmed ibn Mahmud of Shirvan were assigned to ophthalmology. The Turkish book on surgery, *Jarrahiyatu'l Khaniye* (1465), of Sharafaddin Sabunjuoghlu, the head physician of the Amasya Hospital in central Anatolia, is mainly a translation of Zahrawi's work *Kitabu't- Tasrif,* specifically the thirtieth chapter on surgery. However, he introduced his own experiences as well, and added two new chapters. Sabunjuoghlu was the earliest in illustrating surgeons treating patients. Certain spots of cauterization marked on the patients illustrated are similar to those used in acupuncture and moxa. Fifteenth-century Turkish surgical monographs *Kitab-ı djarrahnama* by an unknown writer (Süleymaniye Library, No. 814); *Tarcama-i hulasa fi fenni'l-ciraha* by Djarrah Mesud; and *Alaim-i djarrahin* by Ibrahim b. Abdallah are also notable.

The main surgical instruments and techniques of medieval Islamic surgery were, for example, *kayy* (cauterization by fire) used with the objective of surgical excision or as a stimulating remedy; the *mismariya* (cautery) of several forms, such as claviform, crescentic, ring, quill, and so on; the *mibda'* (scalpel) with numerous shapes and sizes for incision, scraping, extraction, separation, and opening; *fasd* (bleeding) applied by a phlebotome, the *al-fa's*, an edged and sharp pointed scalpel; *hadjm* (cupping) without or after scarification, practiced with *mahajim* (cupping vessels); *miqass* (scissors) invented for surgical purpose; *miqdah* (needles) for eye operations; several probes *(barid, misbar, mirwad)* and the fine trocar *(midass)* as exploring instruments; *sinnara* (hook) for picking up and holding tissues; instruments for circumcising, the *musa* (razor) and *falka* (spindle whorl); *anbuba* (tube) for drainage; *zarraqa* (syringe) both for aspiration and for irrigation; *mihqan* (clyster) for irrigating sinuses; *kasatir* (syringe); *al-qam* (funnel) for fumigation and irrigation; and *mus'ut* (dropper) for irrigating the nose. A great variety of *minshar* (saw), *mijrad* (raspatory), *miqta'* (osteotome), *mithqab* (trephine), *kalalib* (forceps), *jabira* (splint) devices to reduce dislocations or displace fracture ends and plaster cases were used to treat fractures and dislocations. Several instruments such as *minqash, mibrad*, *mishdakh* (lithotrites), and *mish'ab* (lithotriptor) were developed for extracting stones. Various kinds of suture materials for surgical purposes were utilized, such as ants' nippers; gut sutures; wool, linen, ox, or horse hair and silk in connection with the ligature *(rabt)*; gold or silver wire for wiring in the teeth. Drugs called *muhaddir* or *murkid,* such as opium, henbane, mandrake, hemlock, Indian hemp, and yellow alison, were used as anesthetics by snuffing or inhaling, especially as a soporific sponge or as local anesthetics in surgical operations.

Surgery was regarded as an art necessitating skill and experience. Though authors like Zahrawi noted anatomy as a necessary knowledge for surgeons, dissection of dead bodies as a means of training was not practiced, though there is no religious prohibition of it. Surgeons were trained by the master-apprenticeship method, usually as a family profession; they were employed as primary or secondary surgeons at hospitals, palaces, military service, or offices, and some were itinerant. The head of surgeons was called *ser-djarrahin*. Information and hints about the requirements and expectations of morality regarding surgery is found in surgical manuscripts and the deed of trusts of hospitals. The reflection of Muslim morality to surgical practice is found in judges' registries, for example, a patient's or guardian's written consent taken before surgical operation and a contract signed to certify this in order to withhold a suit for compensation against the surgeon in case of death or injury.

NIL SARI

See also Abbas al-Madjusi; Abu' l-Qasim az Zahrawi; 'Ali ibn 'Isa; Hunain ibn Ishaq; Ibn an-Nafis; Ibn al-Quff; Ibn Sina, or Avicenna; Kahhal; Medical Literature, Turkish; Paulus Aeginata; Zakariya' ar-Razi

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SUYUTI, AL-, 'ABD AL-RAHMAN

Al-Suyuti, the celebrated erudite Egyptian savant, is recognized today as one of the most prolific authors of all Islamic literature.

The family of al-Suyuti, of Persian origin, settled during the Mamluk period in Asyut, in Upper Egypt (from where they derive their name). His father, however, was established in Cairo, and it is there that al-Suyuti was born on October 3, 1445. The child followed a very thorough course in various Islamic sciences. It is shown very early on, as of eighteen years of age, that he teaches Shafi'i jurisprudence and the science of Hadith; in addition, he delivers *fatwa*s (legal consultations) in various sciences. In parallel, he writes prolific works: Before al-Suyuti reached the age of thirty, his works came to be required reading throughout the whole of the Middle

East and then soon circulated in India until they reached Tekrur in sub-Saharan Africa.

In Egypt, on the other hand, he evokes much jealousy and polemic because he claims to have reached the status of *mujtahid* (that is, a legal scholar possessing independent authority in interpreting the sources of the law) in the Shafi'i school of jurisprudence. Moreover, al-Suyuti affirms that his *ijtihad*, far from being limited to Islamic law, also applies to the sciences of Hadith and the Arabic language. Finally, al-Suyuti is announced as the *mujaddid* (renewer of Islam) (*see* Renewal, or Tajdid) for the ninth century of the *hijra*, two or three years before the year 900/1494. At the age of forty, al-Suyuti withdraws from public life to his house on the island of Rawda, in Cairo. He dies on October 18, 1505. The reasons that he calls upon in connection with his withdrawal are the corruption of the institution of the ulema and the ignorance that prevails among them; in fact, the decline of the cultural level at the end of the Mamluk era is manifest.

The assurance, even the claim, to which al-Suyuti testifies, comes initially from the awareness that he has of his own gifts: He has an extraordinary memory, a remarkable spirit of synthesis that enables him to write or to dictate several works at the same time. He is convinced to be invested with a mission, which prevails over any other consideration and, in particular, over the opinion that others have of him. This mission consists of gathering and transmitting to the future generations the Islamic cultural inheritance, before it disappears following the neglect of his contemporaries. In fact, he quotes in his works many old texts now lost, particularly in the field of the Arabic language. Al-Suyuti precedes the modern time by certain aspects: for example, he is partly an autodidact, and herewith to a public that he wishes to reach out to with handbooks centered on precise topics. In the same spirit of popularization, he summarizes the works of others and makes them clean. One cannot regard al-Suyuti as only a compiler. Indeed, he approaches topics usually neglected in the Islamic literature; he is the first to have introduced Sufism into the field of the *fatwa*.

Al-Suyuti wrote approximately one thousand works (981 according to a 1995 study). Hardly three hundred were published, but his manuscripts are nowadays a great success in published editions. The scientific versatility of al-Suyuti illustrates the Islamic ideal, according to which there is no really profane science; he explores geography, as well as lexicography, pharmacopoeia, dietetics, erotology. More profoundly, his approach to a subject is often multidisciplinary, and he often employs several sciences to cover a subject.

This versatility allowed al-Suyuti to free himself from a determined axis through his attachment to the Prophet (*see* Muhammad the Prophet) and his Sunna. He includes in his field of vision the most scattered sciences as long as they do not contradict the Revelation descended on Muhammad; this is why he condemns *al-mantiq* (Hellenistic logic). Among the disciplines that he says to control, that of Hadith prevails because it permeates the greatest part of his work. Sciences having been imbued with the Arabic language represent, according to him, his subject of predilection, but one very clearly notes the influence of the science of Hadith in his major work on language, *Al-Muzhir fi 'Ulum al-Lugha wa Anwa'iha*. In his other "linguistic" works, al-Suyuti follows the method of religious sciences like usul al-fiqh (foundations of jurisprudence) or the fiqh (jurisprudence). Qur'anic sciences constitute another axis of al-Suyuti's work (approximately twenty works). "Al-Itqan fi 'Ulum Al-Qur'an" makes the beautiful share with the language and rhetoric, but the principal commentary of al-Suyuti, Al-Durr al-Manthur fi al-Tafsir bi-al-Ma'thur, is exclusively based on Hadith and the words of the first Muslims. In this field, it is also necessary to mention the very practical *Tafsir al-Jalalayn*, a Qur'anic commentary started with al-Suyuti's professor, Jalal al-Din al-Mahalli, and completed by him.

If the discipline of Hadith represents in al-Suyuti's eyes the noblest "of sciences," it is imbued with the prophetic model, which for him is the only way that leads to God. In this field, al-Suyuti's working model is undoubtedly *Tadrib al-Rawi fi Sharh Taqrib al-Nawawi*, which pertains to the terminology of Hadith. The aforementioned prophetic model could not be transmitted by book science alone; it must be experienced interiorly. Al-Suyuti, who affirms to have seen the Prophet more than seventy times while in a waking state, ensures that he can maintain during a vision the validity of Hadith directly from the Prophet. As a Sufi (*see* Sufis and Sufism), al-Suyuti found in the *tariqa Shadhiliyya* (Shadhili order) the right balance between the Law and the Way. Moreover, he benefited besides from his notoriety as a scholar and jurisconsult to carry out a perspicacious apology for Sufism and its Masters: He sees in the *dhikr* (invocation of God) the highest form of worship, showing that it is necessary to interpret the words of the Sufi, and to defend the orthodoxy of Ibn 'Arabî.

Finally, al-Suyuti wrote much in the fields of history and biography, including a number of works on the theory of history (for example, *al-Shamarikh fi 'Ilm al-Ta'rikh*), in its various fields of application: the history of the caliphs, to which he was very attached *(Ta'rikh al-Khulafa'),* about the history of

Egypt *(Husn al-Muhadara)*, and a great number of biographical collections by specialty (specialists in Hadith, grammarians, poets, and so on).

Eric Geoffroy

See also Caliphs; Ibn 'Arabi; Renewal; Sufism; Usul al-fiqh

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SYNAGOGUES

There were Jewish communities scattered throughout Arabia in Muhammad's time. Mecca, his hometown, does not seem to have had an organized Jewish community, but the oasis of Yathrib, to which he emigrated in 622, housed a large and well-organized community. Now known as al-Madina (from *madinat al-nabi,* or "the city of the Prophet"), it had two tribes of *Kohanim,* that is, of Priestly ancestry, a third Jewish tribe, and possibly other clans. The synagogue there was called *Midras*; the word is from the Hebrew *Bet Midrash,* or "House of Study." Islamic tradition has preserved some details about the *Midras* of the Jews in Yathrib, enough to suggest various conclusions about the building, religious services, administration, and theology, but unfortunately not to secure them.

The Qur'an itself has several terms that refer to Jewish houses of worship. It most likely refers to the Temple in Jerusalem, with the term *Masjid.* While the reference of 17:1 (*al-masjid al-aqsa,* "the farther place of prostration") is open to some controversy, the reference to the twofold destruction of the Israelites, alluding to destroyers entering the *masjid* as they had before (17:7), can hardly refer to anything else. Places of monotheistic prayer before Islam are called *sawami', bi'a, salawat,* and *masajid,* roughly translated as "cloisters," "places of petition and prayer," and "places of prostration" (Q 22:40). *Bi'a* (sing. *bi'a*) and *kanisa* (pl. *kana'is*)—a term not used in the Qur'an—came to be the most usual appellations for synagogue and church, although some authors say the one or the other ought to be used only for houses of prayer of Christians or Jews; others use both as synonyms. Jewish sources generally referred to the synagogue as *kanis* or *kanisa* in Arabic, and *bet knesset* in Hebrew. Some geniza sources use the term *majlis* (assembly) to refer to certain synagogues, especially those clearly postdating Islam.

Islamic expansion quickly brought the largest centers of Jewish life into its orbit; indeed, for several centuries, most of the world's Jews resided in areas ruled by Muslims. Islamic provisions about the status of non-Muslims in Islamic lands, including the status of their synagogues and churches, reached full expression in the form of the document usually known as the Pact of Umar. The framework of the Pact reflects reports of agreements made with non-Muslims by Umar b. al-Khattab or his generals during the Islamic conquests. The early pacts indicate that non-Muslims were allowed to retain their religion and places of worship, although the part of their houses of worship facing the *qibla* could be used by the Muslims as a place of prayer. Many more limitations are found in later legal works, such as *Kitab al-Umm* by al-Shafi'i, and the regulations do not appear in the form of the Pact of Umar earlier than the tenth century. According to this document, Jews and Christians stated:

> "We shall not found in (the town) or in the land surrounding it, a new monastery, church, cloister or monastic cell. Nor shall we renew whatever has been destroyed of them, nor revive any of them which are in Muslim quarters. We shall not prevent any Muslims from staying in our churches at night or during the day, and we shall open their gates wide to passers-by and wayfarers."

The legal prohibition of the construction of new churches and synagogues applied particularly to Muslim areas, and some of the legal traditions had no objections to synagogues in neighborhoods where there were no Muslims, or which had been Jewish prior to becoming Muslim. So, too, in the early days, establishment of synagogues to serve the Jewish community seems to have been less of a problem: Kairawan, Cairo, Baghdad, Fez, and other places established by Muslims all had synagogues, although often in

neighborhoods considered to antedate Islam. A report that Umar himself established seventy Jews in Jerusalem was cited to support the synagogue there.

By the twelfth century, opinions about this became more settled, and the Pact of Umar came to be applied more stringently. Synagogues were closed in North Africa and Cairo, and there was discussion and occasional violence concerning whether synagogues in Cairo and Jerusalem were allowed to be retained or repaired; in early-fourteenth century Cairo, continuing riots led to the closure of numerous synagogues and churches and the intervention of the king of Aragon and the Byzantine emperor to reopen them. These restrictions continued into the nineteenth century, until reform attempts by Muhammad Ali and his successors in Egypt and in Palestine, by the Ottomans, and by European protectorates.

We have little information about the layout and procedures in synagogues of the Islamic world. Nathan the Babylonian gives a particularly vivid description of one synagogue service in Baghdad from the tenth century. Geniza records confirm that in addition to meeting for prayer it was the center for many other community functions. Lawsuits were brought there and persons, including women, could delay services to seek redress. Sometimes, funerals would stop outside or in the courtyard. In some, a women's entrance indicated that women attended services. Many cities had multiple synagogues, reflecting differences in custom between the traditions of the Jews of Babylonia (Iraq) and Palestine, or Rabbanite, Qaraite, and Samaritan Jews. Some synagogues were built primarily in locations of pilgrimage, such as the Dammuh synagogue in Egypt; travelers' descriptions of sacred tombs also suggest these were sometimes the locations of synagogues, although in many cases graves associated with figures from biblical history were also sacred to the Muslims and Christians, and the buildings associated with these sites could not be considered synagogues.

In some cases the few structural details of which we are aware suggest that the buildings continued the pre-Islamic basilica style, and may even have been converted from churches; in other cases, as, for example, in Benjamin of Tudela's description of the synagogue in Baghdad, the colonnaded hall and open courtyard suggest similarities to early Islamic mosques, although synagogues in Muslim areas would necessarily have had modest facades.

Seth Ward

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SYRIA, GREATER SYRIA

Syria, specifically Greater Syria (Ar. Bilad al-Sham), is a historical term denoting a region that comprises modern Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, the West Bank of Palestine, and the southwestern borderlands of Turkey. Geographically, Greater Syria can be divided into two sections: the mountainous coastal region in the west, which in the medieval period included Antioch (modern Antakya in southern Turkey), and the Mediterranean ports of Tripoli, Beirut, Tyre, and Acre; and the steppe and desert region in the east, of which the leading centers were Aleppo, Hama, Hims, Damascus, and Jerusalem.

Greater Syria played a major role in the development of Islam from the earliest period. The decisive battles of the *futuh* (Islamic conquests) against the Byzantines were fought there; Damascus was the capital of the first Islamic dynasty, the Umayyads; and Jerusalem quickly became the Muslims' third most important religious center after Mecca and Medina. A degree of religious and linguistic pluralism persisted in spite of Islamization: Christianity survived, although at times under duress; and neither Greek nor Aramaic was completely abandoned for Arabic.

By the start of the medieval period, the political predominance that Greater Syria had enjoyed under the Umayyads had long since gone. ‘Abbasid rule over the region from Baghdad had given way successively to Tulunid and Ikshidid control, successor dynasties of the weakening ‘Abbasids. In the middle of the tenth century, the decline of Ikshidid power resulted in northern Syria being given to the Bedouin Arab Hamdanids, under whom Aleppo enjoyed a period of literary and artistic inflorescence.

Even before Hamdanid rule in Aleppo had come to an end in AH 394/1004 CE, the Egyptian Fatimids had conquered Palestine and Syria. Fatimid rule over Greater Syria was weak, however, especially in the north, where a revived Byzantium regained some of its old territory, and another Bedouin dynasty, the Mirdasids, established themselves in Aleppo.

The situation in Greater Syria was altered by the advance of the Seljuk Turks during the second half of the eleventh century. By the eve of the Crusades, often mutually hostile Seljuk *amir*s (princes) ruled in Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, and Hims. In AH 477/1084 CE, the Byzantines lost Antioch, their last possession in Syria. An independent Arab

family of *qadi*s (Islamic judges) ruled in Tripoli, while the Fatimids remained in control of some of the coast.

There was a tension between the strongly Sunni Seljuks and the existing Shi'is and Shi'i-influenced sects. The latter included people in sympathy with the (Ismaili Shi'i) Fatimids, and more heterodox elements, such as the Nusayris and the Druze of the coastal montagne. To these would later be added the Syrian Assassins.

The map of Greater Syria changed again in the wake of the arrival of the Crusaders before Antioch in AH 491/1098 CE. By 1130, much of the region was under Frankish control: the principality of Antioch and the county of Edessa (modern Urfa in southern Turkey) in the north; the county of Tripoli in the central maritime region; and the kingdom of Jerusalem to the south. Many of the military fortifications that the Crusaders built to protect their possessions have survived, such as the impressive Krak des Chevaliers in the west of modern-day Syria. Much of the Muslim interior, meanwhile, maintained a precarious independence, with the Turkish *amir*s of Aleppo and Damascus among others paying tribute to the Crusaders in return for peace.

The Frankish possessions shrank almost as rapidly as they had grown. The Crusaders were isolated, and weakened by their unwillingness to make common cause with their coreligionists in the East, the Byzantines and the Armenians. 'Imad al-Din Zanki, a Turk who had risen to prominence in the service of the Seljuks and made himself independent of his former masters, pushed the Crusaders back west of the River Euphrates. In the middle of the twelfth century, his equally able son, Nur al-Din Mahmud, became ruler of both Aleppo and Damascus. Nur al-Din continued and emphasized the Seljuk Sunni Muslim tradition by founding *madrasa*s (Islamic schools) in which an orthodox curriculum was taught.

Outdoing the Zankids in their opposition to the Crusaders was a Kurdish lieutenant of Nur al-Din's, Saladin, the founder of the Ayyubid dynasty. Having declared himself ruler of Egypt on the death of the last Fatimid caliph, Saladin proceeded to seize Damascus from Nur al-Din's heirs. He then turned on the Crusaders. By the time of Saladin's death in AH 589/1193 CE, only Antioch, Tripoli, Tyre, and Acre remained in Frankish hands.

The following century saw the increasing dominance of Egypt as the center of the Ayyubid empire, at the expense of Greater Syria, particularly of Damascus. In AH 642/1244 CE, the Egyptian Ayyubids defeated a prudential alliance of central Syrian Ayyubids and Crusaders in southern Palestine. Aleppo, meanwhile, bought its continued independence from Egypt by helping the Egyptians to capture Damascus. Jerusalem was also brought under Egyptian control, after a brief period in the hands of the Crusaders, to whom the Syrians had given the city in return for cooperation against the Egyptians. In AH 648/1250 CE, the Ayyubids of Egypt were ousted by the Mamluks, originally Turkish slave soldiers who would found their own dynasty. Aleppo seized the advantage and occupied Damascus. It was a short-lived triumph: Within ten years the Mongols had overrun Greater Syria and put an end to Ayyubid rule.

The Mamluks would eventually absorb Greater Syria into their empire. In AH 658/1260 CE, they defeated the Mongol armies at 'Ayn Jalut in Palestine. Damascus and Aleppo were occupied by the Mamluks, although the Mongols remained a threat to Greater Syria until the beginning of the fourteenth century. Before the end of the thirteenth century, the Mamluks had taken all the Frankish colonies still remaining in Greater Syria. It was the end of an era marked by ambivalent relations between Muslims and Crusaders: hostility punctuated by accommodation, and mutual destruction contrasting with thriving commercial links between East and West.

Mamluk rule lasted until AH 922/1516 CE, when they were defeated by the Ottomans at Marj Dabiq near Aleppo in a decisive battle that marks the end of the medieval period in Greater Syria. Damascus and Aleppo were leading cities of the Mamluk empire. Both took years to recover from the effects of the plague pandemic of the mid-fourteenth century, and of Tamerlane's ravages in AH 803/1400 CE, when they were pillaged and emptied of their populations. This notwithstanding, and in spite of the depredations of some of the governors of the Syrian *niyaba*s (Mamluk provinces), industry and trade at times resulted in a degree of prosperity that allowed intellectual and artistic life to flourish.

David Morray

See also Architecture, Secular: Military; Black Death; Byzantine Empire; Earthquakes; Excellences Literature; Madrasa; Merchants, Christians; Dome of the Rock; Muslim–Byzantine Relations; Muslim–Crusader Relations; Muslim–Mongol Diplomacy; Silk Roads; Sunni Revival; Trade, Mediterranean; Umayyad Mosque (Damascus)

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SYRIAC

Syriac is the name that came to be given to the Late Aramaic dialect of Edessa (modern-day Sanliurfa, southeast Turkey). The earliest texts (in Old Syriac) are pagan inscriptions of the first to third century CE, and three legal documents on skin from the early 240s. Syriac, with its own distinctive script, soon became the literary language of Aramaic-speaking Christians, both in the Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire and in the Parthian and Sasanian empires to the east. Syriac literature, which covers many secular and religious topics, constitutes by far the largest body of Aramaic literatures, spanning from the second century to the present day. Many of the earliest writings are preserved in manuscripts of the fifth and sixth centuries.

Syriac script takes on three main forms: the oldest, *estrangelo*, is the norm in manuscripts till at least the end of the eighth century, when it was largely replaced by *serto* in the west (based on an earlier cursive) and a distinctive "eastern" script. It is disputed whether Arabic script has its roots in Syriac or Nabataean script.

Syriac literature can most conveniently be divided into three main periods, second to mid-seventh centuries, mid-seventh to thirteenth centuries, and the thirteenth century onwards. Although some names are known from the second and third centuries, only a few texts survive, and it is not until the fourth century that major authors emerge: Aphrahat, writing in the Sasanian empire around 345, and the poet Ephrem (d. 373) in the Roman empire. Subsequent important prose writers of this first period include the historian John of Ephesus (d. ca. 589). Poetry is particularly well represented, with Narsai (d. ca. 500) and Jacob of Serugh (d. 521), as well as many fine anonymous authors. Among the genres developed is one that continues the ancient Mesopotamian precedence dispute; thus Syriac provides the bridge between ancient Mesopotamia and the Arabic *munazara* (debate or contest in verse or prose). A remarkable number of translations from Greek were made during this period, especially in the latter part, and include medical and philosophical texts. A few translations were also made from Middle Persian, among them the oldest version of *Kalila wa-Dimna*.

A distinctive feature of the second period is the more learned and encyclopedic character of its writings. Despite the political upheavals of the time, the seventh century witnessed a great flowering of Syriac literature, both in the Syrian Orthodox Church (notably with the scholar Jacob of Edessa, d. 708) and in the Church of the East, where several monastic authors flourished, among whom Isaac of Nineveh was to prove particularly influential (he, in fact, originated from Qatar). In the late eight and ninth centuries, Syriac scholars (the most notable being Hunayn ibn Ishaq) played an important role in the 'Abbasid translation movement, especially early on when it proved more practical to translate Greek texts first into Syriac (a task that had the benefit of several centuries of experience) and only then into Arabic. The second period comes to an end with the encyclopedic writings of the polymath Gregory Abu 'l-Faraj, better known as Bar Bar Hebraeus (Bar 'Ebroyo, d. 1286). Whereas authors of the sixth and seventh centuries had come to be greatly influenced by Greek literary culture, Bar Hebraeus draws freely on both Arabic and Persian sources.

The third period is the least known, and most texts remain unpublished. Syriac literature, however, has continuously been produced right up to the present time. Poetry in Modern Syriac is known from the seventeenth century onward, and prose from the mid-nineteenth century.

SEBASTIAN BROCK

See also 'Abbasids; Aramaic; Hunayn ibn Ishaq; Kalila wa-Dimna

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T

TABARI, AL-

Ab-Ja'far Muhammad b. Jarar al-Tabari (d. AH 310/923 CE) was the most important scholar of his generation. His works exerted a profound influence on future Muslim scholarship, because of both their voluminous content and their meticulous methods of inquiry. Although many of his works have not survived, his two most famous works, his *History (Ta'rikh al-Rusul Wa'l-mul-k)* and his Qur'an commentary *(Tafsir),* remain standard references today.

Al-Tabari was born in 224–225/839 in or near Amul, in Tabaristan near the Caspian Sea. He then spent most of his life in Baghdad, where he composed most of his works. He left his birthplace at a young age to pursue studies in Rayy and then in Baghdad, where he arrived in 241/855, shortly after the death of Ibn Hanbal, with whom he had hoped to study. His scholarly travels subsequently took him to most of the major intellectual centers in the Muslim world, including Bara, Kufa, Damascus, Beirut, and Egypt. Unlike many scholars, al-Tabari does not appear to have studied in the Hijiz, with the exception of brief pilgrimage visits. Ultimately, he returned to Baghdad around 256/870 to write and teach.

Although income from his family's estate in Tabaristan spared him the poverty many scholars suffered, he did occasionally find himself in dire financial circumstances. For a time he served as a tutor to the son of al-Mutawakkil's vizier, 'Ubaydallah b. Yahya, probably because of his own economic difficulties. Despite many later offers, this was his only stint of government employment. Payments from his many students (supplemented by income from his family's estates) sufficed to meet his modest needs.

Reports about al-Tabari's lifestyle typically emphasize his piety and moderation. Although he was not an ascetic, he did not live extravagantly or indulge in food, drink, or other diversions. He never married, and he apparently committed himself to a life of celibacy. He spent his days teaching, worshipping at the mosque, and writing. His scholarly works attracted both admirers and enemies. He condemned the usual heretical groups, including Mu'tazilites, Shi'is, Zahiris, and others. He attracted unusual enmity from the followers of Ibn Hanbal, who reportedly rioted in front of his house on at least one occasion. His dispute with the Hanbalis reportedly centered on two issues. The first was al-Tabari's decision to exclude Ibn Hanbal from his *Ikhtilaf al-Fuqaha'*; this was done because of his opinion that Ibn Hanbal was a great muhaddith but not a jurist. Ibn Hanbal's followers naturally took offense and reacted violently. The second focus of al-Tabari's feud with the Hanbalis was his interpretation of the praiseworthy position *(maqaman mahm-d'an)* that God had promised the Prophet Muhammad. Al-Tabari rejected the Hanbali interpretation that this meant Muhammad would sit on God's throne. Some reports suggest that Hanbali hostility toward al-Tabari was so extreme that, when al-Tabari died in 310/923, he had to be buried secretly at night to prevent Hanbali mobs from disrupting his funeral. Most reports, however, describe a peaceful daylight funeral instead.

Al-Tabari's works covered a broad range of topics, including law, history, Qur'anic exegesis, and hadith (tradition). His most famous and influential works are his *History* and his *Tafsir.* The *History* presents a complete history of the world from creation until just before al-Tabari's time. In the *History,* al-Tabari applied the methods of the hadith scholars to historical reports, emphasizing proper isnads and including divergent versions of events to allow the reader to decide which interpretation was most valid. His meticulous methods profoundly influenced the way in which later Muslim historians approached their craft. Modern scholars have emphasized al-Tabari's objectivity and his reluctance to impose his own interpretations on material or to insert his own narrative voice in any way. The work is also praised for al-Tabari's skillful incorporation of pre-Islamic narratives into a master narrative that places Islam at the center of world history. Although al-Tabari skillfully concealed his own agenda in his *History,* careful analysis of his treatment of pivotal events suggests that he did adhere to a theory of historical causation according to which calamity befell the Muslim community when tribal rivalries and personal greed were not sufficiently suppressed. His *History* is essentially a salvation story in which the advent of Islam is situated in God's larger plan and proper adherence to Islam raises human society to its pinnacle.

In his *Tafsir,* al-Tabari was more willing to express his own opinions about particular disputes about Qur'an interpretation. He relied extensively on grammatical analysis of the text and included divergent interpretations of particular verses. However, he ultimately offered his own judgment about which interpretation was most viable, relying on ijtihad to an extent that his Hanbali rivals could not accept. As a legal scholar, al-Tabari initially adhered to the Shafi'i madhhab, which he probably embraced during his travel to Egypt as a young man. Later, however, his followers began to consider themselves to be a separate madhhab, usually called the Jariris. His madhhab did not survive long, and its principles were apparently not far removed from the Shafi'i school from which it sprang.

Al-Tabari's influence on later scholarship cannot be understated. His *History* became the model for many later works, some of which were merely poorly disguised abridgments. The hadith methodology he so carefully applied to historical reports became the standard procedure for scrutinizing and reporting historical akhbar. His *Tafsir* remains a crucial work for understanding the development of Qur'anic exegesis and for insight into the debates about variant readings of the Qur'anic text. In addition, his *Ikhtilaf* offers thorough comparisons of the legal theories of the orthodox madhhabs (with the exception of the Hanbalis). His reputation as a pious and exemplary scholar survived the extreme hostility of his Hanbali foes and the accusations that he was in fact a Shi'i, which stemmed from his unwillingness to condemn 'Ali with sufficient vigor. His meticulous work ultimately withstood his critics' venom and remains a vital part of Muslim scholarship to this day.

Steven C. Judd

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TAJ MAHAL

During the first decade of his rule, the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan (r. 1627–1658 CE) embellished the imperial capital of Agra with stunning white marble buildings that were metaphors of the hierarchy and order supporting the state. That huge architectural programs of this sort could be undertaken not only in Agra but also in Delhi, Lahore, Ajmer, and Allahabad reflects the wealth, artistic talent, and administrative acumen available to the Mughal rulers. They projected a developed classic style, reproducible in its elements and clear in its symbolic content. When the emperor's favorite wife Arjumand Banu Begam (or Mumtaz Mahal) died in 1631 giving birth to their fourteenth child, the grieving ruler added another massive project to those already underway, the construction of her tomb, now known as the Taj Mahal.

Built over an eleven-year period from 1632 to 1643, the tomb's form came from a rich tradition of Mughal sepulchral architecture, beginning with the tomb of the second Mughal emperor, Humayun, whose tomb was built in Delhi under the patronage of his son Akbar from 1562 to 1571. In the center of a cruciform (four-quadrant) garden *(chahar bagh)*, Humayun's tomb was a huge octagon faced in red sandstone

with marble outlining the main structural elements. It supported a high double dome that glistened in white marble and reflected the influence of architecture from the Mughals' Timurid heartland in Central Asia. For the builders of the Taj Mahal, the tomb of Humayun, along with the 1636 tomb of the Khan Khanan in Delhi, was a direct prototype.

The Taj Mahal and its extensive gardens were surrounded on the east, south, and west sides by red sandstone walls measuring 305 by 549 meters in length. The main gate was on the south side and was preceded by an extensive bazaar (Mumtazabad or city of Mumtaz), the income of which, along with that from thirty neighboring villages, was assigned to the maintenance of the tomb. The gate not only controlled access to the complex; it also had a specific meaning. Its great arch is framed by white marble inlaid with a black marble inscription from the Qur'an that describes the Last Judgment and the joys awaiting the blessed who can enter Paradise; this is seen as visitors enter the tomb's garden.

Once inside the gate, visitors left behind the everyday life of Mumtazabad and entered a place of ordered quiet. A formal four-part garden stretched from the gate north to the actual tomb and provided a structured space intended to replicate paradise. Movement was controlled by paved walkways that outlined beds of flowers, flowering shrubs, and trees fed by streams of water from bubbling fountains.

The name *Taj Mahal* first appears in the writings of visiting Europeans during the seventeenth century. To the Mughals, it was known simply as "the illumined tomb." Begun in 1632, it was almost entirely complete by 1643, and much of its construction took place at the same time as the rebuilding of the Agra Fort. It was the single largest building project underway in the Mughal state, and some twenty thousand workers from India, Iran, and Central Asia were employed at the enormous cost of forty million rupees. The overall project was supervised by two distinguished architects, Makramat Khan and 'Abd al-Karim; a third architect, Ustad Ahmad, appears to have been responsible for the design of the actual tomb. Passionately interested in architecture, Shah Jahan must have carefully watched over the design and its implementation. Imprisoned by his son Awrangzeb in the Agra Fort from 1658 until 1666, he could look east to view the Taj.

The mausoleum itself is a square with chamfered corners that rests on a marble plinth that is seven meters high. Each side is dominated by a thirty-three-meter-high *pishtaq* (niche arch) that is flanked to the east and west by two smaller pishtaqs and topped by a domed and arcaded pavilion at each corner. At each corner of the plinth stands a three-storied minar. This elaborate structure of repeating identical elements is dominated by a twenty-meter-high drum and double dome. The outer dome provides the dramatic profile that defines the sky around it; the inner dome is low and comforting. Directly under its peak was the cenotaph of the deceased empress, beside her the cenotaph of Shah Jahan. Both grave markers are enclosed by an intricate marble screen inlaid with precious stones, as are the cenotaphs themselves.

The great calligrapher Amanat Khan designed inscriptions that frame the great pishtaqs, the smaller arched entrances into the tomb, the eight interior pishtaqs, the inner frieze of the drum, and the two cenotaphs themselves. Written in a majestic cursive style of script known as *thuluth,* they are inlaid in black marble into the white marble. A number of inscriptions give us completion dates, the name of the scribe, and other historical information. Most, however, are Qur'anic: admonitions to follow Islam; warnings of hell to those who do evil; evocations of the Last Judgment; references to the Resurrection; and descriptions of the joys of paradise for the righteous. The inscriptions were selected to fit the purpose of the tomb and to reinforce an image: the Taj Mahal was designed to replicate one of the houses of paradise.

Family and adherents were expected to make formal visits on birth and death anniversaries. To the tomb's west was a red sandstone and marble mosque with three glistening white domes. Its exact counterpart (*jawab*; answer) was on the east side. Mughal designers laid out gardens and buildings according to precise grids that preserved predictable proportions. A formal garden replaced natural chaos with order; although buildings might inspire awe, they should avoid surprises. The great south–north garden is divided into identical quadrants; the mausoleum creates balance through repetition, and a visitor's expectations are rewarded by dazzling elements that have already been seen before. One must remember, however, that harmony has variations, and, in its interaction with its natural setting, the tomb provides a multitude of them. The white marble facing is minutely inlaid with precious stones that only reveal their variety when a visitor is close. The marble is translucent, and the great dome absorbs and responds to every change in the sky over Agra.

ANTHONY WELCH

See also Agra Red Fort; Akbar; Architecture, Religious; Architecture, Secular: Civil; Architecture, Secular: Palaces; Babar; Baraka; Beauty and Aesthetics; Burial Customs; Dara Shikoh; Death and Dying; Delhi; Festivals and Celebrations; Funerary Practices, Muslim: Sunni; Gardens and Gardening;

God; Hadith; Horticulture; Hindus; Humayun; India; Irrigation; Lahore; Love; Mughals; Nur Jahan; Persians; Pilgrimage; Prayer; Qur'an; Scriptural Exegesis, Islamic; Timurids; Turks; Waqf; Water

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TALISMANS AND TALISMANIC OBJECTS

The term *talisman* refers in its widest sense to an object made to protect the owner, to avert the power of evil, and to promote well-being. *Talisman* is used interchangeably with *amulet,* although Savage-Smith (1997) has drawn a distinction between an amulet, which is made from durable materials such as hard stones and which can function over time, and a talisman, which is made from more ephemeral materials such as paper and kept in amulet cases. Talismanic objects, which, by association, include magic bowls and talismanic shirts, belong therefore in the realm of magic *(sihr)*. In Arabic, this is a term that has a variety of connotations, from "that which entrances the eye" to "actions effected through recourse to demons" (Fahd, 1996). In the sphere of healing and well-being, this magic is beneficent; for the present context Dols (1992) has aptly described it as a "forceful method of supplication or a supercharged prayer."

What links talismanic objects together, irrespective of what material they are made from, is a particular vocabulary of inscriptions and designs. The most important of these elements are verses from the Qur'an, which in itself is considered the most powerful of all talismans (Hamès, 1997; Porter, 2002). Particularly powerful in talismanic contexts are, for example, the opening of the Qur'an *(Fatiha)*, which has been used in oral incantations from the time of the Prophet against the evil eye and for healing (Hamès, 1997), and Qur'an 2:255, the "throne verse" *(ayat al-kursi)*, also known as the "verse of seeking refuge" or the "verse for driving out Satan" (Canaan, 1937). The short chapters *(suras)* known as the Four Declarations (suras 109, 112, 113 and 114) and the last two suras (113 and114) are additionally known as *al-mu'awwidhatan* (the verses that provide the antidote to superstition and fear) (Ali, 1975). In addition, there are verses that are deemed to have specific powers: for example, those that contain the Arabic root word *sh-f-y* (to heal) were used for curing sickness (Porter, 1998); those with the victory verse (61:13) were used for help in battle.

In addition to these, the names of God *(asma' al-husna')* feature prominently, particularly on amulets, as do the names of or invocations to the cherished figures in Islam, the Prophet Muhammad, and the twelve imams revered by the Shi'is. The archangels—Jibrail, who revealed the Qur'an to the Prophet and the others, such as Izrafil, Mikail, Israfil, and Uzrafil—also appear, as do the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, whose story is told in Qur'an 18:9–26 (Porter, forthcoming).

Other important elements of the magical vocabulary—which, although they appear more esoteric, are still deeply rooted in the Qur'an—serve to strengthen the supplication (Savage-Smith, 2004). They include individual Arabic letters, which are often repeated and which are believed to be particularly powerful when written in isolated form. The "Mysterious letters of the Qur'an" (which appear singly or in groups at the beginning of twenty-nine suras of the Qur'an) are also widely used. Magic squares *(wafq)*, in which religious phrases, names of God, and so on appear are represented numerically in the abjad system (an alphanumeric system based on the old order of the Semitic alphabet) within a square. At their simplest, they are three by three, but they can extend at least as high as twenty by twenty or more, as is seen by the talismanic chart in the Khalili collection (Savage-Smith, 1997). Symbols such as the "seven signs" (see below) also feature, as well as the five- or six-pointed star known as "Solomon's seal." Solomon had power over the jinn, and it is to him that, according to the writer of the *Fihrist* (written 987 to 1010 CE), Ibn al-Nadim, licit magic can be traced (Dols, 1992). Other symbols include scorpions, lions, and magical scripts that include invented alphabets (these appear from as early as the mid-ninth-century text of Ibn Wahshiya; Savage-Smith, 2004). There are strings of numbers,

meaningless Kufic letters sometimes combined with numbers, and the so-called "lunette" script, which is characterized by a group of Arabic letters with long looped forms attached (Canaan, 1937 and 1938).

Depending on the object, these elements sometimes appear on their own or in combinations: for example, Qur'anic verses with magic squares or the seven signs with magical letters. Many of these elements are first found in the influential text of Abu'l 'Abbas Ahmad ibn 'Ali ibn Yusuf al-Buni (d. 1225), author of the *Shams al-Ma'arif al-Kubra,* a treatise that draws on Hellenistic, Jewish, and other pre-Islamic magical practices. Al-Buni focuses in large part on the "beautiful names of God" and their magical properties, creating elaborate magic squares made up of the numerical value of the names. He also includes charms using the lunette script and the seven signs, which he believed denoted the "greatest name of God." As a result, it is through the proliferation of this text throughout the Islamic world that these symbols start to appear regularly on medieval talismanic objects; this practice continues to this day.

The range of objects covered by the terms *talisman* and *talismanic* in their broadest sense includes amulets, about which the largest body of material is available. Amulets are objects that are worn as protection or for warding off the evil eye, a practice that entered the life of the early Muslims (Henniger, 2004) and that was tolerated in Islamic theology. The practice continues today, although it is more prevalent in some parts of the Islamic world (e.g., North Africa, Egypt) than others. These small objects, which are made to either be worn around the neck or on a ring, are made from hard stones or metal. The material from which they are made can be significant, because particular beneficial properties are often traditionally ascribed to certain stones and are cited in textual sources. Carnelian, for example, was said by the medieval gemologist Ahmad ibn Yusuf al-Tifaschi to control fear in battle and to stop hemorrhages (Tifaschi, 1998). It was also popular because it was the stone most favored by the Prophet Muhammad. These objects are most frequently inscribed positively, although there are some that are inscribed negatively that are "activated" when they are stamped onto something.

Another important category of talismanic objects are the magic-medicinal bowls used to cure sickness, continuing a pre-Islamic tradition found in Aramaic bowls. Among the earliest datable Islamic examples are bowls made for Nur al-Din Zangi (1146–1174; Savage-Smith, 1997). These bowls can be inscribed with Qur'anic verses and invocations; very frequently magic squares are used, and they are often interspersed with strings of meaningless Kufic-style letters; some examples have toggles attached to them that bear the Names of God. In an associated tradition, the water used to clean the wooden writing boards used by children to learn the Qur'an is believed to be rendered efficacious, and it is used to cure sickness because it contains the words of the Qur'an. Talismanic shirts made from linen or cotton and covered with magic squares, Names of God, and passages from the Qur'an were worn beneath armor in battle for protection; these are found in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal contexts. One of the finest is an example made for Ottoman Sehzade Selim in AH 972/1564–1565 CE (Rogers and Ward, 1988). Talismanic charts are associated with the shirts in style and are generally covered with magic squares, Qur'anic and other inscriptions, and strings of letters and numbers; these are made to carry around in times of need or to be displayed in the home.

Another powerful talismanic object is the hand. Made from brass and other materials or inscribed on paper (in the western Islamic lands), it symbolizes the hand of Fatima, the Prophet Muhammad's daughter, and it often has a blue bead in the center to ward off the evil eye. In Shi'i contexts, it symbolizes the hand of Abbas, Imam Husayn's uncle who was also killed at Kerbela. A final group of objects to be mentioned are mirrors. Magical inscriptions start to appear on the shiny side of twelfth- and thirteenth-century mirrors from Iran and Anatolia. These inscriptions were probably engraved later than the object itself. They consist of elements of the magical vocabulary mentioned above and were probably associated with a specific type of magic requiring shiny surfaces (Savage-Smith, 1997). In the case of an example in the British Museum, the names of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus are combined with magic squares, the seven signs, letters, and numbers.

Venetia Porter

See also Alphabets; Angels; Numbers

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TAMERLANE, OR TIMUR

Tamerlane, or Timur, (ca. 1336–1405 CE), was the last of the great nomadic conquerors and the founder of the Timurid dynasty, which ruled in Transoxiana and eastern Iran (1405–1507). A member of the Turco-Mongol Barlas tribe, Timur was born in Transoxania and rose to power among the Ulus Chaghatay, a nomadic tribal confederation that formed the western region of the Mongolian Chaghadaid khanate. Stories about Timur's early life are rife with legend and share too-striking similarities with those of Genghis Khan; therefore, it is hard to estimate the credibility of the descriptions of his lowly beginnings. He advanced in the tribal arena through personal valor and brigandage, gathering a nucleus of supporters and offering his services to the local rulers. During one of his early battles in Iran, he got the limp that became part of his name (Persian: *Timur-i leng,* "Timur the lame"). His military genius and charismatic personality in combination with his clever manipulation of tribal politics led to his rise first to the leadership of his tribe (1361/1362) and then to the head of the whole ulus (1370). Not being a descendant of Genghis Khan, Timur could not bear the title *khan* and thus was known only as *amir* (commander). To legitimate himself, he married Genghisid princesses, took the title *küregen* (Mongolian; "son-in-law"), and appointed a puppet Genghisid as khan. He also collected a host of princes of the different Genghisid branches, portraying himself as their patron.

Another important component of Timur's legitimation was Islam. Timur respected and patronized Sufi sheikhs and ulama, with whom he often debated, and he built religious monuments. The third facet of his legitimation was his own charisma and success: Timur stressed his intimate connection with the supernatural, consciously imitated Genghis Khan, and used monumental building and court historiography to magnify his name.

From 1370 onward, Timur fought almost imminently at the head of his troops, unwilling to entrust their command to anybody but himself. He started with a series of raids into Moghulistan, the eastern part of the Chaghadaids, and into Iran, and this occupied him between 1370 and 1385. During the next decade, he was active mainly against the Golden Horde Khan and his former protégé Toktamish, in south Russia and Ukraine, achieving his major victory at 1395 when he ruined Sarai, the Golden Horde capital, thereby encouraging the rise of Muscovy. In 1398 and 1399, Timur raided India, inflicting a decisive blow on the Delhi Sultanate. In 1400, he turned westward, defeating the Mamluks in 1401 in Damascus (where he met Ibn Khaldun) and the Ottomans in 1402 at Ankara, capturing their sultan and enabling Byzantium to survive for another fifty years. In 1405, Timur was on his way to attack China, but he died near Utrar before completing his campaign.

Although Timur raided the territory between Moscow and Delhi, he established permanent administration only in Iran, Iraq and Central Asia. These sedentary territories, governed by his sons and commanders, provided him with a rich tax base and a reserve of manpower. Unlike Genghis Khan, Timur did not try to subjugate the nomads whose domains he invaded. While Timur's capital, Samarqand, became a cosmopolitan imperial city that flourished as never before, Iran and Iraq suffered devastation at a greater degree than that caused by the Mongols.

Because Timur's campaigns were a mass of uncoordinated raids, he often conquered one place more than once. However, the constant fighting enabled Timur to engage and reward his troops, thereby preventing them from turning against him. Timur's conquests also consciously aimed to restore the Mongol Empire, and the deliberate devastation that accompanied them was a conscious imitation of the Mongol onslaught. The third aim of the conquests was the



Exterior of Tamerlane's (Timur's) mausoleum. Timurid dynasty. 1405 CE. Credit: Bridgeman-Giraudon/Art Resource, NY. S. Isidro el Real, Leon, Spain.

revival of the Silk Roads, shifting their main routes into his realm, mainly at the expense of the more northern route that passed through the Golden Horde's lands.

Timur's conquests were a high time for Transoxiana, but they weakened—although did not eliminate—nearly all of the Muslim forces of his time (Ottomans, Mamluks, Golden Horde, Chaghadaid Moghuls, Delhi Sultanate). They also led to the spread of the gunpowder weapon back eastward, from the Ottomans to China and India, thereby contributing to the subsequent decline of the nomads.

Timur's empire, which was mainly based on his personal charisma and lacked a strong institutional basis, did not survive intact after his death. However, his descendants, the Timurids, ruled over a smaller realm that was composed of eastern Iran and Transoxania for another century (1405–1501), presiding over a period of cultural brilliance. With the Uzbek conquest of Transoxiana, one Timurid prince, Babur, escaped into India, where he founded the Mughal dynasty (1526–1858), the rulers of which called themselves Timurids. Under the Timurids, Timur had become a source of legitimacy in his own right and was used as such by different rulers in Central Asia and Iran up to the nineteenth century. He was also well known in Renaissance Europe. During the late twentieth century, Timur also became the father of independent Uzbekistan, even though the Uzbeks had expelled his descendants from the territory that later became Uzbekistan.

MICHAL BIRAN

See also Architecture, Religious; Architecture, Secular: Civil; Central Asia; China; Genghis Khan; Iran; Iraq; India; Khurasan; Mongols; Mughals; Nomadism and Pastoralism; Raids; Samarqand; Silk Roads; Timurids; Turks; Warfare and Techniques

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TAWHIDI, AL-, ABU HAYYAN

Abu Hayyan ʻAli ibn Muhammad ibn al-ʻAbbas al-Tawhidi was an essayist, philosopher and one of the greatest masters of the Arabic style. According to sources, his name (Tawhidi) probably derives from the variety of date *(tawhid)* that his father traded.

Al-Tawhidi was probably born in Iraq or Fars sometime between AH 310/922 CE and AH 320/932 CE, and he died in Shiraz (Iran) in 414/1023. It is not known whether he was of Arab or Iranian descent or what his mother tongue was, but he did not understand Persian. He spent his childhood in Baghdad, which was rife with clashes between the Sunnite and the Shiʻi populations; despite this, it offered an intellectually rich life. In Baghdad, he studied grammar, law, the Qur'an, hadith (the traditions of the Prophet), mathematics, rhetoric, theology, and Sufism. Al-Tawhidi was familiar with Ismaili doctrines and Greek philosophy, both of which were in vogue in the intellectual circles of the time. One of his masters was in fact the Christian philosopher and theologian Yahya ibn ʻAdi, follower of the famous al-Farabi and translator and commentator of Aristotle, whose lectures he attended in 361/971.

In 350/961, al-Tawhidi decided to dedicate himself to literature and began writing *Insights and Treasures*, which took him fifteen years to complete. This first, rather modest work is an anthology of anecdotes and aphorisms. The didactic aim and its sometimes serious, sometimes humorous style are typical of the adab literature of which al-Jahiz was a master. Al-Tawhidi, inspired by the latter's writings, adopts his style and later dedicates *In Praise of Jahiz* to him. For a living, he worked as a copyist, a job that was fairly common among men of learning without private means. The influence of this activity is reflected in *On Penmanship,* which talks about different handwriting techniques and tools of the trade and contains the aphorisms and sayings of famous copyists and scribes.

Al-Tawhidi, like many of his colleagues, spent much of his life in search of a patron. For this reason, he twice set out to find his fortune in Rayy (southern Iran), but he did not meet with success. He first presented himself to the Buyid vizier Abu 'l-Fadl ibn al-ʻAmid and later to his son, Abu 'l-Fath, who died soon after. In 367/ CE, his successor, the vizier al-Sahib ibn ʻAbbad, who was also a refined man of letters, hired al-Tawhidi as a copyist. Unsuited to life at court and frustrated by his lack of intellectual success, al-Tawhidi reacts badly to the continuous humiliation that his employer inflicted on him; three years later he lost his job. He got his revenge by writing *The Characters of the Two Viziers (al-Sahib ibn al-ʻAbbad and Abu 'l-Fadl ibn al-ʻAmid)*, a virulent pamphlet that is stylistically brilliant despite its often obscene tone and that portrays al-Sahib ibn ʻAbbad in a very bad light.

On his return to Baghdad, al-Tawhidi was taken under the wing of Abu 'l-Wafa' al-Muhandis, the mathematician, politician, and man of science, who introduced him to Ibn Saʻdan, a high-ranking civil servant. With him, al-Tawhidi finally found an intellectual equal who can offer him the type of intellectual relationship he had been looking for. He dedicated *Of Friendship and Friends* to him; this is an anthology of poems, prose, aphorisms, and sayings about friendship which took him thirty years to write. This encounter marks the beginning of a period of intense intellectual activity. Al-Tawhidi became a close friend of the logician Abu Sulayman al-Sijistani al-Mantiq, another philosopher formed at the school of al-Farabi and by whom al-Tawhidi was greatly influenced. The debates held under the guidance of al-Sijistani and Yahya ibn ʻAdi in the circle of intellectuals that al-Tawhidi frequents are reproduced in *Conversations,* which contains 106 conversations about religious, philosophical, ethical, factual, and literary topics. This work is a precious record of the discussions between men of learning of different beliefs and origins, and it is also the main extant source of al-Sijistani's thoughts.

When, in 373/983, Ibn Sa'dan became vizier to the Buyid Prince Samsam al-Dawla, al-Tawhidi remained at his court and took part in his cultural evenings. Here, the vizier presented a wide range of

philological, philosophical, and literary topics that al-Tawhidi discussed, often reflecting Abu Sulayman al-Sijistani's viewpoint. This inspired *Delight and Entertainment,* which is a detailed record of these evenings compiled at al-Muhandis' request. The work is a mine of information about intellectual life in Baghdad during the tenth century, especially with regard to the thoughts of the most important philosophers of that period. *Searching [Questions] and Compendious [Answers]* is of similar documentary value and was written together with the Persian philosopher-historian Miskawayh; it is a collection of questions put forward by al-Tawhidi about matters of philosophy, natural science, ethics, and linguistics, and it contains detailed answers given by Miskawayh. After Ibn Sa'dan's death (374/984), al-Tawhidi seeks refuge in Shiraz (central Iran) at the home of the vizier of the Buyid prince, Samsam al-Dawla. Little is known about the later years of al-Tawhidi's life other than that he burns his life works in the throes of a spiritual crisis or perhaps as a result of disappointment in the poor consideration of his writings during the preceding twenty years.

He is undoubtedly a master of style: his crystalline, elegant prose deliberately imitates that of his great predecessor and model, al-Jahiz. His encyclopedic knowledge is reflected in the layout of a brief treatise entitled *Of the Branches of Knowledge,* which deals analytically with the different sciences. Al-Tawhidi does not seem to have followed a specific doctrine, although he showed very obvious sympathy toward Sufism. This is particularly evident in *Divine Intimations,* which was written when he was older and contains homilies, prayers, and some technical references to the doctrine. A follower of the Shafiite school of Islamic law, he was opposed to Mu'tazilism and Shi'ism, but he never explicitly belonged to any theological school of thought. His varied and sometimes controversial beliefs led many Muslims to view him suspiciously: Ibn al-Jawzi (twelfth century) says that al-Tawhidi is an example of *zandaqa* (heresy), and his contemporaries probably ignored him for this reason. This was something that much surprised the biographer Yaqut al-Hamawi (thirteenth century), who describes him as "the philosopher of cultured men and a man of culture among philosophers." During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, scholars rediscovered him and appreciated the variety of his works, the wide range of his interests, and his love of literary activities, which al-Tawhidi saw as having a noble function. Al-Tawhidi's double personality (polyhedric intellectual and refined man of letters on the one hand, hypochondriac and pessimistic on the other) is reflected in the opinions of the scholars: if some consider him to be a worthy representative of humanism, endowed with great intellectual honesty, others consider him to be a disappointed and intellectually embittered courtier as a result of his failure at climbing the social ladder.

ANTONELLA GHERSETTI

See also Adab; Baghdad; Buyids; al-Farabi; Heresy and Heretics; Ismailis; al-Jahiz; Mu'tazilites; Shi'ism; Sufism and Sufis; Viziers

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TECHNOLOGY, MILLS: WATER AND WIND

Water and wind mills in Islam were part of a general technology involving the transport and use of water in irrigation and for power. Muslim science took great interest in hydraulic technology, particularly mills. This interest reflected the importance of irrigation in the dry climates of many Muslim regions. Reliable irrigation systems and a plentiful supply of hydraulic power were critical, because Muslim agriculture focused heavily on intensively cultivated crops such as dates, citrus fruit, and olives. In addition to structures like mills, Muslims also perfected reservoir technology, dams, above-ground irrigation systems, and underground systems like *qanats* (filtration galleries), which exploited water tables using vertical wells, and *cimbras* (riverbed galleries), which used covered trenches to transport water.

Mills provided an important source of industrial power, both for local agriculture and for more far-reaching trade products. Mill wheels refined important raw materials by grinding them down, and this made them critical machines for several industries, not all of which were food related. They were used to grind wood pulp for paper, sugarcane for sugar, grain and corn for flour, and flax for cloth. The papermaking technology fostered the explosion in Muslim books and libraries during the eighth century. Paper quickly replaced papyrus in the Islamic world and made the creation of relatively cheap and numerous books possible. This revolution was so important in al-Andalus (Muslim Iberia) that, after the

Christian King James I of Aragon conquered Muslim Valencia (with its paper mills) in southeastern Spain in 1238, the Aragonese production of documents increased exponentially.

Sugar mills were an important part of the Meccan trade in early Islam, as were grain mills. Unlike Christian European mills, which were often owned and tightly controlled for lucrative tax purposes by a feudal lord, Muslim mills were privately owned businesses in many areas. However, in al-Andalus, Muslim ownership of mills tended to be communal in nature; the mills were owned and managed by local groups. This system, called a "tribal system," allowed for more local and decentralized control. When power became more centralized in a more stratified society (e.g., in the taifa kingdoms of eleventh century al-Andalus; in the post-conquest Christian kingdoms of the next century), horizontal mills gave way to more efficient mill designs like vertical mills and windmills. This increased production but restricted the benefits of such progress to fewer people in the society.

Also important to Islamic agriculture were windmills, which date back to the time of the caliph ʻUmar in the seventh century. These were used for drawing water for irrigation (like norias) and for grinding corn. The sails (six or twelve to a windmill) turned a large wheel inside the windmill house, which then turned the millstone; the system could also be set up with multiple mill wheels. Windmills were built on a height—on top of a hill or on the top of a fortress or substructure—to maximize the availability and power of the wind. Early windmills were built in two stories, with the mill wheels in the top story and the sails attached to the lower story. The sails consisted of bundles of palm leaves and resembled the sails of a European-style windmill.

Mills came in three types based on their sources of power: water-, wind-, or animal-driven. In some agricultural machines, one source was used to gain another. For example, in a noria, an animal drove a cup wheel that transported water from a river or stream to an irrigation tank or channel. Animal-driven mills were most useful in areas that lacked enough water to power a mill and in which a windmill was not feasible. Whatever the power source was, it drove a large hydraulic wheel that turned a millstone that ground raw agricultural materials into refined products. Mills could differ greatly in complexity, depending on how the power was transferred to the wheel. In the simpler horizontal mill, the water drove a current wheel that directly turned the mill wheel. In the more efficient—but also more expensive—vertical mill, the power transferred to the mill wheel via a set of gears. The advantages of the horizontal mill over the vertical were that it could be set on smaller rivers or even irrigation channels, that it was cheaper and easier to build, and that it could be used to drive multiple mill wheels. Also, in Islamic systems, the delivery tank and millrace were separate, so water could be diverted for irrigation before entry into the mill. This shows the importance of water in Islam as an agricultural tool for both harnessing power and transferring water. The separate tanks and the possibility of having multiple mill wheels also facilitated ownership and use by groups rather than individuals.

Despite the clearly industrial uses for power, a primary use was always in agricultural irrigation, of which mills were a major component. Set up on rivers, they were usually connected to a system of irrigation canals and were used to grind the products of that system. Streams or rivers often had multiple mills on them, particularly horizontal mills. The nature of ownership heavily influenced the placement of a mill. In single-owner or post-Islamic feudal systems, the mill came at the head of the agricultural system, getting the first part of the water. In communally owned systems, the mill was built downstream at the bottom of the network of irrigation channels, at a point after the water had been diverted for irrigation use; this maximized the availability of the water for both irrigation and power. Another way to maximize use was to have water schedules in which water was allocated to different parts of the system at different times. This extended to the allocation of water to the mill. In the case of a community mill, co-owners had shares (i.e., rights to use the mill at different times). Attempts to feudalize or otherwise centralize the management of such extensive systems often failed. Their structure was too inherently collective to make centralization practical, and such attempts generated hostility among those working within the older system. When centralization succeeded, older owners found themselves marginalized, losing their collective rights to irrigation and milling.

Paula R. Stiles

See also Agriculture; Andalus; Irrigation; Land Tenure and Ownership

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TEXTILES

Much of the study of early Islamic textiles is overshadowed by the prominence of studies on medieval tiraz textiles that carry inscriptions following an official caliphal protocol, similar to that on coins and other official documents, with historically identifiable content referring to the patrons, places, workshops, and the year of manufacture. Scholars have tended to focus on this group of material, because it is provides a distinct and narrow enough field for historical investigation. This goes hand in hand with a general scholarly focus on Egypt, because most medieval Islamic textiles that are extant today were found there, and many of them were produced there or had been exported there from other parts of the Islamic world. Furthermore, most medieval literary sources discuss the textile industry of early Islamic Egypt rather than that of other parts of the Islamic world. Therefore, the present view of the medieval Islamic textile industry is very much dependent on what is known about Egypt and how its network of trade was linked to the Mediterranean region on the one hand and the Indian Ocean on the other.

Egypt, the Mediterranean, and the Indian Ocean

Studies Based on Literary Evidence

The first serious study of the concept of tiraz is Josef von Karabacek's *Die Arabischen Papyrusprotokolle* of 1908, which links the contents of protocolary inscriptions on papyri to those on coins and textiles.

One of the earliest studies of the literary sources of the Egyptian textile industry is Ali Bey Baghat's "Les Manufactures d'Étoffe en Égypte au Moyen Âge," which was published in 1903. It contains a number of literary references relating to the 'Abbasid and Fatimid periods, and these focus on the products and centers of the textile industry rather than the structure of its administration.

Adolf Grohmann's article about the term *tiraz* in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* of 1934 adopts the concept of tiraz as a protocolary inscription, but he applies it exclusively to textiles. He lists the contents of a large number of tiraz textile inscriptions, but he also introduces an institutional and industrial dimension by using several historical literary sources. As a papyrologist, Grohmann also uses the documentary evidence of papyri to supplement and test the historical information contained in the inscriptions.

Gaston Wiet can be credited with raising tiraz textiles from obscurity to wider scholarly interest. He assembled the massive tiraz collection of the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo and masterminded the publication of approximately 1140 inscribed textiles in the RCEA. In 1935, Wiet also planned a large exhibition of the collection at the Musée des Gobelins. It is to his credit that any significant scholarship of tiraz textiles exists. However, Wiet treated tiraz textiles as historical documents and did not see them as textile products, a methodology that owed debts to a scholarly interest in epigraphy since the nineteenth century and is the basis for a number of related publications (Michele Angelo Lanci's *Trattato Delle Simboliche Representanze Arabiche Della Varia Generazione de' Musulmani Carrateri Sopra Differenti Materie Operati* of 1845–1846; A.R. Guest's series of articles in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* between 1906 and 1931; Kendrick's catalog of the tiraz textile collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum; Carl Johan Lamm's articles about Swedish tiraz collections; Nancy Pence Britton's catalog of the tiraz collection at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts). The early publications of Ernst Kuhnel also show a clear interest in epigraphy and documentation rather than the artifacts themselves.

Two early attempts to study the organization of tiraz institutions were written by Muhammad Abd al-Aziz Marzouk and Etienne Combe. Both authors see textile inscriptions as historical documents without giving any consideration to the fabrics on which they are found. Their studies of the institutions rely almost exclusively on known textual sources; neither use the textile evidence in a convincing manner to support their theses.

Ugo Monneret de Villard has been one of the only scholars to devote a study to the production of court textiles in Palermo under the Normans; this was also largely drawn from literary sources. His study suggests that, until the arrival of the Normans, a tiraz workshop did not exist in Sicily despite a thriving textile industry, which is suggested by the lack of surviving specimens from Sicily, in Egypt, and in Italy and the silence of contemporary literary sources. The Arabic inscription on the coronation robe of Roger II states that it was made in the khizana al-malikiyya, suggesting that, when the Normans took control of the island, they organized a workshop within their palace. By contrast, a recent study based on the evidence of another surviving inscribed fragment from Palermo that stated in Latin that it was made in a royal workshop ("Operatum in Regio

Ergast") suggests that the Palermitan workshop was ultimately based on the ergasterion (the Byzantine court workshop).

R.S. Serjeant's *Islamic Textiles, Material for a History up to the Mongol Conquest,* reveals an entirely different approach, because it functions very much like a historical source book for textile historians. It draws from histories, administrative works, works of hisba, geographical works, dictionaries (both biographical and geographical), and agricultural treatises. The material is arranged in parts chronologically, geographically, and by subject. Encyclopedic in approach, Serjeant's work covers all main areas of the Islamic world between Spain and India.

Yadida Stillman's doctoral dissertation, *Female Attire of Medieval Egypt: According to the Trousseau Lists and Cognate Material from the Cairo Geniza,* is an important contribution to the current understanding of medieval textile terminology, both in terms of fabrics and materials but also in terms of fashion. Drawn on surviving documents from the Cairo Geniza, it puts into order and defines the meanings of the often very confusing usage of medieval Arabic terms for textiles, and it expands on the previous scholarship by S.D. Goitein.

Maurice Lombard, in his study *Les Textiles dans le Monde Musulman,* also adopts a purely literary approach, albeit with a different aim than Serjeant's work. Lombard presents an interpretative history of Islamic textiles, with particular reference to manufacture, society, and trade. It is divided into sections that deal with the materials and techniques of manufacture, aspects of the administration and patronage, and the social and economic issues of labor and technology. A large section of this work is devoted to Egypt, particularly the textile manufacturers of the Delta region and the structure and role of the textile institutions.

Irene Bierman's doctoral dissertation entitled *Art and Politics: The Impact of Fatimid Uses of Tiraz Fabrics* presents an interpretative study of the court context of inscribed textiles and their political significance, a study that takes tiraz inscriptions beyond their documentary, epigraphic, or semantic value by attempting to establish their semiotics.

Another interpretative work is Gladis Frantz-Murphy's article "A New Interpretation of the Economic History of Mediaeval Egypt: The Role of the Textile Industry 254–567/868–1171," which follows the tradition of scholarship on Egyptian economic and administrative history. Hers differs, however, from these earlier studies in that it focuses on the role of the textile industry in the economic development of Egypt under the Tulunids, a time when taxes were withheld from the central ʻAbbasid authorities in Baghdad and reinvested into Egyptian agriculture to boost the production of raw materials and finished products for export.

Studies Based on the Evidence of Textiles

Although their epigraphy, decorative style, and historical and administrative contexts have been studied in some depth, the technical issues presented by tiraz textiles have hardly been addressed. Tiraz textiles have been subjected to taxonomic analysis relatively rarely. The studies by R. Pfister, Carl Johan Lamm, Louisa Bellinger, Veronika Gervers and Lisa Golombek, Mary Ballard, and Georgette Cornu are pioneering works in this area, but their value has been limited by the fact that they have drawn their evidence largely from single collections. This is also the case with Anna Contadini's study of the Fatimid textiles at the Victoria and Albert Museum, which is a relatively small collection. Although Contadini touches on vital questions such as manufacture, administration, and commerce, her findings are not checked against larger samples. Lamm was the only scholar who based his research on several collections.

Lamm's *Cotton in Mediaeval Textiles in the Near East* was one of the first studies that focused on one material that was important during the early Islamic period and traced it through the literary sources as well as the extant textile evidence. He presented a wide range of textiles from Sasanian, Umayyad, ʻAbbasid, and Indian importers, most of which were found in Egypt. The material was arranged by decorative method, the technicalities of which were given great attention. A gazetteer of places that produced cotton and relevant textual sources was included as an appendix.

Lamm's contemporary, R. Pfister, was working on a series of articles that were, like Lamm's, novel in their approach and methodology. His two articles, "Matériaux pour Servir au Classement des Textiles Égyptiens Postérieurs à la Conquête Arabe" and "L'Introduction du Coton en Égypte Musulmane," were, like Lamm's work, concerned with materials and techniques. The first of the two articles evaluated the Islamic contribution to the development of Egyptian textiles. For this Pfister had the color dyes of a number of Coptic and Islamic textiles analyzed and found that, during the Islamic period, a lac dye was used; this was an insect-based substance that had reached Egypt via the Indian Ocean route from India. In his other article, Pfister linked the introduction of Z-spinning (i.e., twisting the yarn to the left) into Egypt during the ʻAbbasid period to the concurrent import of Iraqi cotton textiles. The trade between Egypt and India (another important eastern trading partner of Egypt) has been the basis of a massive

study by Ruth Barnes of the Newberry Collection of medieval Indian block-printed textiles.

The catalog of the tiraz collection at the Textile Museum Washington published in 1952 by Ernst Kühnel and Louisa Bellinger is to this day one of the most comprehensive surveys of early Islamic textiles available. Its trendsetting quality lay in the cooperation of an Islamic art historian with a textile specialist. While Kühnel interpreted the historical data, Bellinger analyzed materials, fabrics, and decorative techniques by using taxonomy; this correlation of historical and technical data allowed for contextualizing. Bellinger showed convincingly the various trends and developments in the making of tiraz textiles from Iran, Yemen, and Egypt, and she was able to distinguish several centers of production and put forward theories about the transmission of materials and techniques from East to West. Lisa Golombek and Veronica Gervers followed Kühnel and Bellinger's approach in their 1977 study, "Tiraz Fabrics in the Royal Ontario Museum." Although Gervers' contribution was largely a reëvaluation of the theories put forward by Lamm, Pfister, and Bellinger, Golombek attempted an interpretation of the sociological implications of materials, patronage, and the uses and significance of tiraz textiles, which were areas that had not been touched upon seriously before. However, rather than taking the literary sources as her stepping stone, Golombek decided to raise questions on the basis of the textile evidence itself. This led her to investigate what kinds of garments could be reconstructed from the textile fragments, the kinds of fabrics used, the degree of foreign influence in Egypt, and who made and ordered these textiles. Rather than providing answers, Gervers' and Golombek's article provides a forum for discussion.

Mary Ballard, a textile conservator at the Freer and Sackler Galleries in Washington, has contributed to the field a technical study of tiraz textiles based on the collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts. By analyzing mostly materials and weaving methods, she documents the technical peculiarities of this sample.

The most recent studies of tiraz have been published by Georgette Cornu. Her study "*Wası* Yéménite des IXe–Xe Siècles au Musée Historique des Tissus de Lyon," published in 1991, presents a new approach, because it traces one particular extant textile type through available textual sources, making constant reference to existing textiles. Perhaps more prominent—but not as ingenious in its approach as her previous article—is Cornu's catalog of the Pfister Collection of tiraz textiles held at the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana in Rome. Massive in scale, this work continues the approach introduced by Kühnel and Bellinger, although it is less interpretative with regard to the historical implications of technological issues. However, every item in the catalog is meticulously recorded; each entry includes the inscription, technical data, and comparisons. In an appendix, the fabric structures of several textiles are explained with schematic drawings. Cornu's exhibition catalog of 1994, *Tissus d'Egypte, Témoins du Monde Arabe VIIIe–XVe Siècles, Collection Bouvier,* continues this approach.

The recent doctoral dissertation *Tiraz Textiles from Egypt: Production, Administration and Uses of Tiraz Textiles from Egypt Under the Umayyad, 'Abbasid and Fatimid Dynasties* has tried to overcome the existing rift between historians and textile specialists, by approaching the subject in a more unified way, taking into account the interrelationships among production, administration, and use. Rather than relying on one collection (as most previous authors have done), samples from all of the major museum collections are examined here and have been arranged in a database of 1823 items, which made it possible to analyze the properties of textiles taxonomically. By using taxonomic analysis, both material and historical information are combined, and emerging trends are tested against the historical evidence of literary sources. A major discovery lies in how the textile evidence reflects administrative changes in control of the textile industry and the wider administrative relationship between Egypt and Iraq under the 'Abbasids. Despite agreement by both textile specialists and historians that tiraz textiles were produced for court consumption, neither have considered addressing why tiraz textiles were used in burials; graves are the sources from which most surviving tiraz textiles have in fact been recovered archaeologically. This thesis approaches that subject by considering both material and literary evidence and suggests that tiraz textiles were regarded as a source of blessing for the deceased because of the caliphal association recorded in their inscriptions.

Iran

The finds of medieval Buyid silks at Rayy in Iran, which were supposedly made in tombs at Naqqareh Khaneh and Kuh-i Sorsoreh at the foot of the mountain of Bibi Shahr Banu (Aminabad), are what appear to be the only other known major Islamic burial finds of textiles outside of Egypt and have therefore aroused enormous attention from scholars and textile dealers alike. For a long time there existed a controversy about the authenticity of these finds; it is now clear that a good number of textiles that were claimed to have come from Rayy are in fact forgeries, particularly those that came on to the art market after 1930.

Some textiles, however, have been found to be genuine, particularly those that came on the market around 1925, when the tombs were excavated. Many of this latter group are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and have been compared with the scant descriptions by those excavators, dealers, and scholars present in Iran in the 1920s. The Rayy textiles are, however, fundamentally different from those textiles found in Egypt with regard to materials, technique, and historical context. They are compound-woven silks (rather than linen, cotton, or wool like those found in Egypt), and there is very little contemporary literary information about the historical context in which they were produced and used.

JOCHEN SOKOLY

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THEATER

General Features

The answer to the question of whether live theater existed in the medieval Arab world lies in understanding the exact meaning of the terms used to describe various kinds of performances and performing artists during a long process of development.

There were no special buildings for theatrical performances in the medieval Islamic world. Troupes of actors and performing artists were invited to perform with music and dancing during feasts such as the Nawruz, the Feast of the Nile, the month of Ramadan, holy days, mawlids, weddings, and circumcision ceremonies. These performances were held in public places, markets, courtyards, rulers' palaces, orchards, taverns, inns, near the walls of citadels, on top of a hill, or on a platform.

The audience, who took an active part in the performances, would form a circle *(halqa)* around the performers, who were called by various terms in different Islamic regions and centuries (see Performing Artists). The audience would exchange sharp retorts with the performers, slapping them on the neck for amusement and lavishing coins upon them as a sign of approval. Performances took place by day with dancing and music or at night with torches or by moonlight (in medieval Egypt, actors who performed by moonlight were called *samir*). Male and female actors, comedians, and farce players used makeup with kohl on their eyes and facial makeup made of lime, soot, or flour, sometimes wearing masks *(samaja)* or false beards of various colors according to the age of the *dramatis personae*. They either improvised or performed memorized or written texts copied from various writers and poets (a method called *talfiq;* "patching pieces together"). In literary and historical works, few live theatrical plays are mentioned, and fewer still are extant in manuscript, because performers depended mainly on memorizing existing poems and literary works and on improvisation.

The main themes of plays and farces were criticism and the mockery of rivals and religious functionaries, such as Muslim scholars *('ulama')*, judges *(qadi;* pl. *qudat)*, and rulers. Actors and comedians pleased their patrons by censuring their rivals and enemies. Those actors who dared to criticize rulers by mocking their appearance, manner of speech, and behavior were sometimes severely punished, flogged, or banished to another town; some even had their houses demolished. Some comedians, jesters, and buffoons served in rulers' courts, received monthly wages, and were employed in various professions in the household besides being drinking companions to their patrons (see Wine).

Historical Development

The ruins of Greek and Roman theaters around the Mediterranean basin are clear evidence of the

important role that theater played in the region during the Hellenistic period. Its influence was felt not only among pagans but also among Jews, Christians, and later on by the Muslim population in the East. Both Syriac and Hebrew employed the Greek term for theater (*te'atron* and *teatron,* respectively). Arab historians and geographers rarely used the term *tiyatir* and preferred the Arabic term *mal'ab*. On the eve of Islam, impersonators, clowns, and buffoons had replaced the classical theater in the Near Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. The original significance of the pagan religious dramas had been long forgotten, and they became seasonal folk theater, tending toward parody and mockery of former customs and fertility rituals. Muslim scholars considered them to be ceremonies commemorating legendary or historical events.

Orientalists and Arab scholars have been divided on the issue of whether, after the Islamic conquests, there was an Arab theatrical tradition before the Arabs came into close contact with the European imperialist powers in the Middle East. There are two main schools of thought: (1) scholars who presume that the Arabs must have found their way to an oral popular entertainment with improvised mimicry performed in colloquial Arabic (however, unable to verify the exact meaning of the complicated Arabic theatrical terminology, they fail to give solid proof of the existence of Arab theater before the nineteenth century); and (2) scholars who deny that Arabs had profane live theatre in the sense of a live actor or actors reconstructing a real or legendary incident that occurred in the past, giving the audience the illusion that it is happening in the present. The underlying assumption is that theatrical performance deserves to be considered drama only if it conforms to the conventions of the ancient Greek dramatists and modern European theater. These scholars argue that there are no extant Arabic manuscripts of dramas in classical Arabic literature; that the Arabs knew only popular entertainment such as shadow plays, marionettes, storytelling and the ritual Shi'i theater known as *ta'ziya;* that Islam is a puritan religion that forbids jesting, folly, mimicry, and imitation; that Arabs in the strict sense were Bedouin (i.e., nomadic pastoralists) and theater can thrive only in urban society; and, finally, that Islam, unlike Greek paganism and modern European culture, is a monotheist religion that requires total submission to Allah's will and forbids conflict between man and his Creator—between the believer and his predestination.

During the first century after the rise of Islam, there is evidence—albeit sparse—of Arab awareness of theatrical performances in the Byzantine Empire. Hassan ibn Thabit (d. ca. 674 CE), the poet of the Prophet Muhammad, mentions the "mayamis Ghazza," where *mayamis* seems to be used in the Greek sense of *mimos* rather than alluding to the Hebrew term *meyumase 'Azza*, in the sense of *Maiumas*, the orgiastic festival celebrated on the Syrian coast from ancient times. Further evidence is found in the story of 'Amr ibn al-'As (d. 663), a rich merchant who knew Egypt well during the Jahiliyya (pre-Islamic) period from traveling there with his merchandise. In Alexandria, he attended a Byzantine theatre *(mal'ab)*, and he advised the Caliph 'Umar (d. 644) to occupy Egypt and make it the granary of Islam. There is also the story of the Jewish actor and magician from Jisr Babil near Kufa in Iraq that provides evidence that parody and mimicry continued to be performed during the Muslim caliphate. He was said to have performed "various kinds of magic, illusionistic tricks and acts of buffoonery" during the time of the third caliph, 'Uthman (d. 655), according to the tenth-century historian al-Mas'udi (Moreh, 1986).

Arabic theatrical performance was, in most cases, not based on the use of written texts (scripts), because it was an oral art and in colloquial Arabic, tending toward mockery and jest, a genre that was ignored and despised by Muslim scholars. E.W. Lane (1836), in his *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians,* and other European travelers to the Middle East described theatrical performances that they witnessed as being similar to those played in Europe. A few Arabic theatrical plays are extant in manuscript, although some scholars assign them to narrative and not to theatrical genres. The most famous are the "Play (Hikaya) of Abu 'l-Qasim al-Baghdadi," composed about 1009 or 1010 by Abu 'l-Mutahhar al-Azdi; the "Short Assembly on Fifty Women" *("al-Maqama al-Mukhtasara fi l-Khamsin Mar'a")* by Muhammad ibn Mawlahum al-Khayali (thirteenth century); and "The Discourse of Umm Mujbir" *("Munadamat Umm Mujbir")* by 'Abd al-Baqi al-Ishaqi (d. 1660). Among the most interesting surviving plays are those of Ahmad al-Far, published by Woidisch and Landau (1993) in *Arabisches Vokstheater in Kairo, im Jahre 1909, Ahmad il-Far und Seine Schwanke,* which shed light on the development of Arabic theater since the 'Abbasid period as a result of the terminology used for actors and plays in popular Arabic theater. The actor al-Far is called *Ibn Rabiya* (the son of Rabiyya), a nineteenth-century nickname for actors (pl. Awlad Rabiyya). He performs the role of khalbus (comedian or/and assistant to female dancers, who were known as *'awalim* [sing. *'alima*]). In the introduction of one of these plays, the actor is described as a man who is invited by the Egyptian riffraff to celebrate their sons' weddings. He is accompanied by a band of musicians, such as

a popular drummer and a flautist, and by a torch holder. Later on, the actor who plays the role of *khawal* (male dancer) performs *(yakhruj)* in the role *(sifa)* of a woman and starts dancing.

The Egyptian Sufi scholar of the sixteenth century, ʻAbd al-Wahhab al-Shaʻrani (d. 1565), in his book *Lata'if al-Minan (The Subtle Blessings)*, uses the same terms of *khalbus* and *khawal* (an actor who performs a scene of a live play *[babat al-khayal]*) (1903). These terms suggest the continuity of Arabic live theatre during the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries. According to al-Shaʻrani, the khalbus performs plays *(khayal)* with itinerant actors *(muhabbazun)*. The phrase "muhabbaz of the Devil" is attested in thirteenth-century Egypt by the writer of shadow plays *(khayal al-zill)* Muhammad Ibn Daniyal (1248–1311) when, in one of his poems, Ibn Daniyal curses his wife for forcing him to entertain his child by performing plays and watching actors playing in taverns with pimps and prostitutes.

Although the term *muhabbaz* continued to be used from the time of Ibn Daniyal up to that of E.W. Lane to denote itinerant actors of farces, the earlier terms for actors in medieval Islamic civilization were quite different. The notorious scurrilous poet Ibn al-Hajjaj (ca. 940–1001) used the term *mukhannathun* to denote actors in a period when the term *muhabbazun* had not yet been coined. Since the time of the Prophet Muhammad, live performance had been called *hikaya* (live play or imitation) before the word acquired the restricted meaning of "story," and only then was it replaced with the term *khayal*. In Arabic literature, the term *mukhannath* was used from the rise of Islam to denote a live actor, musician, dancer, entertainer, or performer on the hobbyhorse *(kurraj)* (see Performing Artists, Arab). In a poem composed by the Umayyad poet Jarir (d. 733) to ridicule his opponent al-Farazdaq, he described him with his moustache looking like a masked actor riding on a hobbyhorse wearing a fur like a monkey, which might be an allusion to a kind of theatrical performance. However, the Prophet Muhammad allowed hobbyhorse performances not as entertainment but as training for combat, despite the fact that the hobbyhorse had originally been used in Persian shamanism to achieve contact with spirits through ecstasy. In Syriac, the Greek term *mimos* is given as *mimas* and *mimsa* with the corresponding Arabic meaning of *al-mukhannath al-muhaki al-maskhari* (the imitating comedian mimic; see Payne Smith, R. *Thesaurus Syriacus,* vol. II, col. 2093. 1879–1901). Another performance of pre-Islamic origin is the *Nawruz* or *Nayruz,* which was celebrated up to the nineteenth century with masks, hobbyhorse, and the play of *Amir al-Nayruz (The Lord of Nayruz)* in carnival processions of the Feast of Fools in Medieval Islam.

Arabic Theater in al-Andalus

The term for hobbyhorse in Maimonides' (d. 1204) Mishna Commentary is the Arabic *faras al-ʻud* (horse-headed stick) "with which the players of wind instruments and actors play; it is well known among entertainers" (Maimonides, 1903). In addition to actors on the hobbyhorse, Maimonides refers to the actress whom he calls in Hebrew *yotset ha-huts* ("the woman who goes out"); in Arabic, *takhruju* means "she sets out" (i.e., performs). She performs khayal with masks and live plays using a gown made of fine net fabric for comical purposes, as many actors used to do at this time (Maimonides, 1903). This usage might shed light on the Arabic term *kharijat* used by Ibn Shuhayd (922–1035) in his *Risalat al-Tawabiʻ wa-l-Zawabiʻ* (*Epistle of Good and Evil Spirits;* see Moreh, 1986). This is the first highbrow literary work that might have been performed by actors. The author tells us of his rival, Ibn al-Iflili (b. 963), who was so miserly that "he does not try to bribe students of mosques and actresses who dwell in the caravansary *(kharijat al-khanat)* to perform his poems and plays (*rasa'il*; "epistles") by brackish ponds and heaps of dung" as their stage. This hint might indicate that Ibn Shuhayd, a generous and rich man, could employ actresses to perform his own poems and plays in orchards by brimming lakes. Ibn Shuhayd says that, failing to find respectable actresses, Ibn al-Iflili used to perform by himself "the play of the Jew" *(laʻbat al-Yahudi)* and that "when he hobbled about, slightly advancing, then retreating, with staff in hand and sack on shoulder, he was the most skillful person at performing the play of the Jew." On the other hand, David ben Abraham al-Fasi (tenth century) uses the Syriac term for actor, *mutamaymis* (Greek *mimos*).

Pedro de Alcala's *Vocabolista Aravigo en Lietra Castillana* (Granada, 1505) contains various Arabic terms for theatrical performance that are still in use in modern Arab world, such as *khiyal*, *malʻab,* and *masrah* for theater and *la''ab* and *mumaththil* for actor; this is a clear indication that Arabic theater existed in Muslim Spain. Moreover, the Andalusian poet Ibn Quzman (d. 1160), who composed a *zajal* (popular Arabic strophic verse) describing troupes of actors performing variety shows, is typical of what Alcala termed in Castilian *representador de comedias/tragedias* and in Arabic *shaʻir* ("poet"). Further evidence for the existence of live theater in Muslim Spain is the fact that, after the expulsion of the Jews

from Spain (1492) and their settlement in the territories of the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid II, they played an important role in Ottoman popular entertainment and the Turkish *commedia dell'arte* known as *Ortaoyunu*.

SHMUEL MOREH

See also Dancing; Maimonides; Music; Nawruz; Performing Artists; Shadow Plays; Stories and Storytelling

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THEOLOGY

Islamic theology consists the following: (1) Qur'anic teachings, (2) theological schools, (3) sectarianism, (4) philosophical theology, and (5) Sufi theology. This article focuses on Qur'anic theology and the Sunni theological schools; there are separate articles in this encyclopedia devoted to the Mu'tazila, most sectarian groups, numerous Imami Shi'i theologians, the major philosophers, and the Sufi theologians Ibn 'Arabi and Jami. Those readers interested in the complex origins of Islamic theology should consult W. Montgomery Watt's *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (1998).

Qur'anic Theology

Qur'anic theology revolves around a merciful, singular God named Allah who is omniscient, omnipotent, and possesses a host of additional qualities. Allah created the heavens and the earth in six days and created Adam, the first human, as his vicegerent *(khalifa)* on earth out of wet clay. After God "taught Adam the names," He commanded the angels to prostrate to him, which they did, save for Iblis (Satan), who was one of the creatures created from fire (jinn). God allowed Satan to descend to earth and

serve as the "manifest enemy" of humans until the end of time. God also sent prophets, such as Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, with the same essential message to obey Him, act righteously, and believe in the Hereafter. The "seal of the prophets" is Muhammad, to whom God revealed the Qur'an via the angel Gabriel. The Qur'an informs Muslims that on the Last Day there will be two blasts as the world is destroyed and all humans are brought forth from their graves to be judged by God and sent to either the gardens of Paradise or the blazing Hellfire. There is widespread consensus among Sunnis that the Prophet Muhammad will intercede for members of his community and that none of them will be in the Hellfire eternally, although the Qur'anic support for these beliefs is somewhat ambiguous.

Sunni Theological Schools

The major Islamic theological schools are the Mu'tazila, Ash'aris, Maturidis, and the hadith scholars (traditionalists). Most Imami and Zaydi Shi'is embraced Mu'tazili dogma, whereas most Sunnis considered only the latter three schools as orthodox. The Mu'tazila, Ash'aris, and Maturidis are distinguished from the hadith scholars through their employment of rational argumentation and adoption of philosophical concepts, such as atoms and accidents, that form the theological discourse known as *kalam.* The primary topics addressed by all four of these theological schools concern the relationship between God and His attributes *(sifat)* and between God and human agency *(qadar)*. The general Mu'tazili opinions (rejected by most Sunni theologians) about both of these topics were the denial of essential divine attributes that were "neither God nor other than God" and robust affirmation of each human's ability to create their own actions. Other topics found in theological works include the nature of prophecy, the question as to whether faith increases or decreases according to one's deeds, epistemology, the believers' vision of God in Paradise, and leadership of the community *(imama)*.

The Ash'aris, who derive their name from Abu l-Hasan al-Ash'ari (d. 935), distinguished themselves through the affirmation of seven eternal attributes that are "neither God nor other than God": (1) knowledge, (2) power, (3) life, (4) will, (5) seeing, (6) hearing, and (7) speech. The Maturidis, who derive their name from Abu Mansur al-Maturidi (d. 944), regularly added the attribute of creating *(takwin, takhliq)* to these seven attributes. The popular creed of the Maturidi theologian al-Nasafi (d. 1142) includes the attributes of desiring, doing, and sustaining, and it states that "[God] has attributes from all eternity subsistent in His essence. They are not He nor are they other than He" (Elder, 1950). Later Ash'ari scholars, such as al-Juwayni (d. 1085) and his pupil al-Ghazali (d. 1111), reconciled the dogmatic position of the seven eternal attributes and the prophetic hadiths that enumerate God's ninety-nine names by means of the construction of categories of names, such as those names that signify God's essence or the eternal attributes and those names that relate to actions (al-Juwayni, 2000). The hadith scholar theologians, such as Ibn Khuzayma (d. 923), scrupulously affirmed all of the names and attributes by which God describes Himself in the Qur'an and in sound prophetic hadith while simultaneously insisting that none of these attributes—including God's hands, eyes, and face—is truly anthropomorphic because of the vast gulf between the natures of temporal humans and the infinite deity. Most Ash'ari and Maturidi theologians did not hesitate to apply metaphorical interpretations to Qur'anic verses that mention God's hands, eyes, and face.

Sunni theologians insisted that all human actions are created by God on the basis of the rational argument that God's omnipotence is void if additional creators exist and on the basis of Qur'anic verses such as 6:101–2 and 37:96. They also insisted that humans lack the capacity to perform any action until the action is brought into existence by God. Despite these unwavering dogmatic positions, both Ash'aris and Maturidis argued that humans are responsible for their actions through a form of acquisition, which is called *kasb* (acquisition) by the former school and *ikhtiyar* (choice) by the latter one. Daniel Gimaret (1980) has articulated the three positions adopted by Sunni theologians concerning human acts: (1) "Radical Ash'arisim" in which God creates the individual's power *(qudra)*, will, and the actual act; (2) God creates the power and will in a human, who acts as an agent for the divinely created act; and (3) God creates the act, but man "adds specific qualifications" to the act, which are uncreated. Gimaret identifies al-Ghazali as an advocate of the first position, Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d. 1209) and the hadith scholar Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328) as supporters of the second one, and Abu Bakr al-Baqillani (d. 1013) and later Maturidis as champions of the third one. The Hanafi hadith scholar Abu Ja'far al-Tahawi (d. 933) affirmed that "human acts are the creation of God and the acquisition of the human beings" in his famous creed, along with the comment "the principle of predetermination (or predestination) is God's secret" (Watt, 1994).

Scott C. Lucas

See also Al-'Allama; Al-Farabi; al-Ghazali; Al-Hasan al-Basri; Al-Hilli; Al-Jahiz; Al-Kindi; Al-Kulayni; Al-Majlisi; Al-Razi, Fakhr al-Din Afterlife; Al-Shaykh Al-Mufid; Al-Tusi, Muhammad ibn Hasan; Al-Tusi, Nasir al-Din; Angels; Ash'aris; Caliphate and Imamate; Druze; Eschatology; God; Hassan-i Sabbah; Heresy and Heretics; Ibadis; Ibn 'Arabi; Ibn Babawayh; Ibn Hanbal; Ibn Rushd (Averroes); Ibn Sina (Avicenna); Ibn Taymiyya; Ibn Tumart; Ismailis; Ja'far al-Sadiq; Jami; Kharijis; Muhammad al-Baqir; Mu'tazilites; Mulla Sadra; Nusayris; Polemics and Disputation; Predestination; Qur'an; Shi'ism; Shi'i Thought; Sunni Revival; Zaydis

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TIME, CONCEPTS OF

Classical concepts of time confronted philosophers with perplexing paradoxes. Some wondered whether time altogether was nonexistent, whereas others doubted the reality of its divisibility into parts by arguing that the past ceased to be, the future does not yet exist, and the present as a moment/now that is without magnitude (i.e., like a mathematical point is not part of time). In addition, it was unclear whether time progressed smoothly or proceeded by way of discontinuous and divisible leaps.

Although inquiries about the nature of time were integrated within physical theories of motion, their broad cosmological and metaphysical bearings had an impact on speculations about creation and causation. In Plato's *Timaeus* (37d; 38a) time *(khronos)* was pictured as a moving image *(eikona)* that imitated *(mimoumenon)* eternity *(aiona)* by circling around according to number *(arithmos)* and came into existence with the generation of the heavens. In the earliest systemic investigation of the essence and existence of time, which was contained in Aristotle's *Physics* (219b3-4; 220a25-b20; 222b20-23), *khronos* was defined as the number *(metron)* of a continuous *(sunekhes)* motion *(kinesis)* with respect to the anterior *(proteron)* and the posterior *(husteron)*. Rejecting the claim that time was the movement of the whole *(holos)*, Aristotle argued that the circular, uniform, and continuous motion of the celestial sphere *(sphaira)* acts as the measure *(metron)* of time (*Physics,* 223b21). His theory subsequently received numerous responses by Neoplatonist and Hellenist exegetes; these are grouped in a monumental edition titled *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca.* Damascius argued that time was a simultaneous whole, Plotinus grasped it as the changing life of the soul (*Enneads,* 3.7.11-13), and Simplicius defended the thesis of the eternity of the world against doubts raised by the grammarian Philoponus, who adopted a Christian doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo.* As for the author of the *Confessions,* Augustine of Hippo, he noted that *tempus* (time) was created when the world came to be while affirming that the existential reality of time is grounded in the present *(praesens)*, which in itself is what tends not to be *(tendit non esse),* given that only eternity was stable *(semper stans)*.

On the basis of a belief in the linear directionality of time, from Genesis to Judgment, Augustine argued that the present of things past was preserved in memory, the presence of present things was confirmed by visual perception, and the presence of things future was secured through expectation. Accordingly, the reality of time depended on an *anima* who remembers, perceives, and expects events; this is similar to

Aristotle's claim in the *Physics* (218b29-219a1-6, 223a25) that *khronos* required *psukhe* to compute its numbering *(arithmein)*. Ishaq ibn Hunayn's translation of Aristotle's *Physics (al-Tabi'a)* secured the transmission of the Aristotelian conception of *khronos* into Arabic, which subsequently inspired variegated philosophical interpretations of time in Islam. Al-Kindi held that *al-zaman* (time) had a beginning and an end and that it measured motion according to number *(Tempus ergo est numerus numerans motum)*, whereas al-Farabi and Ikhwan al-Safa' affirmed that time resulted from the movement of the created celestial sphere *(al-falak)*. Abu Bakr al-Razi claimed that the *dahr* (perpetuity) was absolute *(mutlaq)*, while taking *al-zaman* (time) to be a flowing substance *(jawhar yajri)* that is bound *(mahsur)* as well as being associated with the motion of al-falak.

In *Kitab al-Hudud,* Ibn Sina defined *al-zaman* (time) as that which resembles the created being *(yudahi al-masnu')* and acts as the measure of motion *(miqdar al-haraka)* in terms of the anterior and the posterior *(mutaqaddim wa muta'akhkhir)*. He also noted that *al-dahr* (supratemporal duration) resembled the Creator *(yudahi al-san'i)* insofar that it was stable throughout the entirety of time. In the *Isharat wa'l-Tanbihat,* he linked time to physical inquiries about motion; in *'Uyun al-Hikma,* he construed it as a quantity *(kamiyyat)* of motion that measures change *(yuqaddir)* and whose perpetuity *(dahr al-haraka)* generated temporality. Time also played a notable role in *Kitab al-Manazir* (*Optics;* II.3, II.7, III.7) by the polymath Ibn al-Haytham, who argued that the propagation of light rays was subject to time and consequently inferred that the velocity of light *(al-daw')* was finite despite being immense in magnitude. Moreover, he held that acts of visual discernment and comparative measure *(al-tamyyiz wa'l-qiyas)* were subject to the passage of time even if not felt by the beholder, and he cautioned that, if the temporal duration of contemplative or immediate visual perception fell outside of a moderate range, it resulted in optical errors. In addition, he listed al-zaman as one of the known entities *(ma'lumat)*, while taking duration *(mudda)* to be its essence *(mahiyya)* and the scale *(miqyas)* of its magnitude *(miqdar)* and quantity *(kamiyya)* that become knowable in reference to the motion of the celestial sphere *(al-falak)*.

Opposing the views of the peripatetic philosophers in Islam, the exponents of kalam (dialectical theology) articulated alternative conceptions of time that rested on physical theories inspired by Greek atomism. Time was grasped by the *mutakallimun* (dialectical theologians) as being a virtual *(mawhum)* phenomenon of changing appearances and renewed atomic events *(mutajaddidat)* whereby a discrete moment *(waqt)* replaced the concept of a continuous zaman. Motivated by this theory—although resisting its thrust—al-Nazzam believed in the divisibility of particles *ad infinitum,* which entailed that a spatial distance with infinitely divisible parts requires an infinite time to be crossed unless its traversal proceeded by way of leaps *(tafarat)*; this echoes the Stoic views regarding the Greek notion of *halma* (leap). When doubting the doctrine of the eternity of the world in *Tahafut al-Falasifa,* al-Ghazali attempted to show that duration *(mudda)* and time *(zaman)* were both created, and he argued that the connection between what is habitually taken to be a cause and an effect was not necessary given that observation only shows that they were concomitant. Consequently, he proclaimed that the ordering relation of an antecedent cause with a consequent effect does not necessarily rest on an irreversible directionality in time.

In defense of causation, Ibn Rushd argued in *Tahafut al-Tahafut* that the refutation of the causal principle entailed an outright rejection of reason while asserting that the eternal *(al-qadim)* was timeless and that the world was subject to the workings of a continuous zaman. Affirming the truth of Genesis, Maimonides asserted in *Dalalat al-Ha'irin* the belief that time was created, given that the celestial sphere and the motion on which it depended were both generated. Although speculations about time continued with scholars of the caliber of Nasir al-din Tusi, Fakhr al-din al-Razi, Mir Damad, Mulla Sadra, Abu'l-Barakat al-Baghdadi, al-Iji, and al-Jurjani, the elucidation of its uncanny reality remained inconclusive.

Nader El-Bizri

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TIMURIDS

The Timurids were a dynasty of Central Asian nomadic origin that dominated the Middle East and Central Asia in the AH eighth/fourteenth CE and ninth/fifteenth centuries. The founder, Timur Leng, was a Chagatai Turk of the Barlas tribe in the region of Kish, Western Turkestan. The significant period of his career began in 771/1370, when he embarked on a series of campaigns in Transoxiana that involved the Chagatai khanate in Eastern Turkestan, the Blue Horde, and the Golden Horde. In 782/1380–1301, he began his conquests in Persia, subduing the local dynasties that had assumed power after the disintegration of the Il Khanate, including the Sarbadars in northwestern Khurasan, the Karts in Herat, the Muzzafarids in central and southern Persia, and the Jalayarids centered on Baghdad. He also campaigned against the Mamluk sultanate of Egypt and defeated the Ottoman sultan Bayazid Ilderim at the battle of Ankara in 804/1402.

Timur's conquests brought about the removal of large numbers of artists and artisans to his capital, Samarqand, as a workforce to embellish and enrich his court. The lavish results of this are perhaps most vividly portrayed in the account by the Spanish ambassador, Clavijo, who visited Samarqand and Timur's palace at Aq Sarai in 1404–1406. Timur's legitimacy was established on two bases, apart from conquest and his control of the Chagatai tribes, by his marriage to a Chingissid princess that gave him the concomitant title of *guregen* (royal son-in-law [of the puppet Chingissid khan he installed in Samarqand]) and by his claim to be the true protector and upholder of Islam. It was on this basis that his campaigns in Persia, Iraq, Syria, and Anatolia were justified in contemporary accounts. He made effective use of the Chagatai nomads and their traditional military skills in his campaigns, and initially the areas that resisted him suffered considerably. Like Chingiz Khan, he punished any opposition or rebellion ruthlessly and speedily. For instance, virtually all of the Muzzafarids were executed when one of them, Shah Mansur, attempted to re-establish independent rule. Direct Timurid control of conquered territories in Persia and Khurasan was based on installing military governors (usually Timurid princes) along with garrisons of Chagatai soldiery in various cities and provinces. At the time of his death in 807/1405, Timur was embarking on the conquest of China.

After Timur's death, a series of conflicts broke out between his sons and grandsons that ended with the victory of his son Shah Rukh. The latter did not attempt any fresh conquests and indeed during the war of succession certain peripheral territories, such as those in the Caucasus, were lost. However, the heartlands of the empire remained untouched, and Shah Rukh consolidated his control of the regions of Persia (most of what is now Afghanistan and Central Asia) from his capital in Herat, with a series of Timurid princes and Chagatai khans as governors of the various provinces; the most important of these was his son, Ulugh Beg, who was the ruler of Transoxania throughout his father's reign. Both of these rulers were patrons of the arts, architecture, and literature, and Ulugh Beg was an able mathematician who drew up mathematical tables and built an observatory in Samarqand; likewise, Shah Rukh's wife, Gauhar Shad, who in particular created religious foundations, built the great mosque in Mashad, northern Persia, one of the surviving monuments of the Timurid age. Iskandar b. Umar Shaikh, who ruled Fars and was eventually imprisoned and blinded for his rebellious activities in 816/1413, was a notable patron of painting and the arts of the book. The development of historical writing under the Timurids is one of the most important intellectual aspects of the period. For example, Hafiz Abru employed different approaches to the history of the age. First, he wrote the continuation *(zayl)* of the *World History* of Rashid al-Din Tabib, then a series of provincial histories and dynastic studies, and finally the *Majma,* a general history of which the last section, the *Zubdat al-Tawarikh*, presents a dynastic history of the Timurids, all

comprising a unique achievement of sophisticated and detailed historical literature. Current knowledge about the political history of the period is based on these and other works, such as Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi's biography of Timur, the *Zafarnama*, the *Matla 'al-Sa'dain* of 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Samarqandi, and the works of Mir Khwand and Khwand Amir.

Shah Rukh died on campaign in Western Persia in 850/1447 and once again conflict broke out between the Timurid princes. Other powers in the region, such as the Turkoman confederacies in Azarbaijan, also became involved in the struggle with the result that the empire was further fragmented and diminished. Timurid rule in the west was effectively ended, and, by the late fifteenth century, Transoxania had succumbed to the advances of the Uzbek Muhammad Shaibani. However, in Khurasan, the Timurid capital Herat enjoyed what was to be a final efflorescence under Sultan Husain Baiqara as a center of learning and the arts. When Shah Ismail Safavi captured the city in 916/1510, the artists of the royal ateliers were transported west to serve the Safavid court, thus perpetuating the artistic traditions that had been developed under the Timurids.

Isabel Miller

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TITLES

The sudden introduction of the nascent Arab Islamic community to older, more complex societal structures contained in the Sasanian and Byzantine empires of the Irano-Mediterreanean world had a profound effect on Islamic political taxonomies. Ostensibly an egalitarian sociopolitical community that eschewed privilege and rank, the politically naive Muslim umma would undergo considerable transformations as it intermingled with Syriac, Berber, Byzantine, Persian, Turkic, Indian, and Mongol traditions. By the height of the medieval period, Islamic civilization had embraced hierarchy and social stratification, and with this is seen the emergence of a rich panoply of official titles in use by different Islamic states, from Andalusia to India.

Arabic Titles

The oldest and most important of the Arabic political titles was *khalifa* (caliph), which came into use after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. Initially, *khalifa* was understood as successor, or deputy, and the comportment of the first four caliphs—the Rightly Guided ones (Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, and 'Ali)—suggests that they did not interpret this title as anything other than this. However, the beleaguered Umayyad dynasty subtly altered this title to confer a sense of "God's Caliph" (khalifat Allah) while also openly circulating their status as *amir al-mu'minin* (Commander of the Faithful). The perception of *khalifa* to signify divine regent on earth was aggrandized by the 'Abbasids as they sought to diminish rival claims from the Shi'is and their veneration of the imams (see Caliphate and Imamate). Likewise, the title of *amir* dates back to the earliest days of Islamic expansion, originally denoting an all-inclusive office *(imarat)* with military and bureaucratic duties. With time, the amir was devolved of most administrative responsibilities and was expected to function solely in a military capacity. This title would develop a sense of sovereignty when 'Abbasid caliphs began conferring amir ships on the various upstart dynasts appearing on the periphery during the tenth and eleventh centuries CE; however, by the thirteenth century, *amir* had lost its sense of political preeminence. Another important Arabic title that emerged in the medieval period was *sultan,* which denoted power or dominion, and it would be the Seljuk dynasty (1038–1194) which embraced *sultan* enthusiastically. Contemporary political theorists and scholars—often in the pay of the Seljuks themselves—understood this to be the most prestigious title possible for a non-caliphal Muslim ruler. Timur would use this Arabo-Islamic title in conjunction with the Turkish *khan* as well as *amir gurgan* (son-in-law), the latter referring to his diplomatic marriage to the Mongol Chingizid line. By the time of the Ottomans' zenith during the sixteenth century, *sultan* denoted absolute political independence, but Salim the Grim dispelled any ambiguity when he decided to appropriate the title of *khalifa* after conquering the holy cities of Mecca and Medina during the early sixteenth century. Likewise, after Mehmed II defeated the Byzantine Greek Palaeologi

and assumed control of Constantinople in 1453, *qaysar* (Caesar) was added to the ever-expanding list of Ottoman appellations. The other Arabic title of note, *malik* (king), was not especially popular among the Arabs during the early centuries, but it would gain currency under the Buyids (932–1062) in western Iran and the Samanids (819–1005) in Transoxiana. The adoption of this particular Arabic title is not surprising considering these dynasties' location and their familiarity with ancient pre-Islamic notions of absolute kingship.

Persian Titles

The most enduring and important Persian title—*shah* (king)—dates back to the Achaemenian and Sasanian periods, as does another related title, *shahanshah* (king of kings). These titles were not appropriated by the Arab caliphs during their initial invasions of the seventh century, but the incorporation of Persian bureaucrats in the 'Abbasid administration and the proximity of Baghdad to former centers of pre-Islamic government allowed for the revival of this title by the Buyid dynasty, specifically Adud al-Daula (d. 983) in his khutba and on his minted coins. *Sultan*, however, was the title of choice during the Turkic and Mongol eras, but *shah* would enjoy renewed importance in the courts of the Timurids, Safavids, Mughals, and Ottomans. A hybrid term—*padishah* (emperor)—was the principal sovereign title for the Timurid Mughal dynasty in India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The other principal Persian title which emerged during the fifteenth century was *mirza,* which was derived from *amir-zada* (son of an amir). This was the appellative term for royal members of the Timurid household (e.g., Shah Rukh Mirza, Mirza Baysanqur), and this practice was continued by the Aq Qoyunlus, Safavids, Mughals, as well as local independent dynasties such as the Kar Kiyas in Lahijan. Interestingly, however, *mirza* was also conferred by Safavid shahs during the sixteenth century on high-ranking Persian viziers (e.g., Mirza Shah Husain Isfahani, Mirza 'Ata Allah Isfahani).

Turkish Titles

The ascendancy of Turco-Mongol political culture during the late medieval period saw an infusion of Turkic titles into Islamic political nomenclature. The most significant of these was *khan*, introduced by the Qarakhanid dynasty (992–1211) and continued by Seljuk and Khwarazmian rulers. *Khan* was also a key titular feature in the Mongol political tradition, and it was appended to the names of those direct descendants of Chingiz Khan who were in control of an ulus (appanage), whereas a derived title of *khaqan* referred to the Great Khan based in Qara Qorum. *Khaqan* would continue to denote imperial sovereignty in the Timurid, Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal traditions, whereas *khan* would lose much of its distinction and was only awarded to Turkic military men of intermediate status. *Pasha,* which is more than likely derived from the Persian *padishah,* was a title of considerable political prestige with the Seljuks and their Ottoman successors. Akin to the Safavid understanding of the title *mirza, pashas* in the Ottoman empire were either military provincial governors or palatial viziers. Lastly, the title *beg*—derived from the Turkish *bäg* and comparable to the Arabic title of *amir*—was introduced by the Qarakhanids and enjoyed healthy representation in the Seljuk empire. Other titular derivations—*beglerbeg* and *atabeg*—would be used consistently throughout the medieval period until the end of the Ottoman and Safavid empires.

Colin Paul Mitchell

See also Caliphate and Imamate; Political Theory

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TRADE, AFRICAN

With the possible exception of North Africa, the adoption of Islam in Africa was largely as a result of trade networks. For convenience, the Islamic trade network in Africa may be divided into four regions: North Africa, West Africa, The Nile/Red Sea Corridor, and East Africa. Each of these is characterized by certain physical features and possesses a degree of cultural homogeneity expressed either in terms of language, ethnic composition, or historical ties. However, this division should not obscure the fact that there was a large volume of inter-regional trade and also a significant amount of trade with the non-Muslim world, particularly in pagan Africa, medieval Europe, China, and India.

Physically, North Africa may be defined as that part of Africa between the Mediterranean and the Atlas mountains and that contains a mixed Arabic and Berber population. In many ways, the trade network of North Africa continues the pattern established when the region was under Roman rule, with trans-Saharan caravan routes connecting it to West Africa and sea routes linking it into a wider Mediterranean network. As with much of Africa, the trade was dominated by precious metals, particularly gold from West Africa. For example, the power of the Fatimids (tenth and eleventh centuries) was based on the wealth derived from the trade in gold with sub-Saharan Africa, and its conquest of Egypt would have been inconceivable without this financial base. The trade of North Africa was also linked, via Egypt, to the Middle East, particularly during the Umayyad and ʿAbbasid periods, when both regions formed part of a unified political entity. An interesting example of this long-distance trade can be seen in the Mosque of Qayrawan, where polychrome luster tiles made in Baghdad are incorporated into the decoration of the Great Mosque. Historical accounts indicate that marble for the mihrab and teakwood for the minbar were also imported from Baghdad at this time. Although it may be certain that the luster tiles were made in Baghdad, both the teakwood and the marble came from further afield, perhaps from India or Turkey.

For the purposes of this discussion, West Africa may be described as that part of sub-Saharan Africa dominated by the Niger and Senegal rivers and extending northward into the Sahel. The trade of West Africa was always dominated by trans-Saharan caravan routes leading to North Africa, and there is no substantial evidence for sea-borne Atlantic trade. Although it is possible that there may have been a certain amount of Roman trade with West Africa, it is likely to have been small as compared with the volume of trade during the medieval Islamic period. The principal commodity was gold from the Bambuk, Bure, and Akan areas of the rainforest. The gold trade is thought to have provided the impetus toward the development of cities and the formation of states (e.g., Ghana, Mali). The other major commodity was salt from the central Sahara, which enabled the Tuareg to exchange salt for gold, which could more easily be sent by caravan to North Africa. Other important commodities include goods such as hippopotamus teeth, which were imported to Europe via Ifriqiyya and used as ivory in Sicily.

The Nile/Red Sea Corridor links Egypt and the Mediterranean with sub-Saharan Africa, Arabia, and the Indian Ocean. The trade networks of this area are of great antiquity and precede the advent of Islam by many centuries. Despite frequent assertions concerning the difficulty of navigating from north to south in the Red Sea, it is clear that at least some trade was carried on in this way, particularly from Egypt to Yemen. One frequently used trade route involved transporting goods by boat up the Nile and then transferring them to camel caravans, which would cross the desert to one of the Red Sea ports from where they could be shipped elsewhere.

The coming of Islam had major implications for the economy and trade of this region. In the first place, the institution of the Hajj meant that thousands of African pilgrims would annually cross via the Red Sea to Arabia. In addition, the increased importance of Mecca and Medina meant that there was an increased demand for food and other commodities in the Hijaz, which could be supplied from Egypt and other parts of Africa. However, one major difference between this region and other parts of Africa is the presence of Christianity, which acted as a block to the southern extension of the Muslim overland trade networks.

In many ways, the trade of East Africa can be seen as an extension of the Red Sea trade network, although there are significant differences. Whereas the Red Sea is located in the heart of the Islamic world, the Muslim presence in East Africa is restricted to a narrow band of coast and small islands along the coast from Mogadishu in Somalia to Sofala in Mozambique. Also, the East African coast shares a common Swahili culture, which, although Muslim, is distinct from the predominantly Arabic culture of the Red Sea region.

Although Roman ceramics have been identified from as far south as Zanzibar, it is evident that the high point of East African maritime trade was during the Islamic period. East Africa's trade with the Islamic world was not restricted to Egypt and the Red Sea, and there were direct connections with Oman in southeast Arabia as well as more distant places such as Iraq via the Persian/Arabian Gulf and the Muslim communities of India via the Indian Ocean. As with West Africa, one of the principal trading commodities was gold, which came from the region of Zimbabwe in southern Africa. The gold trade contributed to the growth of Muslim trading cities such as Kilwa in southern Tanzania as well as inland non-Muslim settlements like Zimbabwe. Slaves were another highly valued commodity, and it is known that large numbers of East African slaves were imported to work in the marshes of southern Iraq during the 'Abbasid period (eighth and ninth centuries). Other precious export commodities included elephant ivory and spices such as cloves. Imports to East Africa included ceramics from Mesopotamia, Iran (Makran), India (Gujarat), and China. In some cases, these ceramics would be set into the fabric of a building, probably indicating prestige and contacts with long-distance trade.

ANDREW PETERSEN

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A good insight into the workings of Islamic trade in Africa is given in the writings of Ibn Battuta, who traveled extensively throughout Africa.

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TRADE, INDIAN OCEAN

The Indian Ocean during the medieval centuries became drawn into the sphere of Islamic civilization, generating a dynamic economic zone, expanding the faith far beyond its Arab homeland, and consequently producing a tremendous variety of cultural forms. The extension of Islam across the Indian Ocean was a product of commerce and conversion rather than conquest. Some have argued that this area represented a nonhierarchical world system before the fifteenth-century penetration of Europeans into the ocean. The Indian Ocean is commonly thought of as a route between east and west, complementing the transcontinental Silk Road north of the Himalayas. However, routes south along the East African coast and penetrating into Southeast Asia were equally important for long-distance trade and the spread of Islam's religion and cultures. These regions, which encompassed tremendous cultural diversity, nevertheless obtained their unity from constant economic and cultural contact.

The basis for that unity is the monsoon weather system that governs virtually the entire ocean. The seasonal monsoon winds (monsoon is derived from the Arabic *mawsim,* which means season) enabled mariners to travel long distances more efficiently with relatively simple maritime technology. The regularity of the winds also facilitated extensive contact between people of different cultures, because sailors often had to wait in distant ports for the monsoon to shift and carry them homeward. Unity is also evident in the ship technology used there until well past the arrival of European vessels. Although there were a great variety of crafts—as indicated in the description of the fourteenth-century traveler Ibn Battuta—Indian Ocean vessels all shared the characteristic that they were constructed without iron nails, because this metal was unavailable in sufficient quantities; instead, ship planking was "sewn" or "stitched" together with coconut coir rope and caulked with palm shavings, and the hulls were greased with castor or shark oils. These ships carried a large variety of goods, the markets for which bound the ocean's littorals in numerous economic relationships. A few of the commodities of Indian Ocean trade were the following: from southern and eastern Asia, silk, ceramics, sandalwood, black pepper, and other spices; from western Asia, horses, textiles, metal goods, frankincense, and products from the Mediterranean; from eastern Africa, ivory, gold, timber, and slaves. More significantly, beyond these basic features of material life, by the end of the medieval period Islam had touched virtually all of the Indian Ocean's shores. In recent years, researchers have started to investigate more intensively the role of Islam and Muslims in the complex world of the Indian Ocean; although many questions remain unanswered, the broad outlines of medieval Islamic civilization in the Indian Ocean are clear.

Historical sources about the medieval Indian Ocean are varied and include geographies, travelers' accounts, anecdotes and tales, navigational handbooks, and occasional references found in chronicle and documentary sources. Much evidence is in Arabic, but there also exist sources in the languages of the other imperial actors in Indian Ocean history, from Persia to India to China. Conceptions of the Indian Ocean are indicated by the variety of names used to identify the ocean and its parts. In Arabic, it was

called both the Great Sea and the Sea of India, whereas in Persian it was called the Green Sea and in Chinese the Western Ocean. The view from the Indian subcontinent bifurcated the ocean into the Sea of Lar (the Arabian Sea) and the Sea of Harkal/Harikela, or, from tenth-century CE evidence in Bengal, the Sea of Vanga. In the Arabic geographical literature, the ocean was also identified with other adjacent lands: it was known variously as the Sea of Persia, the Sea of East Africa, and the Sea of Ethiopia, reflecting perhaps Arab scholarship's greater familiarity with the western half of the ocean. Further afield, as one would expect, the medieval Arabic conception becomes increasingly vague. To the east, the Indian Ocean merged with the Sea of China, which included what is now called the South China Sea as well as the waters on both sides of insular southeast Asia; beyond the Sea of China as well as to the far south the ocean merged into the Surrounding Ocean, also known as the Green Sea or the Sea of Darkness.

The spread of Islam and developments in medieval Indian Ocean commerce are processes that are difficult to separate. The initial Muslim penetration of the Indian Ocean world was through the expansion of the newly found Islamic empire into Yemen and Oman in the seventh century and Sind in the early eighth century. From these footholds, however, commerce, immigration, and missionary activity became the primary means of the spread of Islam and its resultant cultural forms and the basis for relationships across the Indian Ocean. The impact of the Islamic empire (whose capitals in Damascus and then, starting in the eighth century, Baghdad fueled demand for luxury goods) on the Indian Ocean was matched by the expansion of the Chinese Tang Dynasty (608–907), which generated a burst of commercial activity across the ocean. During the earliest Islamic centuries, the Arabic sources give the impression of direct trade by Muslim Arab and Persian merchants from such ports as Siraf on Iran's Persian Gulf coast and Sohar on the Arabian Peninsula's coast, with south and east Asia ports, most notably Canton (Khanfu), which was known for its large community of foreign traders, including Muslims, who constituted a large enough presence to have pillaged the city in 758. Arabic chronicle sources refer to "the Chinese ships" in Muslim harbors, probably referring to ships with Chinese merchandise. Routes across the ocean are documented as early as the ninth century by the geographer Ibn Khurradadhbih and as late as the fifteenth century in the much more thorough navigational handbook of Ibn Majid, which provided detailed nautical instructions for all the major sectors of the ocean. During the ninth century, the route eastward from such ports as Siraf to the eastern terminus in Canton included stops in Muscat or Sohar (in modern Oman), Daybul (near modern Karachi), and Calicut or Quilon/Kulam Malay on the Malabar (southwestern) coast of India. From here the ships would round the subcontinent and Sri Lanka and head directly across the Bay of Bengal, stopping at the Andaman and Nicobar Islands before passing through the Strait of Malacca (Melaka) into the South China Sea and on to Canton. Alternatively, vessels might sail from Malabar to al-Ma'bar ("the Crossing Place"), corresponding roughly with India's Coromandel (southeastern) coast, either proceeding northward to Bengal or eastward across the Bay of Bengal.

The evidence for this trade is most vividly apparent in the Chinese stoneware and porcelain that litter archaeological sites on the coast of east Africa (e.g., Sofala, Kilwa, Mogadishu) as well as the sites mentioned above in Arabia and Southeast Asia. This transoceanic pattern shifted slightly in 879, when a Chinese rebel general captured Canton and expelled members of the foreign merchant community; the Muslims then established themselves in the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of Srivijaya in Sumatra. Despite the activity of Muslim merchants in eastern Asian trade, southern and southeastern Asian Buddhists and Hindus probably dominated the carrying trade in the eastern half of the Indian Ocean during the first Islamic centuries. However, Muslim seamen were the primary carriers of long-distance trade in the western half of the ocean, operating between the coasts of Arabia, Africa, and, especially in the eleventh century, the growing number of Muslim settlements on the western coast of India.

The activity of southwest Asian Muslims in the Far East continued until roughly the tenth and eleventh centuries, when trading patterns became oriented around emporia clustered in three interlinking regions: on the coasts of Southwest Asia and East Africa, on the Gujarat and Malabar coasts of west India, and in Southeast Asia's Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, which formed the edge of an eastern zone of trade north across the South China Sea. This pattern shift may have been encouraged by the entry of the Chinese into Indian Ocean trade when the Sung Dynasty (960–1279) started to promote commerce and established direct trading relations with Sri Lanka. By the following century, Chinese ships dominated the trade of the eastern Indian Ocean. At roughly the same time, the Fatimid Dynasty (in Cairo, 969–1171) established its capital in Cairo and began to sponsor commercial activity in the Red Sea and western Indian Ocean; consequently, Cairo and neighboring Fustat became a dynamic emporium serving as a link between the two trading worlds of the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, a role the

metropolis continued to hold through the medieval period. The role of Egypt in long-distance trade is vividly documented in the Judeo-Arabic Geniza letters, found in Fustat, which provide numerous details about commerce that extended from the western Mediterranean to India. It is also during this time that the Karimi merchants are first mentioned; these are a poorly defined group of merchants that played a prominent role in the long-distance trade of luxury goods until they seemed to dwindle in importance during the fifteenth century.

Also, starting in the eleventh century, Sunni and Ismaili Muslim communities began to flourish in coastal western India, often in the context of Hindu states, and from here these populations spread to East Africa and to Southeast Asia. Concerning the latter, the Khoja (derived from Persian; "master") community of western India is known to have established extensive commercial contact with East Africa. At about this time, such East African trading centers as Malindi, Mombasa, and Zanzibar became prominent. However, the links were by no means exclusively economic. Until the mid-sixteenth century, the leader of the Ismaili Bohra (derived from Gujarati; "trader") community, also of western India, resided in Yemen; members of the community traveled there on a regular basis for pilgrimage, directed their tithes there, and appealed to the leader for adjudication. Contacts were also established eastward so that, by the thirteenth century, Muslims dominated commercial activity in the eastern Indian Ocean. Although Arab and Persian merchants had been the first Muslims to establish contact with East and Southeast Asia, Indian and Southeast Asian Muslim merchants and missionaries spread Islam into insular Southeast Asia and the Philippines. The establishment of the systems of trading emporia culminated in the fifteenth century with the rise of the Malacca (Melaka) on the coast of the Malayan peninsula from an obscure fishing village to a dynamic commercial emporium. The success of the Sultanate of Malacca (c. 1403–1511) has been associated with the alliance of its Hindu Javanese founder with the neighboring Muslim sultan of Pasai and his subsequent conversion to Islam as well as the growing commercial activity of the Chinese Ming Dynasty (1368–1644). During the first decades of the fifteenth century, the Ming authorities also undertook a series of commercial expeditions, led by a Chinese Muslim named Cheng Ho, across the Indian Ocean to Calicut and then to Hormuz in the Persian Gulf, and a small detachment are said to have ventured as far as Mecca. Although of renowned size—Chinese junks could have as many as four decks and crews of a thousand—this was a foray of ultimately limited impact, because no permanent trading relations were established.

The economic relationships of Asia and the Indian Ocean have been characterized as a net of interlinking systems or, alternatively, as a unitary world system, particularly during the century after about 1250, when the Mongols imposed economic unity across the Asian land mass that may have been integrated into the Indian Ocean system. Political power is central to the notion of a world system, and, in the history of the medieval Indian Ocean, further investigation is needed into the role of states in transoceanic connections. However, it is uncontested that Islam brought to the Indian Ocean cultural hegemony, reinforcing its geographical and economic unity. The impact of Islam established during the medieval period is manifest in the modern world, from Mindanao to Zanzibar. However, this hegemony was far from a uniform and static phenomenon; rather, it engendered the cultural diversity of manifold types of Islam and the syntheses that these created with indigenous cultures.

John L. Meloy

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TRADE, MEDITERRANEAN

During the first century of Muslim domination in the eastern, southern, and western parts of the Mediterranean, freedom of navigation and overseas commerce continued despite the wars and naval raids between Muslims and Christian countries. The Islamic military expansions in the Middle Sea were, however, not destructive and did not create an abrupt

change in the material culture of the occupied countries. Instead, cultural continuity remained discernible in various life aspects for centuries despite gradual Arabization and Islamization processes. Non-Muslim subject populations retained their own socioeconomic and judicial institutions. There is no evidence to prove that the Arabs in the seventh or eighth centuries CE desired to reduce the maritime commerce in the Mediterranean to their territorial domain only. However, to what extent early Muslim merchants were involved in the Mediterranean trade remains vague. All that can be said is that, on the eve of the Islamic expansions, shipping in the Mediterranean regions was primarily controlled by the church, state, rich merchants, and middle-class entrepreneurs, including Jews. For example, the commercial ships of the church of Alexandria sailed eastward to India and Ceylon and westward to Marseilles at the time when the Byzantines still preserved maritime supremacy over the Mediterranean, and the commerce of the Mediterranean world was largely in the hands of Syrians and Egyptians. The patriarch of the church hired sailors, maintained a commercial fleet and a dockyard, and regulated maritime laws. However, written evidence about Islamic maritime trade in the Mediterranean comes from the ninth century CE onward.

The existence of a transcontinental trade, from China to the eastern and western Mediterranean, gave the countries of the Indian Ocean (see Trade, Indian Ocean) an economic unity and brought a new impetus to sea trade. The Arab achievements made it possible to unite the two arteries used since antiquity for the long-distance trade between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean. The twin routes of the transcontinental trade from Asia—the sea-borne traffic through the Red Sea and the combined sea, river, and overland journey across the Persian Gulf, Iraq, the Syrian desert, and Egypt—were brought under political control of a single authority: first that of the Umayyad caliphs and later that of the ʻAbbasids.

The year AH 212/827 CE constitutes a turning point not only in the naval history of the Mediterranean but also in the history of maritime commerce. The establishment of the Sicilian and Cretan Arab emirates marked a new era in the Christian-Islamic international trade. Meanwhile, the breakup of Islamic Mediterranean territories into fragments motivated the ruling dynasties to found commercial hubs and ports of call to attract local and foreign merchants and expand the interregional and international commerce. Among the major Andalusian seaports on the Mediterranean were Tortosa, Valencia, Denia, Cartagena, Málaga, Algeciras, Seville, Silves, Almería, and Pechina; of western Maghrib they were Ceuta and Badis; for Central Maghrib they were Hour, Dellys, Djidjelli, Bijaya, Bône, and Marsa al-Kharaz; for Ifrıqiyya they were Tabarqa, Bizerta, Tunis, Monastır, Susa, al-Mahdiyya, Sfax, Gabes, and Derna; and for the eastern Maghrib they were Tripoli, Lebda, Surt, Bernik, Barqa, Ra's al-Tin, and Tubruk. In addition, seaports of Islamic Mediterranean islands, especially those on Sicily—Palermo, Trapani, Mazara, Messina, and Syracuse—linked Christian Europe with most Islamic territories. In these commercial centers gathered together merchants of different races, religions, and languages—indigenous and foreign Muslims, Jews, and French, Italian, Greek, and Slavic Christians—to exchange their views as well as their wares despite the prevalent enmities among the various powers. With a few exceptions, political boundaries never formed an obstacle to the freedom of movement of either persons or goods. Only during wartime and political disturbance were the visits of foreigners limited in time or confined to certain localities. The Mediterranean, divided as it was between a Christian north and a Muslim south, eventually recovered much of its economic unity through the activity of merchants and traders. Although Muslims maintained some sort of superiority at sea, neither they nor Christians could call the Mediterranean *"mare nostrum"* ("our sea").

The Islamic Mediterranean maintained direct and very frequent commercial relations with Christian Europe. Although Jews played an integral role and acted as intermediaries between Islamic coastal frontiers and Christian seaports, as early as the tenth century CE, Byzantine and Islamic sources indicate that Muslim merchants carried out commercial transactions in Christian Mediterranean trade centers. Traders from the Islamic east, including Arab Christians, were, for instance, a constant feature of the Constantinopolitan landscape throughout the late tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. Their stay in the Byzantine capital was ordinarily limited to three months, although some of them resided in Constantinople for longer periods. Similarly, foreign merchants entered *dar al-Islam* (the realm of Islam) by virtue of a valid pledge of security *(aman)* and were allowed to conduct commercial transactions in any part of Islamic territories if they carried such a pledge. Sources also show that more than a *masjid* (mosque) had been built in the capital city; one of the earliest masjids was constructed during the reign of Constantine VII (913–959). Meanwhile, their commercial networks exceeded beyond the realm of Byzantium and included the Slavic territories in Eastern Europe.

Geographically, Muslim, Jewish, and Christian merchants operated within separate but overlapping commercial spheres. They all took part in Mediterranean

international commerce and all did business in Syrian, Egyptian, North African, and Spanish markets, but each group was subject to different constraints. It was characteristic throughout the medieval Mediterranean world to find Jews and Christians trading with all regions, whereas Muslim merchants generally restricted their sphere of operation to Islamic markets; Muslim merchants traded freely throughout the realm of Islam. Why Muslim itinerant merchants were absent from the hinterland markets of Latin Europe has been explained by two factors. First, perhaps they found Christian cities uncongenial to their needs in terms of facilities for bathing and eating. Second, Islamic law discouraged them from trading with non-Islamic lands. Third, the hinterland markets of Latin Europe might have been less favorable to Muslim merchants.

The boom of Islamic trade in the Mediterranean was made possible as a result of the innovation of commercial techniques (see Merchants, Muslim) and the establishment of shipping laws and *responsa*. It was during the first third of the tenth century when the *Kitab Akriyat al-Sufun wa-al-Niza' Bayna Ahliha (Treatise Concerning the Leasing of Ships and the Claims Between Their Passengers and Sailors)* was promulgated. Written in the form of *responsa,* the core text of the treatise, as composed by the original author Muhammad Ibn 'Umar al-Kinani al-Andalusi al-Iskandarani (d. 310/923), consists of only nine chapters; an appendix of six jurisprudential inquiries from a later period was apparently supplemented by the compiler Khalaf Ibn Abi Firas or a later Maliki jurist. The first chapter deals with the hiring of sailors on ships. Chapter two treats the leasing of ships, forms of hire, and the freight charges. Problems that may emerge between the parties to the contract after concluding the charter agreement and preventing them from carrying out their transaction and bringing it to completion are discussed in the third chapter. However, the fourth chapter establishes the payment arrangements between the contracting parties if a technical malfunction to a ship should occur in the port of origin, en route, or after docking in the final destination. The fifth chapter is the longest, and it covers jettison, salvage, and contribution. Liability of ship owners for what they carry and for what they are not liable is addressed in the sixth chapter. The author of the treatise devotes the seventh chapter to discussing the procedures of the loading and unloading of goods. Partnership in a vessel is inadequately treated in the eighth chapter. The concluding chapter refers to profit-sharing with the person who operates the vessel. Finally, the appendix, the legal inquiries of which are dated between the second half of the tenth century and first half of the eleventh century CE, concerns itself with the calculation of freight charges, overloading, liability of the shipowner for the transport of fixed goods to the intended destination, collision, and jettison and general average. The *Kitab Akriyat al-Sufun* is, thus, not precisely a collection of maritime laws that treats ownership and possession of ships, methods of acquisition, rights of co-owners, the relations of master and crew, and so on but rather a maritime treatise that exclusively treats mercantile and shipping matters. Despite the substantial legal data that can be derived from this unique treatise, it does not enable economic historians to draw a global view on Christian–Islamic maritime commerce in the Mediterranean region. Additionally, its geographical scope does not cover the entire Islamic Mediterranean; rather, it is confined to the major ports of Egypt, Ifriqiyya, Sicily, and Andalusia. However, the Moroccan, Syrian, and Cretan ports are not mentioned at all.

Mediterranean merchants handled an enormous range of commodities: expensive luxury goods and mundane everyday necessities, raw and manufactured, bulky and compact. Spices, medicinal drugs, aromatics, lac, brazilwood, indigo, dyestuff, and textiles were imported from the East, whereas metals, minerals, timbers, ceramics, leather, furs, and slaves arrived in Islamic ports from Christian Europe.

Hassan Khalileh

See also Navigation; Merchants, Muslim; Trade, Indian Ocean

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TRANSLATION, ARABIC INTO HEBREW

During a period of about three hundred years, from around 1100 to 1400 CE, several dozen translators rendered more than four hundred Judeo-Arabic, Arabic, and Greco-Arabic works of grammar, law, theology, philosophy, medicine, and literature into Hebrew. The translators, who were often refugees from Islamic Spain or descendants of refugees, produced a variety of texts for patrons, students, and colleagues. Jews worked with other Jews and also collaborated with Christians, often producing Hebrew versions of the same texts that they would help render into Latin. The main centers of translation were Toledo, where Avendaut (probably Abraham Ibn Daud) worked together with the Christian Dominicus Gundissalinus; Barcelona, where Abraham Bar Hiyya collaborated with Plato of Tivoli; Southern France (Lunel, Bezier, Narbonne, Montpellier, Marseilles), where Judah Ibn Tibbon, the "father of translators," established a dynasty of translators, followed by his son Samuel, grandson Moses, and great grand-son Judah b. Makhir; and Naples, where a long line of Jewish translators found patronage, from Jacob Anatoli in the thirteenth century to Qalonymus b. Qalonymus in the early fourteenth century.

The first works translated into Hebrew were Jewish works of grammar and theology, including the writings of Isaac Israeli, Dunash b. Tamim, Sa'adyah Gaon, Judah Ibn Hayyuj, Jonah Ibn Janah, Solomon Ibn Gabirol, Bahya Ibn Paquda, Moses Ibn Ezra, Judah Halevi, and Moses Maimonides. Then the translators shifted their attention to Arabic and Greco-Arabic works of philosophy, medicine, and

literature. Among the classical authors rendered from Arabic into Hebrew were Aristotle, Alexander, Themistius, Hippocrates, Galen, Archimedes, Euclid, and Ptolemy; lesser-known authors such as Appolonius, Autolycus, Geminus, Menaleus, and Theodosius; and pseudoepigraphical works of Neoplatonic or Hermetic orientation, such as the *Book of the Apple*, the *Book of Causes*, and the *Book of Istimakhus*. Al-Razi, 'Ali ibn Ridhwan, al-Majusi, Ibn al-Jazzar, Ibn Zuhr, Abu 'l-Salt, Ibn al-Muthanna, Ibn al-Haytham, al-Farghani, Jabir ibn Aflah, Ibn al-Zarqalluh, Ibn al-Saffar, al-Kindi, al-Farabi, al-Ghazali, al-Batalyawsi, Ibn Bajja, Ibn Tufayl, Averroes, and al-Bitruji were translated from among the Arabs, along with popular works such as *Kalila wa-Dimna*, *Bilawhar wa-Yudasaf*, and even al-Hariri's *Maqamat*. The most influential author translated was Averroes, many of whose writings survive only in Hebrew. Avicenna, by contrast, was made available only in his medical *Canon* and *Canticum* and in a late anthology of texts excerpted from the *Najat* and *Shifa'*.

From the very beginning of the translation movement, there were two established approaches: literary and literal. Philosophical and scientific works were generally translated word for word, producing calques and loanwords and following the original text closely even in terms of word order. Literary works, such as *Kalila wa-Dimna* and *al-Hariri,* on the other hand, were translated more loosely, often using paraphrases and replacing citations from the Qur'an and hadith (tradition) with verses from the Bible and rabbinic dicta. However, there was not always this neat division into different specialties and disciplines. Two famous controversies among the early translators helped to shape the development of the different ideologies: both Judah Ibn Tibbon and his son Samuel criticized their rival translators for subordinating meaning to language and style, failing to accurately reproduce difficult philosophical notions in their paraphrastic translations. The Hebrew terminology of the Ibn Tibbon family in particular became the standard language of philosophy and science. Their "Arabized Hebrew," as it has been called, became the accepted terminology used in original compositions as well, even by Jewish scientific authors who did not know Arabic.

The Jewish communities of Europe were changed dramatically by the translations. The traditional yeshivah student, who had previously studied only the Bible and rabbinic literature, now had access to the vast riches of the classical tradition. As a result, science and philosophy influenced every area of rabbinic Judaism. Philosophical commentaries were written about biblical texts and rabbinic legends. Legal codes and commentaries were introduced with theoretical discussions of ethics and political philosophy. Sermons with philosophical and scientific content became a common occurrence in the synagogues, whereas liturgy was framed by philosophical poems praising wisdom and describing the soul's ascent to the supernal realm or conjunction with the active intellect. The translations also stimulated the emergence of a Hebrew scientific tradition, represented by such outstanding philosophers as Gersonides, whose original astronomical investigations were recorded primarily in Hebrew. The translations served as the basis for commentaries, supercommentaries, abridgments, encyclopedias, and original compositions. They satisfied a practical need as well, creating a medical library for aspiring physicians, who were not allowed to enter into the Christian medical schools. In fact, the extensive Hebrew medical library produced during the thirteenth century made Jewish education even superior to Christian and Jewish physicians more highly sought after.

However, not every Jew was enamored of the new sciences made available through translation. From the very beginning of the translation movement, there was opposition expressed by traditional scholars and legal authorities who recognized a danger in a "foreign wisdom" that contradicted religious doctrines and presuppositions. This opposition led to three major communal controversies, which resulted in a ban on the study of philosophy and the public burning of Maimonides' *Guide to the Perplexed*. The opposition to science and translation continued into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as well, when the Jewish study of Greco-Arabic philosophy in Hebrew translation was even blamed for the persecutions in Spain in 1391 and the expulsion of 1492. However, the reaction to Greco-Arabic science and philosophy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries led to a renewed interest in translation as well: works of Arabic anti-Aristotelianism such as Ghazali's *Incoherence of the Philosophers* were translated into Hebrew for the first time. During the fifteenth century, Jews began to turn to Latin rather than Arabic sources, not out of scientific curiosity but polemical necessity: to know how to respond to the Christians. Thus, the medieval period of scientific and philosophical renaissance among the Jews began and ended with translation.

James T. Robinson

See also Andalus; Aristotle and Aristotelianism; Astrology; Astronomy; Botany; al-Farabi; Geometry; al-Ghazali; Grammar and Grammarians: Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic; Hunayn ibn Ishaq; Ibn Ezra; Ibn Gabirol; Ibn al-Haytham (Alhazen); Ibn Rushd (Averroes); Ibn Sina (Avicenna); Ibn Tufayl; Ibn Zuhr;

Judah al-Harizi; Judah ha-Levi; al-Kindi (Historian); Maimonides; al-Majusi; Maqama; Mathematics; Medical Literature, Arabic; Medical Literature, Hebrew; Medicine; Meteorology; Plato and (Neo)Platonism; Provence; Ptolemy; al-Razi (Rhazes); Sa'adyah Gaon; Sicily; Translation, Arabic to Persian; Translation, Pre-Islamic Learning into Arabic

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TRANSLATION, ARABIC INTO PERSIAN

From the early Islamic centuries onward, translations have played an important role in the interaction between the Arabic and Persian languages and literatures.

Translations of the Samanid Period

The first known translations of Arabic writings into (New) Persian were produced in Eastern Iran and Transoxiana under the patronage of the Samanids (AH 204–395 CE/819–1005), who promoted extensive literary activity in both languages. Among the earliest recorded examples, Abu'l-Fadl Bal'ami (d. 329/940), vizier of Nasr II b. Ahmad (r. 301–331/914–933), translated Ibn al-Muqaffa''s Arabic version of the *Kalila wa-Dimna*, a collection of animal fables, into Persian prose, and the poet Rudaki (d. 329/941–942) rendered it into Persian verse. Some two centuries earlier, Ibn

al-Muqaffa' (d. ca. 139/757) had himself translated the work from Middle Persian into Arabic, and his rendering served as the basis for numerous later versions in prose and verse in both Arabic and Persian.

The most ambitious translations sponsored by the Samanids, however, belong to the reign of Mansur I b. Nuh (350–365/961–976), who commissioned his vizier Abu 'Ali Bal'ami (d. 382–387/992–997, the son of Abu'l-Fadl) to translate the universal history of al-Tabari (d. 310/923) into Persian and also ordered a translation of al-Tabari's Qur'anic commentary. During a period of increasingly tense relations between the Samanids on the one hand and the 'Abbasids and the Buyids on the other, Mansur's initiative was almost certainly intended to strengthen the legitimacy of Samanid rule in the eastern regions. Bal'ami, who added some materials and omitted others, reworked al-Tabari's *History* into a continuous narrative that presents Islamic history from an Iranian point of view. The Persian *Tafsir (Commentary)* likewise omits portions of al-Tabari's work and introduces several elements that are not found in the Arabic original; it was perhaps intended to undermine the teachings of the many heterodox and sectarian groups, especially the Isma'ilis and Karramis, that flourished in Khurasan and Transoxania at the time and to appeal to non-Muslim communities as well. Both "translations" were probably also designed to foster the acculturation of the Turkish military elite created by the Samanids (Daniel, 1990; Meisami, 1999).

Although the Samanid period is associated with the earliest translations from Arabic into Persian, such works continued to appear throughout the premodern period across the Iranian-speaking world and indeed beyond it. For the patrons who commissioned them, translations of Arabic works could enhance legitimacy and confer prestige. At the same time, many translations served practical and instructional purposes. The range of subject matter covered by the recorded translations shows that there was a significant demand among Persian speakers for some access to the scholarship and scientific learning expressed in Arabic. Several Persian translators of the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries stated in their prefaces that their purpose was to make their Arabic sources available to the elites and the common people alike (Lazard, 1975; Bosworth 1978–1979).

Translations of Works on Religious Subjects

Despite disagreement among religious scholars about the permissibility of translating the Qur'an, many translations into Persian appeared throughout the medieval period. Interlinear translations were especially common. When Mansur b. Nuh commissioned his translation of al-Tabari's *Tafsir*, he consulted a group of Transoxianan scholars, who declared it permissible for those did not know Arabic to read and write the Qur'anic commentary in Persian (*Tarjuma-yi Tafsir-i Tabari,* ed. H. Yaghma'i. Tehran, 1988. I:5). From the fifth/eleventh century onward, many commentators on the Qur'an chose to write in Persian so as to reach a broader audience.

Although Arabic never lost its status as the preeminent medium for the expression of religious thought and scholarship, Persian rapidly developed as an important secondary language into which works about religious subjects, including jurisprudence, theology, and mysticism, could be translated and in which, eventually, original works were written. The *Sawad al-A'zam*, a catechism formulated by the Hanafi scholar Abu'l-Qasim al-Samarqandi (d. 342/953), was translated into Arabic at the behest of the Samanid ruler Nuh II b. Mansur (r. 365–387/976–997). Among the most popular Persian translations of Arabic works were those that recorded the sayings and speeches of 'Ali, the first imam, those of the later imams, and commentaries on these materials. Arabic collections of the imams' utterances and communications included the *Hundred Words* of 'Ali, compiled in Arabic by al-Jahiz (d. 255/868–869), and the *Covenant of Ashtar*, 'Ali's letter to his governor, al-Ashtar (d. 38/658), itself also contained in the *Nahj al-Balagha*, the anthology of 'Ali's homilies and letters compiled by al-Sharif al-Radi (359–406/970–1016). Numerous Persian translations of these works were produced, including Husayn b. Muhammad Avi's version of the *Covenant of Ashtar* (ca. 729/1329) and the versions of the *Covenant* and of the *Risala al-Ahwaziyya* of Ja'far al-Sadiq, the sixth imam, recorded in the *Adab al-Wulat* of the eminent Shi'i scholar of Safavid times, Muhammad Baqir Majlisi (d. 1111/1699). The establishment of Shi'ism as the religion of the state in Iran under the Safavids stimulated a particularly large number of translations from Arabic, especially of Shi'i works.

By the fifth/eleventh century, Iranian Muslim writers frequently composed works about religious subjects in both languages. Among such bilingual scholars were the Sunni intellectual Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (450–505/1058–1111), the Shi'i theologian and scientist Nasir al-Din Tusi (d. 672/1273), and several Sufi thinkers, such as 'Abdallah Ansari (d. 481/1088), Shah Ni'matallah Wali (d. 834/1431), and 'Abd al-Rahman Jami (d. 898/1492).

Translations of Works on Scientific Subjects

As in the case of the religious sciences, Arabic remained the primary—but not the exclusive—language for the expression of scientific thought in Iran. Ibn Sina (ca. 370–428/980–1037) and Biruni (362–ca. 442/973–ca. 1050) wrote their principal works in Arabic, despite the fact that they spent their lives in Persian-speaking regions. Both scholars, however, expressed a portion of their oeuvres in Persian. Ibn Sina wrote two introductory Persian works: a short medical text, *Andar Danish-i Rag*, and a philosophical anthology, the *Danishnama-yi 'Ala'i*, both composed for his last patron, the independent ruler at Isfahan, 'Ala' al-Dawla Muhammad b. Dushmanziyar b. Kakuya (r. 398–433/1008–1041). As a further illustration of the porous nature of the two literatures even in scientific fields, the *Danishnama* was effectively rendered into Arabic in the *Maqasid al-Falasifa* of al-Ghazali. In the case of Biruni's *Kitab al-Tafhim* (420/1029), which deals with geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and astrology, it is unclear whether the Arabic or the Persian version of the work appeared first.

Translations of Ethical and Political Works

Among the types of writing that were frequently chosen for translation from Arabic into Persian (and into other languages as well) were works dealing with statecraft, books of advice for rulers, and collections of wisdom literature. Selected sayings of Plato appear in several Persian works. The *Sirr al-Asrar (Secretum Secretorum)* ascribed to Aristotle was translated into Persian. A selection of the *Epistles* of the Ikhwan al-Safa' appeared in Persian translation in a work entitled *Mujmal al-Hikma*. Many Persian translations were made of Aristotle's letter to Alexander; among these translations was that of Muhammad b. Ahmad Zawzani, which was prepared during the fifth/eleventh century. In southern Iran, during the reign of the Muzaffarid Shah-i Shuja' (r. 765–786/1364–1384), al-Raghib al-Isfahani's widely-read treatise the *Dhari'a ila Makarim al-Shari'a* was rendered into Persian, with added counsels drawn from Islamic, Greek, and Iranian materials. In 901/1495, Yusuf b. Hasan Husayni Shafi'i Rumi (d. 922/1516) translated al-Mawardi's famous work on government, the *Ahkam al-Sultaniyya*, into Persian for Rustam Bahadur Aqquyunlu (r. 898–901/1492–1495). In India, the Arabic mirror for princes the *Siraj al-Muluk* of al-Tartushi (451–520/1059–1126) was translated into Persian for the Mughal commander and potentate 'Abd al-Rahim Khan Khanan (d. 1036/1627).

Translations of Works of Historiography

Adaptations of Arabic historiographical works, especially those that concerned Iran, found a ready audience among Persian-speakers. The anonymous author of the *Mujmal al-Tavarikh va-l-Qisas*, compiled around 520/1126, translated some of his materials from Arabic into Persian. In 603/1206–1207, Jarbadhqani produced a Persian translation of the Arabic history of the Ghaznavids, the *Ta'rikh al-Yamini* of 'Utbi (350–427 or 31/961–1036 or 1040). A decade later, Ibn Isfandiyar, journeying in Khvarazm, came across a copy of the *Letter of Tansar*, a Sasanian work reportedly rendered into Arabic from Middle Persian by Ibn al-Muqaffa'; Ibn Isfandiyar translated the Arabic text into Persian and incorporated it into his *History of Tabaristan* (ca. 613/1216–1217). Ibn al-Tiqtaqa (d. ca. 709/1309), author of the two-part Arabic *Kitab al-Fakhri* (701/1301), revised his book after the execution in 702/1303 of its first dedicatee, Fakhr al-Din 'Isa, governor of Mosul; the second, historiographical half of the revised version was translated with significant modifications into Persian around 714/1314 as the *Tajarib al-Salaf* of Hindushah b. Sanjar Nakhjavani and dedicated to the Hazaraspid ruler Nusrat al-Din Ahmad b. Yusufshah (r. 696–730 or 733/1296–1330 or 1333). Avi translated not only the *Covenant of Ashtar* (see above) but also the Arabic *Mahasin Isfahan* as the *History of Isfahan* in 729/1329 under the patronage of the vizier Ghiyath al-Din (d. 736/1336), for whom a number of other Arabic works were translated into Persian. A manuscript dated 789/1387 and entitled *Tajarib al-Umam fi Akhbar Muluk al-'Arab wa-l-'Ajam* purports to be the Persian translation of an Arabic history composed in 75/694–695; it covers the period from Sam b. Nuh to Yazdagird III, and it is said to have been in the possession of a succession of rulers until such a time that it could no longer be read and the ruler of the age had it translated into Persian.

Bilingualism

The exchange between the Arabic and Persian literatures took several forms, not all of which involved freestanding translation–adaptations. Many authors of poetry and prose wrote in both languages; some composed independent works in each language, and

some rendered their own Arabic works into Persian (and, occasionally, vice versa). The literary anthologies of al-Tha'alibi (350–429/961–1038) and his student al-Bakharzi (d. 467/1075) attest to a considerable number of poets and writers in Iran and Transoxiana who wrote equally fluently in Arabic and Persian. Another literary feature of the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries are patchwork poems (mulamma'at), which are either Arabic poems that include Persian words or poems in which verses in the two languages alternate. The twelfth-century Khvarazmian poet Rashid al-Din Vatvat (d. 573 or 578/1177 or 1182) composed verses in Arabic and Persian and sometimes employed both languages in a single poem, and the celebrated Persian poets Sa'di (d. 691/1292) and Rumi (604–672/1207–1273) likewise wrote in Arabic as well as Persian.

Authors of prose works display a similarly high degree of bilingualism. Among many other writers, al-Ghazali wrote some works in Persian as well as many in Arabic. Although he composed his vast compendium, the *Ihya' 'Ulum al-Din,* in Arabic, al-Ghazali wrote a modified abridgment of it, the *Kimiya-yi sa'Adat*, in Persian, for the benefit of ordinary people who were unschooled in Arabic. In the *Akhlaq-i Nasiri*, his acclaimed work on ethics and political philosophy, Nasir al-Din Tusi (d. 672/1273) includes a Persian summary of the *Tahdhib al-Akhlaq* of Miskawayh (d. 421/1030), who had himself brought together Greek, Iranian, Arab, and Islamic traditions in his (Arabic) writings. The *Akhlaq-i Nasiri* became a model for later writers, including Davvani (d. 908/1502), whose *Akhlaq-i Jalali* likewise includes a Persian epitome of Miskawayh's treatise.

The sizable number of translations that are known to have been prepared undoubtedly constitute only a small portion of those that were actually undertaken. Moreover, very few works are extant in both their original Arabic and their translated versions, so the relationship of one to the other is often difficult to assess. In some instances, especially when the subject matter concerned religion, precision was essential. In other cases, it seems that translators were not necessarily required to provide complete or accurate versions of the original work but were expected to adapt the text, especially by omitting and adding materials, to suit the needs and interests of the new audience; the surviving translations of historiographical works often display a particularly free relationship with their Arabic sources, and, in several cases, they explicitly incorporate later materials to extend the narrative beyond the period covered by the original. However, the process of translation was only one medium for the reception of Arabic materials in Persian; the high frequency of bilingualism among educated Iranian Muslims facilitated various other forms of interaction between the two literatures, including abridgement in Persian, commentary in Persian, quotation, and compositions involving both languages.

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TRANSLATION, PRE-ISLAMIC LEARNING INTO ARABIC

According to the historian and man of letters Ibn Khallikan: "Nobody could have had access to the writings of the ancient Greeks, because nobody among the Arabs knew the Greek language." The same declaration could be made about the Persian legacy in other realms of knowledge, such as mirrors for princes. Presented here are only translations from the Greek legacy.

Several Arabic authors have given accounts at different periods about the knowledge of the Arabs about Greek legacy: al-Ya'qubi (d. ca. AH 292/905 CE) in sixty five pages of his *History;* the Christian physician and translator Ishaq b. Hunayn (d. 299/911) in his *History of the Physicians and Wise Men* (philosophers, above all, before Islam); the Baghdadi logician Abu Sulayman al-Sijistani (d. ca. 375/985) in his *Cabinet of Wisdom*, of which only an abridgment is extant and published; the bookseller and copyist of

Baghdad Ibn al-Nadim (d. 380/990 or 385/995), in his *Index* of books and disciplines; the Corduvan Ibn Juljul (d. c. 354/994), in the *Classes of Physicians and Wise Men;* Sa'id al-Andalusi (d. 462/1070–1071 in Egypt) in his *Categories of Nations,* written in Toledo; the Syrian physician Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (d. 668/1269) in the *Classes of Physicians*, parts of which have been translated into French, German, and English; and Ibn Khaldun (d. 808/1406) in his *Introduction to History.* Information is also found scattered in the huge Arabic biobibliographical productions, in marginalia of manuscripts, in commentaries, and in glosses.

The Syriac-speaking Christians have played a great role as a result of their technical skill in translation of Greek works into Syriac and Arabic. The major translators who flourished during al-Ma'mun's reign include the (probably Melkite) Christian Yahya b. al-Bitriq, who is credited with translating into Arabic Plato's *Timaeus,* Aristotle's *On the Soul*, *On the Heavens,* and *Prior Analytics,* the *Book of Animals,* and the *Secret of Secrets (Sirr al-Asrar)*, an apocryphal political treatise of unknown authorship that was attributed to Aristotle.

However, the great translator of this caliphate was the Nestorian Hunayn b. Ishaq (d. 264/873), who was born in Hira in Iraq and, together with his son Ishaq b. Hunayn, his nephew Hubaysh, his pupil 'Isa b. Yahya, and others placed the translation of Greek medieval and philosophical texts on a sound scientific footing. The chief interests of Hunayn himself were medical, and he translated the complete medical corpus of Hippocrates and Galen. Hunayn and his associates were also responsible for translating Galen's treatises on logic, his *Ethics* (the Greek original of which is lost), and his epitomes of Plato's *Sophist, Parmenides, Cratylus, Euthydemus, Timaeus, Statesman, Republic,* and *Laws,* of which only the epitomes of the *Timaeus* and the *Laws* have survived in Arabic. The logical and ethical writings of Galen played an important role in the development of Arabic thought, and they have influenced moral philosophers from Abu Bakr al-Razi (Rhazes) (d. 313/925) to Miskawayh (d. 421/1030).

Of the works of Aristotle, Ishaq b. Hunayn is responsible for translating the *Categories, De Interpretatione, On Generation and Corruption, Physics, On the Soul, Nicomachean Ethics,* and the spurious *De Plantis,* which was written by the peripatetic philosopher Nicolaus of Damascus (first century). However, the most important Aristotelian treatise to be translated into Arabic during this period is the *Metaphysics,* which is known in the Arabic sources as the *Book of Letters* or the *Theologica* (*al-Ilahiyat*). According to reliable authorities, a little-known translator named Ustat (Eustathius) translated the twelve books (excluding M and N) for al-Kindi, as did Yahya ibn 'Adi a century later. However, Ishaq, Abu Bishr Matta, and others are also credited with translating some parts of the *Metaphysics*.

Equally important is the translation by Ibn Na'ima al-Himsi (d. 220/835) of a treatise allegedly written by Aristotle and referred to in the Arabic sources as *Uthulugia* or *Theologia Aristotelis*. It consists of a paraphrase of Plotinus' *Enneads* IV–VI made by an anonymous Greek author (who could very well be Porphyry of Tyre); together with Proclus' *Elements of Theology,* known as the *Pure Good (al-Khayr al-mahd)* or *Liber de Causis,* it was largely responsible for the whole development of Arab-Islamic Neoplatonism. Al-Kindi is said to have commented on the *Theologia Aristotelis* as did Ibn Sina and others, and al-Farabi refers to it as an undoubted work of Aristotle. A series of other pseudo-Aristotelian works also found their way into Arabic, including *Secret of Secrets, De Plantis, Economica,* and the *Book of Minerals.*

Among other translators of Greek philosophical texts, the Harranean mathematician and astronomer Thabit b. Qurra (d. 288/901) should be mentioned. He translated, among other things, the *Arithmetical Introduction* of Nicomachus of Gerasa (a masterpiece of translation) and Archimedes' *The Sphere and the Cylinder*. He further revised many translations made by others, such as Euclid's *Elements* and Ptolemy's *Almagest*. Abu 'Uthman al-Dimashqi (d. 298/910) translated directly from Greek the *Topics* of Aristotle, which was translated again by Yahya b. 'Adi (d. 363/974), this time from Ishaq b. Hunayn's previous Syriac version. The Syro-Palestinian Greek physician Qusta b. Luqa (d. 300/912) was commissioned for the translation of mathematical and astronomical works, like the *Spherics* of Theodosius, the *Rising and Setting (of Fixed Stars)* by Autolycus, and the *Lifting Screw* by Hero of Alexandria. The Nestorian Abu Bishr Matta b. Yunus (d. 328/940), a skilled logician and the founder of the Aristotelian school in Baghdad, made his translations from Syriac: *The Analytica Posteriora,* with the commentary of Alexander of Aphrodisias and the paraphrase of Themistius; the book *Lamda* of *Metaphysica* with the commentary of Alexander (which was used by Averroes); and the *Ars Poetica*. His disciple the Jacobite Yahya b. 'Adi stands out as the best-known writer about Christian theological questions and ethics in Arabic. He translated logical works of Aristotle and also passages of his *Physics* and *Metaphysics*, with ancient commentaries. His translation of Themistius' paraphrase of *De Caelo* is extant in a Hebraic version. His Christian disciple 'Isa b. Ishaq b. Zur'a (d. 395/1008) was also active in translation. Such was the case also for

Ibn 'Adi's pupil Ibn al-Khammar al-Hasan b. Suwar (d. 407/1017).

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TRANSOXIANA

The historical core of Central Asia was a region known as *Transoxiana,* a term that was coined by scholars to describe the location of this region beyond the River Oxus as one approached it from the classical world of Iran (more specifically from its northeastern province of Khorasan). The Oxus (or Oxiana) River, a Latinized form of an ancient Iranian word, was known to the Arabs as Jayhun. It is known today as the Amu Darya (the Amu River); this is based on a local variant, *Amu,* and the Persian word for lake or sea, *darya,* borrowed by Central Asian Turkic and with the connotation of river. Beginning east of the Oxus, Transoxiana extended even further eastward to meet the second—although relatively minor—lifeline of Central Asia, the Jaxartes or the Syr Darya. However, despite the connection of the Amu and Syr Darya with the term *Transoxiana* and the enormous significance of the two rivers in sustaining the culture of the region since ancient times, the historical center of gravity of Transoxiana lay elsewhere. This was along a third river called the Zarafshan, which originates far to the east in the Pamir Mountains, flows further to the west through the Turkestan and Zarafshan ranges, and then flows through the central lowlands of present-day Uzbekistan. Although it ultimately appears to head for a junction with the Amu Darya itself, instead it disappears into the sands of the Kyzyl Kum desert. Irrigation derived from the Zarafshan has supported dense agricultural and urban settlements in Transoxiana since antiquity, and existing cities like Samarqand and Bukhara (Uzbekistan) and archaeological sites such as Penjikent (Tajikistan) are only the best-known examples. In addition to the Zarafshan, several smaller streams such as the Kashka Darya also rise in the southern watershed of the Zarafshan range, flowing southwest and westward, somewhat parallel to the Zarafshan, toward the Bukharan oasis but again disappearing before reaching it. The Kashka Darya has, in turn, nourished historical places such as the Timurid Shahrisabz (Kesh) and Mongol Karshi (Nasaf). In cumulative effect, through the combination of pockets of great fertility (oases) created by the Oxus, the Jaxartes, the Zarafshan, and their smaller tributaries, Transoxiana was a fertile and important region—a literal gateway, bridge, and bottleneck—that led to the three fascinating worlds beyond: Greater Eurasia, China, and India.

In addition to demarcating the southern limit of Transoxiana, historically the Oxus River also represented a strong physical border separating Iran from Central Asia; this was a point of concern for all those who desired to cross to the other side, including Alexander the Great, the Sasanian monarchs, the Turks and Arabs, and even the units of the Red Army during the early nineteenth century. It is from this river that the entire surrounding tract, extending from the Amu to the Syr Darya (the Oxus to the Jaxartes), appears to have received its name. It was recorded by Darius in his inscriptions as Sugdam or Sugda, with the Avestan and Greek equivalents as Sughdha or Sogdiana. Likewise, the people who inhabited the area came to be known as the Sogdians, whereas the Zarafshan River itself came to be called the Soghd.

The Sogdians had resided in Transoxiana for several centuries before the Arab conquests. They spoke an Iranian tongue, because Sogdia, like much of Central Asia before these invasions, was an Iranian-speaking region. Although their language (called Sogdian by some scholars) is now extinct, scholars believe that traces of the rich Sogdian culture still survive in the toponomy of the several towns in the region, whose names end in *-kent, -kand, -kat,* or other variants of this Iranian word, which means "town." Appropriate examples are Penjikent, Uzgend, Samarqand, Numijkat (the original name for Bukhara), Tashkent, and Yarkand. In addition, a sizable component of the population of certain pockets of Central Asia still speaks Iranian or speaks both Iranian and Turkic (although some time after the Islamic conquest a shift occurred from Sogdian to Farsi, the language of Fars, a province in southern Persia, which developed into modern Persian). That the Sogdian culture was still intact in the tenth century and to some degree assimilated into the practices and beliefs of Islam is attested to by the accounts of contemporary Muslim geographers who called the country (Sogdiana) the Bilad al-Sughd (Land of the Sogdians) and the Zarafshan river the Wadi al-Sughd (Sogd river). As mentioned earlier, the Arabs used the term Mawarannahr ("that which is beyond the river [Jayhun]"), for the region of Transoxania, also following the same psycholinguistic process. Employing the Syr Darya as a demarcation line marking the northern limit of Transoxania, all of the land that lay outside of this domain was the Turkestan or the Bilad al-Turk—the abode of the Turkic nomads.

If Transoxiana was the geographical and cultural core of Central Asia, then southeast of it lay the historical territory of Bactria, home to a sophisticated urban culture, including several urban foundations established by Alexander the Great. Of these, most prominent was the capital of ancient Bactria (the Balkh of early Islamic centuries), which flourished as an important urban center until its destruction by the Mongols in 1221, briefly recovering only to yield primacy to the funerary sanctuary of Mazar-i Sharif. Today Bactria corresponds to northern Afghanistan, southern Tajikistan, and southeastern Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan.

Northwest of Transoxiana and bordering the Aral Sea lay Khwarazm, comprising the lowermost course of the Amu Darya and its sprawling delta estuary fringing the southern shore of the Aral Sea. Khwarazm had since ancient times been home to a flourishing agricultural and urban civilization, typically Iranian in style and character. Medieval Khwarazm functioned as an important commercial link between Eurasia, the Middle East, and Russia, controlling the most important trade routes between the three worlds and stimulated by the Islamization of Central Asia and the rise of Urgench as the chief city in the region from the tenth century onward.

Two other regions, Ferghana and Khorasan, which also surrounded Transoxiana, should be mentioned here. The Ferghana Valley, located east of the expanded region of Transoxiana, has been a land of an ancient agricultural civilization, colonized early by Sogdian merchants. Today most of Ferghana lies within the easternmost province of the republic of Uzbekistan, except for fringes shared by neighboring Kyrgystan and Tajikistan. To the south of Transoxiana lies the province of Khorasan. In pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, it comprised a large area, including central Turkmenistan and northwestern Afghanistan and the cities of Nisa, Merv, Nishapur, and Herat. By the Middle Ages, several of these cities lay on the Silk Road's trunk routes linking Sinkiang through Samarqand as well as routes going to Bactria, India, Khwarazm, and Russia. Khorasan was the focus of the Arab invasions before Transoxiana, and, in several ways, it set the stage for sociocultural developments elsewhere.

Manu P. Sobti

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TRAVEL

By 750 CE, the era of the conquerors and empire builders was over in Islam. A new historical figure, as mobile but more peaceful, began to roam around: the traveler. A multifaceted figure, he may have been a merchant, a scholar, an ambassador, a missionary, or an adventurer. To this, one must add the ritual wanderer, such as the mystic. This new figure was a creation of the cities. He was a city dweller, either by choice or by origin, and, when the city was not his starting point, it became his horizon.

One traveled in the medieval Muslim world by foot or by horse, individually or collectively, by caravan as well as by boat. Some of these medieval travelers seem like true athletes. After finishing their "grand tour" *(jawla)*, they earned—deservedly—the name of "tourist" *(jawwâl)*. Such travelers did not hesitate to seek out physical challenges even if it meant risking their lives. The Iranian Abû Hâtim from Rayy (died AH 277/890 CE), who was destined to a prestigious career as transmitter of hadith, is one such example. In the travelogue transmitted by his son, he narrates: "The first time I traveled, I did it for seven years. I walked for more than one thousand parasangs [5700 kilometers] before I stopped counting. After I left Bahrayn, I walked to Egypt, from which I left on foot to Syria [...]. I did all this when I was not yet twenty years old." One of his contemporaries, an Andalusian who had accomplished a grand tour under the same circumstances, was also proud to repeat to anyone who cared to hear, "All the masters toward whom I traveled, I went to meet them on foot." Touring the central lands of Islam, the Persian philosopher poet Nâsir-î Khusrû reached Jerusalem in 1047, accompanied by his brother and a young slave via the caravan of Hârran. From the third of all holy places of Islam, he decided to go to the first two and undertook the trip on foot in the company of other travelers who shared the same resolve. The group's guide was "an energetic man, good walker, and with an agreeable physiognomy." (Safar-nâma, 106). The trip to Mecca took thirteen days. The Persian scholar seems to have undertaken this walking journey as a challenge. This was not always the case for him or for the other trekkers mentioned earlier. When the same scholar set out to travel by foot across the Arabian Peninsula to go to Basra, that was because he had no other choice; he and his brother did not have enough means to rent two camels. After having paid the guide who was to lead them, they could only afford to pay for one camel: "the Bedouin loaded my books on the camel that my brother would ride, and as for me, I followed on foot" (223). To cover more than eighteen hundred kilometers under such conditions could only make the crossing of desert lands, already perilous in itself, only more arduous: "When we reached Basra, we were in such a state of destitution and misery that we looked like madmen; we had not untied our hair for three months. Who would let us into a bath in the state we were in?" (237).

In vast territories, such as those of Islam, that are covered by some of the world's largest deserts and vast steppes, the camel is the best means of transportation. Travelers who do not depart alone or within a small group travel with a caravan. The caravan is indeed the surest link between cities. Like a city in motion, the caravan has its own emir to guide and manage it and its own troop to protect it, especially against robbers. According to Nâsir-i Khusrû, during the mid-eleventh century, the caravan that left from Cairo for the great pilgrimage (hajj) required so many soldiers that the daily expense to cover their needs and fodder was one thousand Maghribi dinars, not including the twenty dinars spent for each soldier's pay. Multiply these daily thousands of dinars by the twenty-five days it took to reach one's destination (and as many to return), add sixty thousand dinars to cover provisions for pilgrims and travelers, and it becomes clear that a caravan is a vast economic undertaking before being a means of transporting goods from one town to another or from one country to another.

One did not only travel by land, but also by sea. The traveler at times had to use a ship to go from one point to another, although it was the most feared means of transportation. The medieval Muslim world was a land-loving one that kept its back turned to the sea for most of the time. Only a few regions had established maritime traditions, including the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Aden (al-Andalus). Everywhere else, the thought of crossing the sea conjured up images of terror and the throes of a horrible death. The great Iraqi traveler and encyclopedist, Mas'ûdî (d. 345/956) experienced it firsthand with sailors from Oman during his crossing of the Gulf of Aden on his way to Zanzibar: "I sailed on this sea leaving Sinjâr, capital of Oman, in the company of Sirafian captains [from Sîrâf, the main harbor of the Persian Gulf], including Muh. B. Zaydabûd and Jawhar b. Ahmad, also called Ibn Sîra—who later perished with his

entire crew. My last sea crossing, going from the island of Qanbalû [Zanzibar] to Oman, goes back to 304/916. I was on board a ship owned by Ahmad and 'Abd'l-Samad b. Ja'far al-Sîrâfî [...]. These two brothers later disappeared body and soul in the very same sea [...]. I may have sailed on many a sea, the China Sea, the Mediterranean Sea, the Caspian Sea, the Red Sea, and the Sea of Yemen, yet I have known none more perilous than this Sea of Zanzibar" (*The Meadows of Gold*, I, 94). All those who encountered the fortune of the sea said the same thing about their own place of peril. Thus, the other great traveler of the year 1000, the Palestinian geographer Muqaddasî, said it about the Mediterranean Sea in more apocalyptic terms: "It is a difficult, tumultuous sea that continually roars, especially during the night of [Thursday to] Friday." That is because it was thought that the sea was hostile toward Muslims. This revolt from the sea of the infidels can be explained by the following tradition: "[...] When He created the sea of Shâm (Syria), God made this revelation: 'I created you, and I will hand you over my servants who, wishing to obtain some favor, will say "Glory be to God!" or "God is Holy!" or "God is great!" or "there is no other divinity but God!" 'How will you treat them?'—'Well, Lord, answered the sea, I will drown them!'—'Away from me! In truth I curse you! I will make you less beautiful and less bountiful!' " (*Ahsan al-Taqâsîm,* 43). All of the medieval travelers who have left behind tales of their "going into the sea" have compared it to a cemetery (or, more exactly, to a coffin) from which they miraculously escaped. Yet, despite all of the dread and terror (for one must add to the misdeeds of nature those of men, especially of pirates who hounded each and every sea), the travelers did not hesitate to board a ship; they had little choice if they wanted to go to India or China for commercial reasons. At times they did not hesitate to board infidel ships, as did the Andalusian Ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217) to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The ulemas from al-Andalus had endorsed traveling on board of Christian ships as early as the eleventh century, although one could have gone from al-Andalus to the Orient by way of land, through the Maghreb. The reading of al-Bakrî's (d. 487/1094) *Description,* however, shows the chronic insecurity that ruled over itineraries such as those linking the Maghreb to Egypt, making it clear why the Andalusian geographer's compatriots saw traveling by sea—even aboard infidel ships—as a lesser evil.

This information about traveling during medieval times comes via writings composed mostly by the travelers themselves, especially the most learned ones. The latter, however, took a long time before deciding to write down their travel experiences. This attitude would not change until the end of the ninth century, even if the oldest travel description goes back to 851, it being the work of an Iraqi merchant who was familiar with India and China.

Why is it that the scholars of the eighth and ninth centuries, who traveled often and extensively, did not think of putting their experiences down in writing? One theory is that they did not think that the story was the prime condition of the trip. To travel and to write about it is a motion that took time to develop in Islam. Nonetheless, a look at the great traveling scholars of the ninth century shows that their travel accounts were heavily circulated within their own milieu. A chain of learned solidarity perpetuated the travelers' oral souvenirs from mouth to ear. Here and there, an attempt at literalizing oral narratives was made. Still tentative, this literary shaping borrowed its narrative expression from the khabar. Thus, the Iraqi Abû Khuzayma (d. 243/857) was able to preserve in his *Book of Science* fragments of the travel account from one of the first—if not *the* first—peripatetic scholars of Islam, Mak'hûl (d. 112/730). He had obtained the account from one of his Syrian masters, who himself had acquired it from a direct disciple of the traveler who had died in Syria (this is factually known). Other travel accounts were obtained in a similar fashion, by trusting the scholarly memory or even the family memory.

The travel khabar offers the dual characteristic of being, in its organizing principle, a reported and fragmented narrative in which the author–transmitter is not confused with the traveler–narrator. Because it is in bits and pieces, it must dramatize in a few words or sentences the entire arc of a trip; it therefore must be a story worth telling. To achieve this, it must stir strong emotional feelings that will make up for its fragmentary aspect. Where can such emotions be found? In the realm of the extraordinary and the wonderful. In the same way that the *'aj'ib* (wonders), which were part of the Islamic knowledge, had been feeding the instructive as well as the entertaining literature since the ninth century, the travel khabar ran into their writing since its inception. Moreover, many travel accounts of this type are *'ajâ'ib* (tales of wonder). The 'ajâ'ib found a place in the travel account as processes of the similar and dissimilar rhetoric, because they act as translators of the difference. As figures of the extraordinary, however, they do not imply that one leaves the space of Islam to go experience them and then recover them through travel writing. Similarly, the ancient Greeks did not have to leave their cultural world to go meet with the *thoma* (the wonder-curiosity), nor did the men of the medieval western world to go discover the *mirabilia.* Thus, it is understandable that a travel account that does not include any 'ajâ'ib is

not really a travel account. The medieval Muslim reader always expects from the person who is relating his travels that he will tell about what he has seen and/or heard that was the most ajîb—the most curious, the most extraordinary, the most wonderful. Thus, the pseudo-Shâfi'i tells in his travel story—a work from the tenth century—about his having seen in Yemen conjoined twin sisters united within "the one body of a normal woman who, instead of having one trunk, had two distinct ones, with four hands, two heads, and two faces." After one died, "[her body] was solidly tied, from the top to the bottom, with a rope and thus kept until it rotted away; after which it was cut and buried." As for the "body left alive," she kept on "coming and going through the souks."

By the end of the ninth century, the travel account still had not found a stable and lasting literary frame. It would borrow that of the epistle, a literary genre that appeared toward the mid-eighth century and that would be its host for about two centuries. Unfortunately, the most ancient travel epistles are known to us only through allusions, citations, or fragments snatched out of oblivion and waste by the hazards of the compilation. For example, the epistle written by an Andalusian scholar at the turn of the ninth and tenth century is known only because mention is made of it in the biographical dictionaries of the Muslim west. Of its contents, only one recommendation survived from the writer who had endured many hardships away from his country and that he transmitted to his fictional, or real, addressee: never undertake a long trip! The epistle by a Hamadhan judge from the Seljuq era is also known as a result of a biographical dictionary compiled during the twelfth century. Written in 1040, this epistle allowed its writer to depict what he saw, such as the great mosque of Damascus, and the men he met. Fortunately, some travel epistles have reached us in their entirety. One of them is the epistle that the physician Ibn Butlân (d. ca. 455/1063), a Christian from Iraq, devoted to describing his itinerary from Baghdad to Cairo. Most of these travel epistles articulate their writing around what was seen and heard. The two epistles from Abû Dulaf, who traveled across India and China around 942, are the most representative of this writing with the eyes. An entire trend of travel epistle, however, kept on rendering, as was done in the ninth century, what the traveler–writer had heard. One representative epistle of this trend is that of Ibn 'Abbâd (d. 385/995) to a scholar from his hometown of Rayy, destined as he was to a political career as a vizier. During a studying trip to Baghdad around 958, the young Ibn 'Abbâd frequented the intellectual circles and the literary salons of the 'Abbasid capital. This epistle did not survive in its entirety, but its literary success was such that a contemporary succeeded in reconstituting it by reassembling most of its *membra dijecta.*

When back home in Seville, after his return from the Orient, Abû Bakr b. al-'Arabî (d. 534/1148) wrote a *rihla* (account) and thus started a revolution in travel writing at the dawn of the twelfth century. Born four centuries earlier, the rihla, which had been sheltered until then by the inventory of masters *(mashyaka* or *fahrasa)*, the biographical dictionary (tabaqât), the epistolary narrative (risâla), and the diary *(rûznâmja)*, could finally abandon them and move into a genre in its own name: that of the travel rihla. From then on, the way is paved for the great travel narratives in which the Muslims of the Muslim west would more than excel, from Ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217) to Ibn Battûta (d. ca. 770/1368).

Houari Touati

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TRIBES AND TRIBAL CUSTOMS

Tribal societies have played a continuous and crucial role in shaping Islamic civilization. Not only did

Islam first emerge among the tribal societies of the Arabian peninsula, but also, among others, Berber tribes in North Africa and Turkic tribes from Central Eurasia were instrumental in the founding of important medieval empires. The term *tribe* generally refers to a group or sociopolitical organization claiming descent from a common ancestor and sharing common values, customs, and a sense of identity and solidarity. In medieval Arabic and Persian historical texts, one finds the terms *qawm* and *qabila* frequently used to refer to such groups; the terms *il* and *oymak* are similarly used in Turkic Muslim texts. Anthropologists and historians use the term *tribe* to refer to a diverse variety of social organizations. Although this term is generally associated with nomads, not all tribes were nomadic, and not all nomads were tribal. Furthermore, whether nomadic, semi-nomadic or settled, tribes maintained strong connections with urban areas. For example, Arab tribes participated in trade with the Roman and Sasanian Empires, and Central Asian nomads engaged in long-distance trade along the Eurasian land route.

Despite their diversity, tribal societies share certain common characteristics. Chief among these is a belief in a common line of descent, whether fictional or real. In tribal societies, lineage functioned as a crucial source of identity and a focus of loyalty; kinship ties were political ties. In most tribal societies, wealth was acquired for distribution rather than accumulation. One's position within a tribe was not determined by how much one owned but rather by how much one shared. Wealth was more a source of tribal solidarity than a source of authority. Despite a tendency toward decentralization and egalitarianism, it should be noted that some tribes were more centralized and hierarchical than others and that, over time, tribal societies adapted to changing political and economic circumstances. Tribal nomadic societies maintained rich traditions of oral literature in the form of poetry and epics. Such literature functioned to strengthen kinship ties and provide legitimation for a tribe's social and religious identity. For example, in Central Asia, the common ancestor of the tribe was often recast as the bringer of Islam after the tribe's conversion.

From its inception, there was a close connection and interaction between tribal society and Islam. In the seventh century CE, the Arabian peninsula was largely populated by Arabic-speaking peoples organized into tribes that were themselves composed of smaller clans. Clan loyalty was the paramount principle by which society was organized. Arab tribal society was relatively decentralized, lacking authoritarian structures like jails and courts. Order was maintained largely by familial pressure and, when necessary, blood wit. However, as a result of involvement in global trade, there was an influx of wealth, which led to sedentarization and urbanization, particularly in Mecca, which resulted in increasing economic stratification. Islam arose as an explicit challenge and alternative to an increasingly anachronistic and unwieldy tribal system. Converts to Islam gave allegiance to the Prophet Muhammad and the *ummah* (Muslim community). As a member of the ummah, devotion and allegiance to one God and Islam were to become one's primary source of identity, transcending any existing tribal loyalties.

However, although Islam tended to weaken or subordinate tribal identity, it also incorporated tribal values and customs. The Prophet's success was due in part to his effectiveness within the tribal system. The Prophet Muhammad was born into the respected clan of Banu Hashim of the dominant Meccan tribe, the Quraysh. His lineage provided him protection, especially in the form of support from his uncle Abu Talib, the leader of Banu Hashim. As a young man, Muhammad gained a reputation as a mediator of tribal disputes, earning him the title of al-Amin (the trustworthy). He exemplified the tribal virtues of hospitality, forbearance, and courage, all of which were incorporated into Islam. Even the central religious ritual of the polytheistic Arabs, the Hajj, was ultimately Islamicized. Furthermore, the early Islamic state did not eradicate tribal institutions; initially it brought non-Arabs into the Islamic polity by incorporating them as clients of Arab tribes. Additionally, many of the early conflicts in Islam were rooted in lingering tribal animosities.

Although the earliest Islamic empires were founded by Arabs, from the tenth century onward, Turkic and Turco-Mongolian tribes dominated the political life of Islamic civilization, especially in Eurasia. By the end of the tenth century, the Qarluk tribal union established their regime in Transoxiana, whereas the Oghuz tribal union under the leadership of the Seljuk family established the Seljuk dynasty in Iran and Khurasan during the eleventh century. Another Seljuk dynasty was also established in Anatolia, which was succeeded by the Turkic Ottoman Empire. Similarly, the Safavid Empire in Iran and the Mughal Empire in India were originally founded by members of Turkic tribes.

The Turkic and Turco-Mongol tribes of Central Asia during the medieval period were mainly pastoral, nomadic, or semi-nomadic in background. They were organized into families, clans, and tribes, with each clan claiming descent from a common ancestor. The fifteenth-century *Book of Dede Korkut* consists of earlier oral stories produced by the nomadic Oghuz Turkic tribes, and it provides a vivid description of

their tribal life and customs. In *Dede Korkut,* it is demonstrated that social hierarchies were reflected not in material terms but rather in ideological ones. In other words, one's lineage was the primary indicator of one's status within the tribe. Certain individual qualities such as generosity and military prowess were also sources of authority and status. Tribal leadership emerged from the most prestigious clans. The elders of the tribe stood as arbiters and mediators among the different members or subdivisions within a tribe or among tribes, and their authority depended more on consensus than coercion. Women also had authority and status based on their lineage and played important roles in family and tribal affairs.

Although the political structures of these dynasties initially reflected their tribal backgrounds, once established, they had to deal with the centrifugal tendencies of the tribes from which they came. In Central Asia, for example, the tension and conflict between the ruling khan who represented central state authority and the begs who were the local tribal leaders was crucial. Islamic institutions played an important role in facilitating the sedentarization of nomadic tribes and integrating tribes into the state. Rulers increasingly used Islam to legitimize their authority and to transcend the limitations placed on their power by the decentralizing tendencies of the tribal system. They thus gave increasing attention to Islamic institutions by supporting the Islamic scholars, establishing Islamic schools, constructing Sufi tombs, and seeking the support of the Sufi elite. This balancing act between tribal and Islamic sources of authority in many ways defined the political culture of Eurasian Islam during the medieval period.

NURTEN KILIC-SCHUBEL

See also Epics, Turkish; Nomadism and Pastoralism; Safavids; Trade; Transoxiana; Turkish and Turkic; Turks

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TULUNIDS

The Tulunids were a semi-autonomous Turkish dynasty that ruled Egypt and Syria from approximately 868 to 905 CE. These rulers served officially as ʻAbbasid governors but, in fact, wielded broad authority and sometimes came in conflict with the caliphs whom they claimed to serve. They followed in this manner the example of other semi-independent families of governors, such as the Aghlabids and the Tahirids, who previously ruled in North Africa and Khurasan, respectively.

Ibn Tulun, the founder of this dynasty, came to Egypt in 868 as part of the entourage of his stepfather Bakbak, the ʻAbbasid governor of Egypt. He survived the assassination of his stepfather and outmaneuvered his rivals shortly afterward to gain control of the province. He took advantage of disturbances in Syria to create a powerful personal army and campaigns against the Byzantines to extend his authority eastward. His administrative skill, moreover, established firm foundations for his successors at the time of his death in 884.

Ibn Tulun's son, Khumarawayh, who succeeded him, was able to extend the dynasty's dominions to include the Jazira. However, a reinvigorated ʻAbbasid caliphate, internal dissension among his ministers, and financial exhaustion undermined his military achievements. Khumarawayh was assassinated in 896, as was his son and successor, Jaysh. Another son, Harun, ruled until 905. The ʻAbbasids shortly afterward seized control.

The Tulunids mark the rise of non-Arab groups to power in the Near East and, in particular, a Turkish military elite in Egypt. The family descended from a military slave who served at the court of al-Ma'mun. Turkish military slaves were not only renowned for their fighting skills but were considered very loyal. They owed their position and privileges entirely to the caliph. They lacked the ties of kinship that divided the sympathies of Arabs and Persians.

The decline of the ʻAbbasid caliphate allowed the Tulunids to establish themselves. Intrigue at the court, revolts of the Zanj in southern Iraq and the Saffarids in eastern Iran, and general financial exhaustion during this period dissipated the caliphate's energy. Ministers and generals often intervened in caliphal succession by supporting weak candidates for the benefit of their interests. Caliph al-Muʻtamid's brother, al-Muqaffaq, emerged as the predominant force behind the caliph in the 870s, but he remained preoccupied with suppressing the Zanj until the 880s.

The Tulunids posed a fundamental problem for the legitimation of government. Originally protégés of the caliph, they lacked an ethnic and ideological

constituency upon which they could draw immediate support. They countered this weakness by maintaining nominal allegiance to the caliph in Baghdad, allying themselves carefully with local commercial and religious interests and recruiting slave soldiers. They inscribed the name of the caliph on their coinage, appointed important Egyptians to ministerial posts and consulted others, and bought large numbers of Sudanese slaves. In addition, they promoted campaigns against Byzantiun under the auspices of holy war against the infidel.

The quickness with which the Tulunids succumbed to ʿAbbasid forces probably resulted from their inherent political weakness. However, although the ʿAbbasids eventually recovered and reestablished their authority over Egypt and Syria, the precedent of the Tulunids remained for a later Turkish dynasty of semi-independent governors, the Ikhshidids, who came to power in Egypt in 935.

Egypt and the Levant appear to have prospered under the Tulunids. It has been suggested that this prosperity reflected the expenditure of taxes locally rather than their remittance to Baghdad. Ibn Tulun established an efficient bureaucracy that earned the respect of local Arabs. He also established a new quarter near Fustat, where he erected a famous congregational mosque that still stands today.

Stephen D. Sears

See also Ibn Tulun

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TURKISH AND TURKIC LANGUAGES

Modern Turkish and its predecessor, Ottoman Turkish, belong to the Turkic language family, the speakers of which were and are spread over a wide area of Europe and Asia (Eurasia). Those areas and the Turkic languages spoken in those areas are Turkish and Azeri in the Middle East; Turkmen, Uzbek, Uygur, Kazak, and Kirgiz in Central Asia; Altay, Khakas, Tuvan, and Yakut in Siberia; and Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash, and various Turkic dialects like Gagauz in East Europe. Some of these Turkic peoples are the dominant population in their own independent countries, including the Republic of Turkey and the Turkic Republics of Central Asia, and others have their own autonomous regions within Russia and China. Other countries with substantial Turkic-speaking populations include Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Bulgaria, and Greece. The total number of speakers within this family may be estimated at between 150 and 170 million, with Turkish speakers making up by far the largest group of about 70 million.

According to the famous Turcologist Wilhelm Radloff, there is no other language family in the world with the same geographical magnitude as the Turkic languages. Despite the immense number of Turkic languages and dialects spread out all over the word, the linguistic difference between these languages is quite amazingly minimal, with the exception of Yakut and Chuvash. For a long time, scholars have been trying to classify the Turkic languages to no avail, because no single classification has yet been agreed on. The difficulty comes from the fact that a tremendous amount of work still needs to be done with regard to collecting and interpreting data from these languages, some of which have only recently been discovered. In addition, vastly different political concerns over the course of time have left their own mark on these efforts as well. For example, a great majority of Turcologists from Turkey still insist on a single Turkic language with numerous "dialects," with Turkish being the "Turkic of Turkey." This argument in many cases evokes an ultra-nationalist and expansionist ideology suggesting the existence of a so-called "Turkic world." In reality, despite the linguistic proximity, the speakers of the Turkic languages of the world enjoy a great diversity of history, cultures, and traditions, and they rarely identify themselves as "Turks" but rather as Tatars, Uzbeks, Kazaks, Azeris, and the like.

Despite the tremendous difficulty of classifying Turkic languages and dialects, one may consider the following picture in future attempts of classification: Turkish and the closely related Azeri and Turkmen form the Oguz group of Turkic languages. The ancestors of those who speak these languages migrated from Central Asia into the Near East beginning in the first half of the eleventh century. By 1300 CE or so, the Osman clan of the tribes had laid the foundation of what would become the Ottoman State (1299–1923). The other Turkic languages fall into several historical and linguistic groups: Karluk (Uzbek, Uygur); Kipchak (Kazak, Kirgiz, Tatar, Bashkir); Uygur (Tuvan, Yakut); and the entirely separate

branch of Turkic, Ogur (Bulgar, Khazar), which is represented by the modern Chuvash.

Beginning already during the eighth century, before Turks had migrated out of East Asia and into Central Asia, several literary languages were formed. The first of these was written in the so-called Runic script and survives in a number of stone inscriptions from Mongolia and South Siberia and also in manuscripts discovered in Western China (modern Xinjiang). During the same period, a distinct literary language called Uygur took shape in the Turfan area of modern Xinjiang. That language was written in Runic, Uygur, Manichaean, and Brahmi scripts. From this language survive texts dealing with the Manichaean, Nestorian, and Buddhist religions as well as with civil and economic affairs, dating from the eighth century up to the fourteenth century, and in some areas into the eighteenth century. Meanwhile, to the west in Central Asia starting in the eleventh century, a related literary language arose. Written in Arabic script, this language came to be called Chagatay and was used by Muslim Turks not only of Central Asia but in a variant form in the Crimea and Volga regions until the twentieth century. After many of these Turkic areas were incorporated into the Soviet Union, their spoken languages became bases of national languages written first in Latin, then in Cyrillic, and today mostly in Latin alphabets again. In the case of the Uygurs of China, the literary language is written in a highly modified Arabic script.

The formation of the Turkish literary language in Anatolia (known as Old Anatolian Turkish) goes back to approximately the thirteenth century, although some so-called "mixed-language" manuscripts belong to even earlier centuries. The construction and development of written Turkish in Anatolia cannot possibly be identified and studied without dealing with perhaps the most significant cultural and political change in Turkish history: the acceptance and proliferation of Islam. Institutionalized Islam not only brought a brand new belief system and sedentary social norms to the Turkish-speaking authors but also greatly reshaped the lexical and philosophical vocabulary of their language. After converting to and/or embracing Islam (beginning approximately toward the end of the ninth century), an educated minority of the Turkish-speaking population began to develop a literary language that was enhanced with a compelling amount of borrowings from the Arabic and Persian languages. The construction process of the Old Anatolian Turkish literary language also necessitated the adaptation of the Arabic script. The infiltration of the Arabic script into the writing of Turkish was a religious, cultural, and ideological constraint. The place of the Arabic script in Turkish literary history is undoubtedly most significant, given the fact that, up until 1928, almost every single Turkish book was composed in it. Nonetheless, although the Arabic alphabet was only one among more than a dozen documented writing systems used in scripting Turkic languages throughout the centuries, it was perhaps the most unsuitable of all of them. The script was incapable of representing the phonetic needs of the Turkish language. Although a similar argument later became the foundation for the modernist revolution in Turkey, which successfully replaced the Arabic script with a new Roman-based alphabet, there is little or no doubt among linguists that the modern Turkish writing system is by far much easier to learn, more practical, and more democratic. One can argue that the use of the Arabic alphabet constituted one of the fundamental reasons for the mostly illiterate population of the Ottoman Empire. During its six hundred year lifespan, the Ottoman Empire had a very low literacy rate, due in part to the "holy script" with which no more than thirty thousand books were ever printed. It should be remembered that the literary products of the Ottoman elite were transmitted through manuscripts, and, generally speaking, only those who could afford to possess them had access to the classical works in writing.

By the end of the fifteenth century, Old Anatolian Turkish was already a refined literary language. Beginning with the sixteenth century, what is usually called Ottoman Turkish or Classical Ottoman became the Latin of the Turks. Classical Ottoman was not only a peculiar combination of the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish literary lexicons but of a particular grammatical system as well. In some cases, it manifested itself as a mixture of Arabic and Persian words that were constructed according to the Turkish language syntax. It was not used by the common (and, for the most part, illiterate) people, and it survived for hundreds of years as the symbol of the cultivated, learned, and literary members of the glorious Ottoman court. By the end of the seventeenth century, classical Ottoman authors began showing a conscious interest in the Turkification and localization of Ottoman Turkish for use in their otherwise courtly works. Especially during the eighteenth century, developments in this regard were highly significant. The spoken language (and, in some cases, the written language as manifested in thousands of surviving folk manuscripts) of the vast majority of the Turkish-speaking populations in Anatolia was vastly different. However, it should also be mentioned that, since the 1980s, postmodern scholarship on the subject and proponents of various political positions—particularly the Islamist one—have been engaging in a rather different argument regarding this linguistic and

literary dichotomy, basically interpreting it as the "invention" of the modernist ideology of the early twentieth century.

KEMAL SILAY

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TURKS

The name *Turks* generally applied to various Turkic-speaking peoples living between Eastern/Chinese Turkistan (Sinkiang) and the Balkans. The first mention of the ethnonym *Turk* may date from Herodotus' (c. 484–425 BCE) reference to Targitas (IV.5), the first king of the Scythians, or to the Iyrcai people (IV.22). During the first century CE, Pomponius Mela refers to the Turcae (I.116) in the forests north of the Sea of Azov, and Pliny the Elder (*Natural History*, VI.19) lists the Tyrcae among the people of the same area. The first definite references to the Turks come mainly from Chinese sources in the sixth century. In these sources, *Turk* appears as *T'u-chüeh* and referred to a diverse group of nomadic Turkic speakers who lived north and west of Chinese territory.

Seventh-century Chinese sources preserve the earliest legends of the origins of the Turks, saying that they were a branch of the Hsiung-nu (Huns) and living near the "West Sea" (perhaps the Caspian) or that they were from the country north of the Hsiung-nu, were descended from a man born of a wolf, and first came to the Chinese border to trade for silk. Modern research tends to indicate that their ancestors indeed lived within the state of the Hsiung-nu in the Trans-Baikal area and that they later, during the fifth century, migrated to the southern Altay.

The Turks first appear in history in 552 CE, when Bumın established the Turk Empire, a kind of tribal state, that stretched from the northern marches of China west to the Central Asian territories of Sasanid Iran. Eventually, this empire and the Sasanids clashed over control of the silk trade. In the 580s, internal strife resulted in a rift between the Eastern and Western Turks. During the first half of the seventh century, both nominally submitted to Chinese authority. In 682, the Eastern (Gök/Blue) Turks established a new empire in Mongolia and attempted to include the Western Turks, but by 711 the latter had broken away. The heartland of the Western Turks was between the Eastern Karatau Mountains and Jungaria. The oldest extant Turkish texts, the Orkhon inscriptions found in Mongolia and dating from the mid-eighth century, shed light on these events.

On the eve of the Islamic penetration of their region, the Western Turks were overwhelmingly nomadic but had a strong interest in trade. Most were probably shamanists, whereas others were adherents of Manichaesim, Nestorian Christianity, or, especially, Buddhism. Having destroyed the Sasanian Empire (see Sasanians, Islamic Traditions) in 642, the Muslim Arab armies reached the Oxus (Amu Darya), the traditional border between Iran and Turan, by 674 and began raids into Central Asia. In 751, these armies reached Talas, near modern Dzhambul, where they defeated a Chinese army and firmly established Islam as the major political and cultural force in the area.

Although initiated by the Arabs, the conversion of the Turks to Islam was filtered through Persian and Central Asian Iranian culture. Most Turks converted through the efforts of missionaries, Sufis, and merchants. At the same time, Turks entered the Muslim world proper as slaves, the booty of Arab raids and conquests. Under the Umayyads, most were domestic slaves; under the 'Abbasids, increasing numbers were trained as soldiers. By the ninth century, Turkish commanders were leading the caliphs' Turkish troops into battle, and the caliphs' Turkish guards were making and unmaking the caliphs themselves. As the 'Abbasid caliphate declined, Turkish officers assumed more and more military and political power. They took over or established provincial dynasties with their own corps of Turkish troops. Ibn Tulun (868–884) made himself virtually independent in Egypt and Syria. This process culminated when the Turkish commander Sebuktigin (977–997), who was born a pagan, established the Ghaznavid Sultanate controlling Afghanistan, eastern Iran, and northern India.

Meanwhile, Islam made great strides among the Turks in Central Asia. Around the mid-tenth century, the Qarakhanids, a Turkish dynasty that arose from a tribal confederation in the ninth century and ruled the region from Eastern Turkistan to Transoxania, became, at least nominally, Muslim. They promoted a Turkish cultural consciousness and the first Muslim Turkish literature. Also around the mid-tenth century, a certain Seljuk, the leader of the Oghuz confederation who came from the steppes north of the Caspian and Aral seas, came to Jand on the Jaxartes (Syr Darya). Subsequently, Seljuk and the Oghuz adopted Islam. In 1040, his grandsons Chaghrı; and Toghrıl defeated the Ghaznavids at Dandanqan near Merv, establishing the Seljuk Empire and opening the Middle East to the first massive immigration of Turks.

Henceforth, until the fall of the Ottoman Empire, almost every major ruling dynasty in the Muslim world was to be of Turkish origin.

GARY LEISER

See also Epics, Turkish; Khurasan; Nomadism and Pastoralism; Ottoman Empire; Samanids; Sasanians, Islamic Traditions; Silk Roads; Slavery, Military; Slaves and Slave Trade, Eastern Islamic World

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TUS

Tus is the name of a valley district and a town near Mashhad in Khurasan in northeast Iran. Already in pre-Islamic times, several towns existed. In early Islamic times, the main towns were Tabaran, which changed into the later town of Tus, Nawqan, and Radkan. Nawqan was integrated in the growing village of Sanabad, later called Mashhad, and since 203 AH/818 CE the burial place of the eighth Shi'i imam 'Ali al-Rida. The town of Tus was finally destroyed in AH/1389. The waters that supplied it were diverted to Mashhad, which became, in Safavid times (1501–1736), the capital of the district of Tus and of all Khurasan. However, the name of Tus was mentioned still in the seventeenth centuries on Persian astrolabes.

In the sources about Tus, it is not always clear if the authors are speaking about the district or the town. According to the historian al-Baladhuri, the Sasanian governor of Tus invited the Arab governors of the Iraqi towns Kufa and Basra to Khurasan; Tus was then conquered by the latter one. During Arab and Samanid times, Tus was involved in some civil wars but did not constitute a significant local center. The 'Abbasid Caliph Harun ar-Rashid died during one of these uprisings in Sanabad in 193/809, and he was buried near the tomb of imam 'Ali al-Rida. His tomb has vanished but was still mentioned by the traveler Ibn Battuta in the fourteenth century. The main town in Samanid times was Tabaran. The Arab geographer al-Muqaddasi mentioned in 985 its citadel, main mosque, large market, and subterranean water pipes. According to him, the Muslim people were following the Shafi'i rite. Tus was also mentioned by the later geographers like Idrisi (1154), Yaqut (d. 1229) and Ibn Battuta (fourteenth century), who did visit it.

After 995, the district of Tus became part of the Ghaznavid empire, but after 1030 the Turk Seljuks penetrated into it. Tus was conquered in 430/1038–1039, and, in 1072, it was given as a fief to the Seljuq vizier Nizam al-Mulk, who had been born there. During the second half of the twelfth century, Tus was ruled by a local dynasty, the al-Mu'aiyad family. The Mongols arrived in Tus by 1220 and raided it one year later, killing most of the inhabitants. The Mongol governor of Tus, a Buddhist by the name of Kürküz, ordered the rebuilding of the city in 1239.

In 497, the sources mention a Nestorian bishop of Tus and Abarshahr (Nishapur), but, for Islamic times, there is little information available about the plight of Christianity in that district. Only from the Mongol period is there some news about Christians: the future Jerusalem patriarch Yahballaha visited Tus during his travel to Jerusalem in 1278 and was saved by the monks and the bishop in the cloister Mar Sehyon. One year later, the bishop of Tus was ordained as the metropolitan of China. In 1381, Timur came to Tus. After revolts, the town was ravaged completely by the Timurid Miran Shah in 791/1389, and it is said that ten thousand people were killed. Although the town was ordered rebuilt by Shah Rukh in 1405 (and again by Ulugh Bek in 1407), it never did recover, and it was reduced to a small village. This decline was mainly connected with the uprising of Mashhad as a main pilgrim town for the Shi'is.

The district of Tus was the birthplace of the Persian poet Firdausi. In the town of Tus itself, Nizam al-Mulk, the polymath and astronomer Nasir ad-Din at-Tusi, and also the Shi'i scholar Muhammad bin al-Hasan at-Tusi (d. 1065 or 1067) were born.

The district of Tus was producing wheat, stone vessels, mats, and special striped clothes. It was famous for its special trouser bands, which were regarded as well as the most famous Armenian ones. During the thirteenth century, the stone vessels are

still mentioned, and Idrisi also mentions mines for turquoise, silver, copper, iron, and rock crystal. Only a few archaeological monuments of the town of Tabaran/Tus survived. The city walls made from mud brick enclose an area of approximately one kilometer across, sporting nine gates and more than a hundred towers. North of the city lies the citadel, with twelve towers, and a castle with nine towers inside.

Within the city walls is the tomb of Firdausi (the modern tomb was constructed during the early twentieth century, during the Pahlavi period), and a monument with a central dome and minor cupolas remained, the so-called Haruniya Mausoleum. Its architectural and stucco decoration style recall the Sultan Sanjar Mausoleum in Merv (built 1157).

Gisela Helmecke

See also ʻAli al-Rida; Khurasan; Nizam al-Mulk

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TUSI, AL-, MUHAMMAD IBN HASAN

Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Tusi, Shaykh al-Ta'ifa (d. AH 460/1067 CE), was a Baghdad-based Twelver Shiʻi jurisprudent and compiler of two well-known collections of the imams' traditions, *Tahdhib al-Ahkam (The Rectification of Judgments)* and the later *al-Istibsar fi ma Ukhtulifa Fihi min al-Akhbar (The Consideration on Those Traditions Which are Disputed)*, which, together with al-Kulayni's *al-Kafi* and Ibn Babawayh's *al-Faqih,* have come to be called "the four books" that are the key compilations of the imams' traditions that were compiled after the disappearance of the twelfth imam in 260/873–874.

Despite the tolerance of the Buwayhid regents, during this period Baghdad was experiencing yet another resurgence of Sunni traditionism and, specifically, anti-Shiʻi feeling and a wave of Sunni-Shiʻi "incidents." At the same time, the small Twelver community itself, one of many contemporary Shiʻi groups, was accepting that the Imam's absence (occultation) from the community would be prolonged. Al-Tusi himself had studied with key rationalist and traditionist scholars who, respectively, favored increasingly less and increasingly more reliance on the imams' hadith (tradition) to adjudicate issues of doctrine and practice in the interim (until the imam's return).

Al-Tusi, through these two hadith collections as well as other key works of theology and fiqh, charted a middle course between these two extremes. In the process, he commenced the process of devolving to the *faqih* (the jurisprudent), whom he postulated as trained in both the rationalist and traditionist sciences, and increasing responsibility for a growing number of the imam's theological and practical duties during the occultation. The latter process culminated in the doctrine of *wilayat al-faqih* (deputy-ship of the jurisprudent) as enunciated by the late Ayatallah Khomeini (d. 1989).

Andrew J. Newman

See also al-Kulayni; Ibn Babawayh

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TUSI, AL-, NASIR AL-DIN (1201–1274 CE)

The continuity of philosophical and scientific inquiry in medieval Islam coupled with the material resources offered to it by official patronage owe much to the role and efforts of the Shiʻi philosopher, scientist, and polymath Nasir al-Din al-Tusi during the thirteenth century. He defended Ibn Sina from the criticisms leveled against him from the direction of theology (most notably by Fakhr al-Din al-Razi), he made a significant contribution to the acceptance of metaphysical argumentation and terminology in Twelver Shiʻi theology, he brought the ethical tradition of Ibn Miskawayh and the philosophers into the center of Islamic ethical discourse, and he had a lasting effect on the study of the exact sciences in Islam through both his original contributions to mathematics and astronomy and the observatory at Maraghah, which the Mongol Khan Hülegü established for him.

Nasir al-Din Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Tusi was born in Tus in Khurasan in northwest Iran in 1201 into a Twelver Shiʻi learned family. Along with his studies in jurisprudence, he developed an interest in philosophy and was attached to the Nizamiyya madrasa in Nishapur, studying with Farid al-Din Damad al-Nisaburi (d. ca. 1221), a thinker whose philosophical lineage stretched back to Ibn Sina. Damad had been a student of Fakhr al-Din al-Razi as well, and so al-Tusi became acquainted with the ideas of the famous Sunni theologian. The Mongol sack of the city in 1221 forced him to move. He proceeded to Mosul, where he studied mathematics, astronomy,

and logic with Kamal al-Din Musa ibn Yunus al-Shafi'i (d. 1242). As a result of his studies, in 1233 he wrote *Asas al-Iqtibas*, a pioneering work of Avicennan logic in Persian. His intellectual and spiritual curiosity and growing renown drew him to the attention of the Nizari Isma'ilis of Quhistan. He attached himself to the court of 'Ala' al-Din Muhammad and wrote major works of Isma'ili theology and mysticism (e.g. *Rawdat al-Taslim, Sayr va Suluk*), a pioneering work of ethics entitled *Akhlaq-i Muhtashami* (later edited and renamed during his post-Isma'ili period), and his influential commentary on Ibn Sina's *al-Isharat wa-l-Tanbihat (Pointers and Reminders)*.

For about twenty years, he remained a faithful follower and contributor to the cause, despite his later allegation that he was held against his will in the fortress of Alamut. The Mongol defeat of the Isma'ilis in 1256 brought this to an end. He became a negotiator and advisor to the Mongol conquerer Hülegü at the sack of Baghdad in 1258 and was later put in charge of religious endowments. At this point, he reverted back to Twelver Shi'ism. The Mongols had a great observatory and library at Maraghah in Azerbaijan built for al-Tusi, where he led a team of scientists and mathematicians. It is clear that immense resources were put at his disposal for this project, where the teaching and study of philosophy went on hand in hand with that of the exact sciences. The codices that have survived from that period testify to the intimate complementarity of philosophy and science in the curriculum and intellectual curiosity of the time. He signaled his change of religious affiliation by writing a critique of the crypto-Isma'ili theologian al-Shahrastani (d. 1153) entitled *Musari' al-Musari' (Wrestling With the Wrestling)* and penned a short but influential metaphysical exposition of Twelver theology, *Tajrid al-I'tiqad (Sublimation of Belief)*. He trained a number of important thinkers, including the illuminationist philosopher and scientist Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi (d. 1310) and the Twelver theologian al-'Allama al-Hilli (d. 1325). He died in Baghdad in 1274, and, in accordance with his wishes, was buried in the precinct of the shrine of the seventh Imam Musa al-Kazim in Kazimayn on the southern outskirts of the city.

He made a wide-ranging contribution to the pursuit of knowledge. His commentary on Ibn Sina's *al-Isharat* was the basis of his philosophical reputation, and it was in part a refutation of the hostile commentary of Fakhr al-Din al-Razi. His major ethical work was a manual that developed from an early draft dedicated to precepts to a major work of philosophical ethics that was divided into three parts: (1) ethics (akhlaq), (2) domestic economics *(tadbir-i manzil)*, and (3) politics *(siyasat-i mudun)*. This scheme set the pattern for subsequent works about practical philosophy in the Islamic tradition. The first part on ethics is modelled on Ibn Miskawayh's *Tahdhib al-Akhlaq (Cultivation of Morals)*, of which the work was initially commissioned to be merely a Persian translation. The sources of the second part about domestic economics are the Arabic translation of Bryson's *Oikonomikos* and a text by Ibn Sina, *Kitab al-Siyasa (Book of Politics)*, whereas the third part, about politics, goes back to al-Farabi's *Kitab al-Siyasa al-Madaniyya (The Political Regime)* and *Fusul al-Madani (Aphorisms of the Statesman)*. The concern with justice and love in this work illustrates his continuing affiliation with and interest in mysticism and Twelver theology.

Throughout his life, al-Tusi was a prolific writer in mathematics and the natural sciences, and he made advances in trigonometry, mathematics, and astronomy. This aspect of his intellectual endeavor was eventually rewarded with the foundation of the Maraghah observatory. The result of the astronomical observations and calculations made there was the famous tables of the Zij-i Ilkhani (in Persian, but also translated into Arabic). The setting up of the observatory and the institutionalization of the rational sciences created a demand for teaching materials; al-Tusi was himself the author of a number of recensions *(tahrir)* of scientific texts as well as summaries and abridgments of theological, logical, and philosophical texts, which were clearly intended to supply this teaching need. Al-Tusi's lasting influence can be seen in the subsequent surge of activity in the rational sciences in the Islamic east as well as in their absorption into religious education, which in turn affected the development of theology, particularly among Shi'i scholars.

SAJJAD H. RIZVI

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U

‘UMAR IBN ‘ABD AL-‘AZIZ

‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Aziz was the Umayyad caliph who ruled from 717 until 720 CE. His popularity with his subjects and his pious persona make him a unique figure in the Umayyad dynasty. Before becoming caliph, he served as governor in Medina and in Mecca and Ta’if from 706 to 712. Here his leniency toward his subjects brought objections from harsher Umayyad officials, particularly al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf, the governor of the East. He became a confidant to his predecessor as caliph, Sulayman ibn ‘Abd al-Malik, who overturned his father’s wishes by naming ‘Umar instead of his brother Yazid as his successor. The circumstances of ‘Umar’s appointment were quite unusual. Sulayman conveyed his deathbed wish to substitute ‘Umar for Yazid to his trusted advisor Raja’ b. Haywa, who then convinced the assembled Umayyad leaders to accept Sulayman’s choice without actually revealing whom he had designated. The peculiar rise of ‘Umar has brought speculation that Raja’ orchestrated a coup d’état, or that the Umayyad family was uncomfortable empowering the more wanton Yazid.

As caliph, ‘Umar instituted significant policy changes. He severely curtailed military operations on the frontiers and abandoned the expensive and unsuccessful siege of Constantinople that was begun by Sulayman. Whether these choices reflect a different philosophy about expansion or a recognition of fiscal realities is debated. ‘Umar also restructured the empire’s tax regime, lightening the tax burden on new, predominantly non-Arab converts to Islam. His “fiscal rescript” is often cited as evidence of his pious insistence that all Muslims be treated equally, regardless of financial consequences for the treasury. The ambiguity of both the existing taxation system and ‘Umar’s reform make it difficult to assess the degree of tax relief he provided. Some modern studies suggest that his objective was to standardize and centralize taxation rather than to lessen the burden on new converts.

Although ‘Umar’s reforms were short-lived, his image as a pious leader continued to grow after his death. Later ‘Abbasid historians treated him as the single exception to the Umayyad tendency toward depravity and even elevated him to the ranks of the *Rashidun* (the Rightly-Guided Caliphs). Hints of messianic expectations of ‘Umar also appear in the sources; the unusual nature of his rise to power, his uniquely pious persona, and the fact that he reigned during the centennial of the hijra certainly contributed to such speculation.

STEVEN C. JUDD

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'UMAR IBN AL-FARID

Ibn al-Farid is one of the greatest mystical poets of Islam. He was born in Cairo, Egypt, in 1181 CE, and was raised by his father, who was a respected *farid* (an advocate for women in legal cases), hence 'Umar's title *Ibn al-Farid* or "son of the women's advocate." Ibn al-Farid studied Sufism and Arabic literature, and he memorized the traditions of the prophet Muhammad (hadith) with al-Qasim ibn 'Ali Ibn 'Asakir (d. 1203). Like his father, 'Umar was a member of the Shafi'i school of jurisprudence. As a young man, Ibn al-Farid went on pilgrimage to Mecca, where he stayed for about fifteen years. He then returned to Cairo, where he taught the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad and poetry at the al-Azhar congregational mosque.

Ibn al-Farid married and had at least two sons and a daughter. He died in Cairo in 1235 CE. Ibn al-Farid's diwan (collected poems) is composed of more than a dozen poems, including love poems and odes, together with several dozen quatrains and riddles. The spiritual dimension of this verse is suggested by Ibn al-Farid's frequent allusions to God, the Qur'an, the Prophet Muhammad, and Sufi doctrines. His *al-Khamriyya (Wine Ode)* in particular has been regarded for centuries as one of the finest Muslim allegories about mystical love. However, even more celebrated has been Ibn al-Farid's *Nazm al-Suluk (Poem of the Sufi Way)*, also known as the *al-Ta'iyya al-Kubra (Ode Rhyming in T-Major)*, the longest and most famous Arabic mystical poem. Within this poem's 760 verses, Ibn al-Farid addressed a number of religious and, especially, mystical themes centered on the love between human beings and God. Often taking the role as a guide for the perplexed, the poet offers instruction and advice on such matters as unselfish love, spiritual intoxication and illumination, the pains of separation from the beloved, and the indescribable joy of union.

Ibn al-Farid portrays creation as intimately involved with its divine creator. Thus, when seen aright, everything in life reveals a ray of supernal light. This mystical view is mirrored in the refined and sophisticated beauty of Ibn al-Farid's verse, which strongly influenced later generations of medieval Arab poets and led to his veneration as a saint known as *sultan al-'ashiqin* ("the sultan of lovers").

TH. EMIL HOMERIN

See also Al-Azhar; Sufism; Schools of Jurisprudence

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'UMAR IBN AL-KHATTAB

'Umar ibn al-Khattab was the second ruler of the Islamic state after the death of Muhammad, reigning from 634 to 644 CE. Before becoming caliph, 'Umar was a close advisor to his predecessor, Abu Bakr. In fact, some sources suggest that he (rather than Abu Bakr) exercised real authority after Muhammad's death. When the ailing Abu Bakr named 'Umar his successor, there was little objection from the community. Some Shi'i sources, however, suggest that Abu Bakr and 'Umar colluded to deprive 'Ali ibn Abi Talib of power.

'Umar's reign was pivotal for the young Islamic polity. With much of the Arabian peninsula subdued during Abu Bakr's reign, 'Umar turned his attention outward, embarking on a series of successful military campaigns against the Byzantine and Sasanian empires. By the end of his reign, Muslim forces had wrested Syria and Egypt from the Byzantines and had taken the Sasanian capital at Cteisphon. 'Umar himself did not lead the troops into battle but instead directed his generals from Medina. His only foray into the field was his visit to Jerusalem in 638, when he accepted the surrender of the city personally. His refusal to pray at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher for fear that his followers would subsequently transform it into a mosque is frequently cited as evidence of his tolerance toward other faiths. Scholars debate the extent to which 'Umar coordinated the conquests. Some argue that 'Umar merely allowed the conquests as an outlet for ambitious tribal leaders to gain spoils; other scholars have found evidence of significant centralized planning, suggesting that 'Umar firmly controlled the Muslim forces.

Regardless of the extent to which 'Umar directed the conquests, the task of administering the newly created empire fell to him. His choices about the disposition of conquered lands and the treatment of non-Muslim subjects shaped the Muslim polity for

centuries to come. Rather than distributing land to the troops as spoils, ‘Umar opted to retain communal control over much of the conquered land, using the land's revenue to fund soldiers' stipends. He established the *diwan* (registry) to fix stipends for soldiers based on how early they had converted to Islam. The soldiers were housed in newly established garrison towns (the most notable of which were Kufa and Basra in Iraq) to ensure that the Muslim forces did not disperse and that they remained ready for combat. ‘Umar also began to clarify the rights and responsibilities of the *dhimmi* (the non-Muslim natives who had submitted to his authority).

‘Umar's reign was cut short when he was mortally wounded by a disgruntled slave. Before succumbing to his wounds, ‘Umar selected a committee of six trusted followers to choose his successor. After their *shura* (consultation), they settled on ‘Uthman ibn Affan as the next caliph. This process of consultation is cited in modern times as a precedent for democratic institutions in Islam.

Some historical sources suggest messianic undertones to ‘Umar's reign, a theme some modern scholars have pursued as well. In particular, his epithet *al-Faruq,* which is similar to the Syriac term for savior, and his visit to Jerusalem have been the focus of such speculation. In addition, ‘Umar appears quite frequently in Islamic legal texts as an exemplar. The fact that his conduct—rather than that of Abu Bakr or Muhammad—is often cited as a precedent reflects his role in shaping Islamic law and administration. Whether this is evidence of messianic adoration or simply a reflection of the many new issues he confronted as the leader of a larger and more complex community is difficult to ascertain.

STEVEN C. JUDD

See also Abu Bakr; Polity (Umma); Consultation (Shura); ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib; Dhimma

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UMAYYAD MOSQUE, DAMASCUS

Built between 705/706 and 715 CE, the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus was considered one of the wonders of the medieval Islamic world. The mosque was the epitome of an architectural program sponsored by the Umayyad Caliph al-Walid I (r. 705–715), son of ‘Abd al-Malik (r. 685–705), who built the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem (692). The mosque appropriated the site of the Christian cathedral of St. John, which had itself replaced a temple of Jupiter Damascenus; some of the columns reused in the mosque bear inscriptions attesting to different phases of use in temple and church.

Despite frequent fire damage and multiple restorations, the basic details of the eighth-century mosque have been preserved. The church, which probably stood at the center of the pre-Islamic sanctuary, was demolished, but the massive rectangular outer stone walls of the sanctuary were retained, as were its two southern corner towers, which formed the bases of two minarets. Access was via three monumental gates located in the centers of the eastern, western, and northern walls of the sanctuary. The space enclosed by the walls was occupied by a hypostyle mosque consisting of a courtyard surrounded on three sides by a narrow *riwaq* (arcade), which led to a prayer hall about 120 meters long that was built against the south side of the ancient enclosure wall. The façade of the prayer hall was distinguished by a monumental gabled entrance similar to the façades of earlier Syrian basilicas but comparable also to the entrance to the palace of the Byzantine emperors in Constantinople.

The prayer hall consisted of three bays running parallel to the south wall, which was approximately aligned toward Mecca, its superstructure borne on a double arcade. The aisles were bisected at their center by a wide axial nave leading from the courtyard façade to a monumental dome that preceded the *mihrab* (a concave niche). A private entrance by the mihrab led directly into the Umayyad palace, which lay behind the southern wall. The two were also connected by an extensive arcade that led from the Bab al-Ziyada, a gate at the eastern end of the south wall of the mosque that contained a monumental water clock that featured automata.

In its original form, the mosque was lavishly decorated with gilded carved marble, including a famous vine scroll and epigraphic bands. It was embellished throughout with glass mosaics, the surviving portions of which depict pastoral scenes, multitiered buildings,

pavilions, bridges over rivers, and gigantic trees. Their high quality and references in the medieval sources to assistance from the Byzantine emperor have led to speculation about the involvement of craftsmen from Constantinople in the mosaic decorations. Their meaning has long been a matter of contention, with scholars split between a paradisal interpretation and one that sees them as continuing a tradition of topographic representation known from the floor mosaics of Jordanian churches.

The Damascus mosque witnesses a reconfiguration and reformulation of formal and decorative elements drawn from a local Syrian as well as an imperial Byzantine repertoire, continuing a trend begun a generation earlier in the Dome of the Rock. The introduction of common features such as the axial nave, mihrab, dome, and glass mosaics in the mosques rebuilt by al-Walid in Arabia, Syria, and North Africa amounts to the dissemination of an imperial architectural style designed to project both the ascendancy of the new religion and the political aspirations of the Umayyad dynasty.

Even after 750 CE (when the seat of the caliphate moved to Iraq), in places as diverse as Cordoba in Andalusia and Ghazna in Afghanistan, the Damascus mosque provided the standard against which many medieval mosques were measured. Moreover, its characteristic three longitudinal aisles and gabled façade set the tone for medieval mosque architecture in Syria and the Jazira. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the mosque inspired the decoration of a series of monuments built by the Mamluk sultans of Egypt and Syria.

FINBARR BARRY FLOOD

See also ʻAbd al-Malik ibn Marwan; Damascus; Dome of the Rock, Mosaics; Umayyads; Syria, Greater Syria

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UMAYYADS

The Umayyad dynasty of caliphs ruled all of the lands conquered by the Arab Muslims from 661 until 749/750 CE. Following the overthrow of the dynasty and the killing of several members of the Umayyad family, ʻAbd al-Rahman, a grandson of the caliph Hisham (724–743), established himself as ruler of Islamic Spain (al-Andalus). He became the ancestor of a long line of Umayyad rulers of al-Andalus, who, between 929 and 1027, used the title of caliph.

Origins

According to the Islamic genealogical tradition, the Umayyad family was a part of Quraysh, the clan that dominated Mecca before Islam and to which the Prophet Muhammad and many other prominent early Muslims belonged. The Umayyads descend from a certain Umayya, son of ʻAbd Shams of Quraysh. ʻAbd Shams was the brother and rival of Hashim, the ancestor not only of the Prophet but also of the ʻAbbasid family that seized the caliphate from the Umayyads in 749/750. The Umayyad family had become rich and powerful during the lifetime of the Prophet and was prominent in the Meccan opposition to him. The leaders of the family only submitted to the Prophet and entered Islam toward the end of Muhammad's life, when it had become clear to them that he was going to be victorious.

Muʻawiya, the first of the line, was generally accepted as caliph after the killing of ʻAli in 661. ʻAli, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, had himself claimed the caliphate after the murder of the caliph ʻUthman in 656. Like his cousin Muʻawiya, ʻUthman had been a grandson of Umayya, and there are some grounds for seeing him as the first Umayyad caliph, although the historical tradition only begins the line with Muʻawiya. The latter had been governor of Syria since 636, and he refused to accept ʻAli's claims to the caliphate. He put himself forward as having the right to seek vengeance on those who had murdered his cousin, and a period of civil war (the *fitna*) followed the killing of ʻUthman. Muʻawiya and ʻAli fought against each other indecisively, but, when ʻAli himself



Interior view of the Great Mosque. Umayyad caliphate (Moorish). Tenth CE. Credit: Art Resource, NY. Mosque, Cordoba, Spain.

was assassinated in 661, Mu'awiya was best placed to take over the caliphate.

For the next ninety years or so, all of the caliphs were descendants of Umayya, and Muslim tradition contrasts this introduction of the dynastic principle unfavorably with the pre-Umayyad caliphate, when, it claims, caliphs were chosen according to merit and after some consultation. The Umayyad caliphs are divided traditionally into two branches. The first three caliphs (Mu'awiya, his son Yazid I, and the latter's short-lived son and successor Mu'awiya II) are referred to as Sufyanids, after Mu'awiya's father, Abu Sufyan. After the death of Yazid I in 683, another period of civil war saw the caliphate pass into the hands of Marwan I, the leader of a collateral branch of the Umayyad family. All of the remaining Umayyad caliphs were descendants of Marwan and are therefore referred to as Marwanids.

Significance

The Umayyads ruled at the crucial time when important cultural developments arising from the Arab Muslim conquest of the former Byzantine and Sasanid territories were taking effect. Those developments may be summarized as the emergence of Islam as the religion and culture of the region extending from Central Asia through North Africa into parts of southern Europe. That process was certainly not complete by the time the Umayyad caliphate was overthrown, but, in general, the period of the Umayyad caliphate can be understood as one that saw the transition from the world of Late Antiquity to that of Islam.

Essentially, the period saw the formation of a new society with an Islamic and Arabic identity in which

the original separation of Arab Muslim conquerors from the non-Arab, non-Muslim subjects was broken down. Arabs and non-Arabs began to be assimilated so that the majority of people identified as Muslims, and Arabic became the dominant language of both high culture and everyday communication. That did not happen everywhere to the same extent or at the same speed, but by the end of the Umayyad period the process was under way. Its outcome was the emergence of a distinctive Arabic and Islamic civilization, many aspects of which were developed from the preconquest Middle East and the Mediterranean world.

Much of that occurred independently of—and even in contradiction to—the intentions of the Umayyad rulers. Originally the Arab empire had assumed the more or less complete separation of the Arab Muslim conquerors from the subject peoples; the latter were expected to contribute the taxes that would support the Arab elite. Islam was viewed as the prerogative of the Arabs, and it was not expected that many non-Arabs would enter it; however, right from the start, there were some who did.

The mechanism by which they could do so was that of clientage *(wala')*. Islam and Arab identity were so closely tied together that, in order for a non-Arab to become a Muslim, he in effect had to become an Arab. He did that by becoming the client *(mawla)* of an Arab patron and thus acquiring an Arab identity. Both the patron and the client assumed certain duties to one another and obtained certain advantages. For the client, those advantages included protection from the fiscal demands of the Umayyad authorities and employment; naturally that would make the status attractive to those among the conquered who lacked social status and economic power. As the idea grew that Islam should be open to all, regardless of ethnic origin, the attempts by the Umayyads to prevent the movement into Islam of their non-Arab subjects came to be seen as un-Islamic, and that has much to do with the reputation for impiety that they have in the Muslim historical tradition.

Alternatively, the Umayyads did much to establish the conditions necessary for the development of the new Arab Muslim civilization. When Mu'awiya took over the caliphate, Arab rule did not reach much beyond Libya in the west and the eastern parts of Iran in the east, and even much of that territory must have been held only insecurely. By the end of their caliphate, it had been extended, as a result mainly of centrally organized campaigns, from central Asia to the Atlantic. In the armies of the Umayyads, the Arabs were supported by increasing numbers drawn from the non-Arab subjects.

The territories thus conquered were controlled by an administrative system that was centered on governors and tax collectors and that intended to funnel revenues from the provinces to the center. Much of the administrative system had been taken over from the two empires that the Arabs had displaced, but, by the time of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (685–705) and his son al-Walid (705–715), a significant Arab and Muslim character was evident. It was around that time that Arabic was adopted as the official language of the administration (although the situation did not change overnight), and a new and distinctive Islamic coinage was introduced. Those two caliphates also saw the first major achievements of a new style of architecture, with the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem and the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina.

Downfall

The Umayyad caliphs saw themselves as the absolute leaders of Islam, subject only to God. The caliphal title for them meant "Deputy of God" *(khalifat Allah)*, and obedience to them was a religious duty. Their opponents, too, usually expressed their protests in religious terms, and both Kharijite and Shi'i rebels rejected the legitimacy of the Umayyads. Their overthrow, which was facilitated by rivalries within the family and factionalism in the army, was brought about by a Shi'i revolt that began in Khurasan in northeastern Iran and that aimed to establish the caliphate in the family of the Prophet. The Sunni tradition of Islam also grew out of circles that had been opposed to the Umayyads. The result, therefore, is that the Islamic historical tradition, which crystallized after the overthrow of the Umayyads, tends to look upon them with disfavor, ranging from the complete rejection of them by the Shi'is to a more ambiguous disapproval on the part of most Sunnis. This attitude has often led to the view that their rule was not a real caliphate but merely a kingship.

Gerald R. Hawting

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URBANISM

The Muslim conquest occurred in two stages. The first one was led by Arab armies, assisted by Islamized Iranians or Berbers, and began in 635 CE. Within a century, Islam spread all over western Asia (with the exception of Anatolia), reaching the edges of Indian, Chinese, and Turkish territories; it also spread over the whole of northern Africa and the largest portion of the Iberian Peninsula. After 750, the massive quest to expand slowed, and then it stopped for three centuries. The second conquest, led predominantly by Turkish armies, began in about 1040 in Armenia, Caucasus, and Anatolia. It continued for five centuries, alternating between successes and failures, until the sixteenth century, when the Ottoman Empire controlled Anatolia, the Balkans, and the greatest part of the Arab-speaking countries around the Mediterranean Sea (except for Morocco). At the same time, Safavid rule dominated Persia, and the Mughals ruled the Indian Peninsula. Conversely, the Arab and the Jewish populations were driven away from the Iberian Peninsula by the Catholic kings of Castilla.

In this immense Muslim area that stretched from the Atlantic Ocean to the deserts of Central Asia, the climate was relatively homogenous: quite hot and dry. Numerous towns thrived; most of them were more or less devoted to trade. Ancient cities were Islamized or new cities were established by the Muslims; all of these were suitable to the climatic environment and moving toward a model that was unique for the time.

Usually the towns that were grouped together were protected with fortification, with convenient access to water, rivers, underground canals, springs, wells, or tanks. Until the twelfth century, towns were often protected by a great wall, but this was more symbolic than effective against invasions. A green belt of orchards, market gardens, and kitchen gardens irrigated by shrewd hydraulic techniques enclosed most of the urban territory; this ensured city dwellers a large part of their sustenance and offered them a shaded paradise for their leisure time during summer.

The town's layout was haphazard, and the most frequent layout was a great intersection of narrow lanes that crossed at the center of the town, near the Friday mosque. Between these radiating streets, which were often lined by the *souk* (market) stalls, each inside quarter was inhabited by extended patriarchal families living in single-story houses (although occasionally the houses had two or three floors) built around open courtyards. The local community was homogeneous, closely linked by blood, tribal, ethnic, linguistic, or religious relationships. Strict politeness protocols dictated the notables' inter-quarter visits to avoid clashes between passionate youth.

Close attention was paid to a family's honor, the result of a strict endogamy that forbade women to go outside of the close community neighborhood. A wooden screen *(mushrabiyya)* of intricate geometric lattice work on windows allowed a woman inside to see out without being seen. Only dead-end streets with semi-private status led from the main streets inside the quarter; this prevented anyone from crossing the quarter from one radiated lane to another. Thus, one wishing to travel from one quarter to another had to cross through the center of the town.

The inside courtyard, open to the sky, was the domain of women; here grew flowers and ornamental or fruit trees. A pond with fish provided an image of nature in the countryside. A staircase allowed a woman to climb to the flat roof *(sath)*, where she could speak to neighboring females. In the rainy countries, ridge roofs *(saqf)* were often built. In Yemen, high tower houses were devoid of this type of courtyard. In overcrowded harbors (e.g., Eastern Tripoli) and large towns (e.g., Baghdad, Basra, Mamluk Cairo), a lack of space forced inhabitants to build many-storied buildings with independent flats (Egyptian *rab'*).

In the streets, there were no carts; huge bundles were carried on camels from outside to the large khans set up near the doors in the city walls. Donkeys then carried goods from the khans to the shops, stalls, or houses. Although the lanes were tortuous, with reed hurdles, pedestrians could enjoy cool shade, and there was no dusty desert wind. Ancient Roman avenues, broad and straight, were not so suited to this dry and hot climate. As seen by a pedestrian, the city looked like a labyrinth inside blank walls; however, upon ascending a minaret, one could see many open spaces, the courtyards of mosques and houses, and dark green vegetation enveloping nearly every building.

Unlike Italian medieval towns, the street façades outside of the houses of nobles were neither high nor monumental. The owner's fortune was measured by the expanse of the plot, allowing a large family to live with an extensive household staff; this is why a long distance between the main entries of houses on a street was the sign of a wealthy quarter. In these little palaces, there were many courtyards, some being strictly domestic *(haramlik)*, whereas others were open to visitors *(salamlik)*. According to the local supplies and customs, builders used stone, mud, wood, cob, and crude or baked bricks. The frame of the building was fitted more to the comfort of the inhabitants than to an orthogonal, geometric, and symmetric pre-established drawing. Changing with the seasons, furniture (trays used as portable tables, mats, rugs, or mattresses) could be carried easily from

one room to another. Roofed spaces with three walls *(iwan)* gave everyone shelter from sun or wind and opened onto the courtyard, with free access to the view, the light, and the fresh air. On the walls, one could see many kinds of artistic decorations: carved stones or stuccoes, colorful frescoes or ceramic tiles, and sometimes skillful games created with plain building materials.

The vast public square inside a city, around which was organized the Italian medieval town, was generally absent from the Muslim medieval town (apart from the courtyard in the Friday mosque). Outside of the city, near the external walls, the *maydan* was an empty area devoted to military training for the cavalry that was also suitable for the weekly animal markets and to set up camps for the caravans for a few days. This area was often located at the confluence of wadis' valleys; this area was wet and of easy use, unless an unexpected flood devastated everything. During the first centuries of Islam, this danger was sometimes forgotten, and, because of the quick expansion of cities, permanent structures were erected. Arab historians report that hundreds of inhabitants drowned during the first huge rainstorm in this type of suburb.

The nobles' houses were generally in the center, near the Friday mosque. In the souks nearby, one could find Christian or Jewish jewellers or money changers; Muslim manuscript copyists and binders; and merchants of precious goods such as medical drugs, scents, fine leather slippers, and books. In the area of town closer to the external walls, the social status was lower; cheaper goods or objects that were considered unpleasant because of the noise or the stench and pollution linked with their production were offered in these remote souks. Near the city's gates or in the suburbs, one may find prostitutes, rowdies, poor villagers, army deserters, and also Bedouins without tribe or slaves without masters. They lived in huts around large clay courts *(hawsh)* that were used for livestock farming. Near the city's doors, city inhabitants were buried in cemeteries, according to their family, tribal, religious, or Sufi affiliation. The Qarafas (vast areas allocated to the tombs around Fustat and Cairo) were often colonized by provincial families looking for work in the capital. Everywhere, nearby suburbs and cemeteries were built when the growth of the number of inhabitants forced to the walls of the city to come down and urban territory to spread.

The primary duties of a Muslim sovereign were to protect the community from outside enemies and to maintain Islamic law and public order. Alternatively, there were also minimal edilitary duties, such as water irrigation and mending the lanes and the sewage systems, which allowed city dwellers to wash themselves. These duties began to be put in the control of the private sector; the nobles held them financially through the waqf system. Out of their purses, they built schools (*kuttab* for little children, *madrasas* for students), hospitals *(bimaristan)*, convents for Sufis *(khanaqah)*, drinking fountains *(sabil)*, baths *(hammam)* public hostels for travelers, and warehouses for goods *(funduq, khan, wikala)*. In addition, they rented out houses, shops, and gardens to pay the expenses for the waqf's work. Often a waqf monument distinguished itself by having a finely wrought façade and a huge carved wood door. Until recent times, the numerous Zankid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk waqf buildings lent their charm to the ancient town centers in Damascus, Aleppo, and the Arab part of Jerusalem.

From the seventh to the seventeenth century, Muslim towns evolved significantly. During the twelfth century, political power was in the hands of the military. Huge citadels dominated towns and symbolized a new order, violent and unequal. In Cairo, under the Mamluk dynasty (thirteenth–sixteenth century), the palaces of the emirs show a beautiful façade with a high door that one can cross without coming down from his or her horse. The Friday mosque was no longer a symbol of the unity of a city's people; now, even Friday at noon, most male inhabitants prayed in their quarter mosque.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Muslim territories were divided into three major groups. The Turkish Ottoman Empire dominated the Balkans in Europa, Turkish-speaking Anatolia, and all Arab-speaking countries around the Mediterranean Sea (except Morocco). Here the greater mosques were built in stone and covered by high domes that were modeled on the Byzantine tradition. Slim pencil minarets dashed toward the sky; courtyards were external, around the mosque.

The Iranian Sasanian Empire overcame the Persian-speaking territories and some neighboring Turkish-speaking provinces. Here greater mosques were built with mud bricks but decorated with marvelous glazed tiles. Four high pishtaq iwans opened onto a vast inside courtyard. Minarets were as high as the Ottoman ones but quite larger and not so strictly cylindrical.

The Indian Peninsula was for the most part under the rule of the Mughal sultans. In their beautiful mosques, they skillfully mixed Persian and Indian decorating styles. Despite these differences, many of the characteristics of Muslim cities continued throughout the whole of Dar al-Islam until the middle of the nineteenth century.

THIERRY BIANQUIS

See also Primary Schools (Kuttab); Madrasa

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USAMA IBN MUNQIDH

A twelfth-century Syrian Muslim warrior and man of letters, Usama ibn Munqidh was best known for his poetry and, above all, for his autobiographical anecdotes and his observations about the customs of the Frankish Crusaders who settled in the Levant.

Born on July 4, 1095 CE at the family castle of Shayzar in northern Syria, Usama ibn Munqidh (or Usama ibn Murshid ibn ʻAli ibn Munqidh) was the most famous member of the Banu Munqidh, a small Arab clan that became influential in the affairs of northern Syria starting in the middle of the eleventh century. Usama's early years were some of the most momentous decades in Syrian history, a period that saw the arrival of the First Crusade (1097–1099), the consolidation of Seljuk authority, and the spread of the Nizari Ismaʻilis into Syria. These first decades at Shayzar were for Usama his golden years, when he learned to acquire all the manly polish expected of an amir of his day, fighting Muslim and Crusader enemies, hunting, and trying his hand at poetry. Unfortunately, Usama's uncle later exiled Usama from Shayzar in 1131, seeing in him a rival to his plans to place control of Shayzar solidly in the hands of his own sons.

After leaving Shayzar, Usama sought service in the nearby principality of Homs, which was just then under attack by the ambitious atabeg of Mosul, the warlord Zanki (see Zankids). When Homs finally fell to Zanki, Usama was captured, and it appears that he entered the service of the atabeg. In 1137, however, Usama was obliged to return to Shayzar first upon news of his father's death and later in 1138 to help defend his family home from a joint Byzantine–Crusader siege.

It was at this point, after the siege had lifted, that Usama left the service of Zanki and made for Damascus and the court of Muʻin al-Din Unur, the atabeg of the Burid prince Mahmud. One of Unur's principal concerns was establishing a truce with the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem so that he might better focus his resources on the growing threat of Zanki in the north. As part of that goal, Usama and Unur made many visits into Crusader territory, and these form the background of his celebrated observations about the Frankish character in his later "memoirs." Usama eventually found himself caught up in the intrigues of the court in Damascus, however, and, by 1144, he had fled the city for the more sophisticated world of Fatimid Cairo.

Usama's decade of service (1144–1154) to the Fatimid caliphs of Egypt was the pinnacle of his political career. While there, his skills as a soldier, boon companion, and adviser were richly rewarded, and Usama himself experienced a level of personal influence that he had never before tasted. His diplomatic skills were also of use, as in the (failed) Fatimid attempt to enlist the support of Zanki's son and heir Nur al-Din in Damascus to fight a joint war against the Crusaders of Ascalon. However, Usama's rise to power ended in an equally abrupt fall, when, implicated in the plot to murder of the caliph al-Zafir in 1154, Usama fled with his family into the desert, abandoning most of his property to rioting troops in Cairo. After narrowly escaping capture by Crusaders, Usama made his way to Damascus, where he enlisted in the service of Nur al-Din.

In Damascus, Usama found a new patron in Nur al-Din and a position from which to reconstitute his life as best he could. He settled into a new home, served his master on campaign, ransomed captive family members, carried on poetic correspondence with friends in Egypt, and even reopened communications with his cousins at Shayzar, humbly asking them to bury old family squabbles and to have him back. As it happened, however, Usama could never return to Shayzar, because, in 1157, a massive earthquake struck northern Syria and leveled the castle; almost every member of the Banu Munqidh household was killed. Usama, exiled in Damascus, could only mourn for his kin and decry the vicissitudes of fate. In 1164, Usama joined his lord Nur al-Din in a victorious campaign against the Franks and, for reasons that remain unclear, promptly took up with one of Nur al-Din's allies, Qara Arslan, Lord of Hisn Kayfa.

Although next to nothing is known about his time spent under Qara Arslan at Hisn Kayfa, it was during this decade (1164–1174) that Usama produced most of his literary works. For Usama, Hisn Kayfa was a terribly provincial place in far northern Iraq, and his literary activity may have been some attempt to stay connected to the more urbane worlds with which he was more familiar. Of the many works that Usama composed there, only a few have survived. He seems to have specialized in topical anthologies: collections of anecdotes, poetry, hadith, and other lore organized around common themes, such as his entertaining *Book of the Staff,* devoted to famous staves and walking sticks; his *Kernels of Refinement,* a manual of ideal conduct *(adab)*; and his *Creator of High Style*, a manual about poetic criticism. He also composed works (now lost) about women, castles, dreams, rivers, and old age. His massive examination of the erotic prelude in classical Arabic poetry, the *Book of Dwellings and Abodes*, could well be considered his masterpiece.

For modern readers, Usama's greatest fame stems from his collection of poetry and above all his autobiographically inclined *Book of Learning by Example*, often inaccurately called his "memoirs." These he finished at the end of his unusually long life in Damascus, where, in 1174, he returned at the summons of his last patron, Saladin. The book is remarkable by any standards. Ostensibly a reflection upon the inevitability of fate, the work artfully uses examples drawn almost entirely from Usama's long and adventurous life and so is filled with details of daily life, high politics, and witty observations of the men and women of Usama's world. It is a compelling testament of one medieval Muslim's presentation of his world and the manner in which God's will has intersected with it.

Usama ibn Munqidh died in 1188 at the age of ninety-three, and was buried in Damascus.

PAUL M. COBB

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USURY AND INTEREST

Usury and interest were initially identified with the levying of exorbitant fees for the borrowing of capital but later included more generally the taking of any unfair advantage in transactions and any unearned gains resulting from chance. These concepts are known in Arabic sources as *ribâ.* Islamic law prohibits it generally, but different jurists interpret the circumstances to which it applies in different ways. Many Muslim merchants engaged in usury or, more frequently, entered into contracts that circumvented the specific legal restrictions while serving the same purpose.

The practice was well established in Mecca during pre-Islamic times. Money lenders often offered the use of their capital at interest rates as high as twenty-five or fifty percent for periods of just a few months. Moreover, they usually forced borrowers to agree to a doubling of the interest if the capital was not repaid in time. Important companions such as 'Uthmân b. 'Affân, 'Abd al-Raìmân b. 'Awf, Khâlid b. al-Walîd, and 'Abbâs b. 'Abd al-Muttalib earned a large part of their wealth in this way.

The Qur'an first criticizes and later bans these practices. In verse 30:39, which dates to the late Meccan period, the Qur'an counsels against usury but does not forbid it. The verse declares, "What you give from usury increases in proportion to people's wealth but does not increase with God. What you give in alms seeking the countenance of God [will

increase]. These are the ones who double their wealth!" Later verses condemn it unambiguously. In 3:130, which belongs to the Medinan period, the Qur'an declares: "O You who believe do not consume usury, compounding in doubles! Fear God! Perhaps you will prosper." This is stated more strongly in 2:275–80, which also belongs to the Medinan period. The first part of this passage reads, "Those who consume usury will not stand except like one whom Satan knocks around with that touch...." It goes on to mention the collection of usury as a pretext for righteous war: "O you who believe, fear God! Give up what remains of usury—if you are true believers/If you do not, take notice of war from God and His messenger...."

Prophetic tradition contains additional prohibitions. However, many of these are not authentic and, where they are, are imprecise or contradictory. The most famous is in the prophet's "Farewell Sermon," given on the occasion of his last pilgrimage to Mecca. Much of this sermon, however, is of questionable authenticity. Another widely quoted tradition states the following: "Gold for gold, silver for silver, wheat for wheat, barley for barley, dates for dates, salt for salt, the same thing for the same thing, like for like, measure for measure; but if these things are different then sell them as you please if it is (only) done measure for measure." Other traditions prohibit any contract promising an increase over a fixed period, but they differ regarding whether the same increase would be allowable in an immediate sale.

Although they never doubted the general prohibition, jurists disagreed about many of the exact circumstances that qualified as usury. Legal schools differed, for example, with regard to the enumeration and classification of objects that are liable to usury. The Œâhirî school limited these objects to the six enumerated by the prophet; its refusal to accept the principle of analogy did not allow it to speculate further. Other legal schools took the specified objects as representative of categories of objects but differed when it came to the characterization of these categories. Mâliki and Shâfi'î jurists judged them to be precious metals and foodstuffs. Hanafîs and Zaydis described them as objects transacted by weight and measure. Although most legal schools considered the exchange of unequal quantities of the same object to be usury regardless of the term of the contract, this was not always the case. For example, the Mâliki school did not object when the transfer of possession took place immediately.

A significant part of the confusion and difficulties has to do with the fact that various pre-Islamic practices subsumed under usury continued to be an integral part of commerce in the Muslim world for many years after the Prophet. For instance, the use of muzâbana contracts (where unripe fruit on trees is bartered for dried fruit of the same kind) was widespread. Jurists, in fact, tolerated them when they stipulated the exchange of unripe dates on the palm for dried dates. The use of checks or receipts also technically contravened the prohibition against usury, because they gave an advantage to the party that carried the check rather than the goods. Checks, nevertheless, continued to serve as essential financial instruments for many centuries afterward.

Moreover, legal proscriptions became more rigid over time as piety-minded scholars conceived of Islamic law more idealistically. Although they were cognizant of ethical problems, many early discussions show ignorance of specific legal prohibitions for the collection of interest. These scholars sometimes describe contracts where "nine-tenths of the permitted amount is renounced"; later discussions do not entertain this possibility.

Jurists, in any case, developed numerous legal evasions that allowed merchants to circumvent these proscriptions. They defended them as legitimate, because man, they argued, could not know the divine wisdom behind a specific law; he needed only to observe its letter. The Œâhisrîs were among the biggest proponents of these evasions, although the Shâf'îs and later the Hanîfis and Imâmîs recognized them as well. One of the most popular evasions was the double contract of sale. With this contract, the borrower purchased an article from the lender, agreeing to pay at a future date a sum equal to the cost of the borrowed capital and interest. Simultaneously, the borrower sells the lender the same article for the immediate payment of a sum equal to the capital he wishes to borrow. Mâlikî, Hanbalî, and Zaydî schools, in general, rejected these circumventions.

Stuart D. Sears

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'UTHMAN IBN 'AFFAN

'Uthman was the third caliph (644–656 CE). His personality and actions are controversial, and different groups in Islam formed conflicting views of him. He was a descendant of Umayya of the clan of Quraysh, but, unlike most of the other Umayyads, he was an early follower of the Prophet Muhammad and one of the inner circle of the Prophet's Companions. He became caliph after the deliberations of the small consultative group *(shura)* set up by the previous caliph, 'Umar, when he was dying.

As caliph, 'Uthman is best known for two things. First, he is generally regarded as the one who ordered the collection of the revelations made to Muhammad and the establishing of the text of the Qur'an as it has been known ever since. Second, his caliphate saw the beginning of divisions among the Muslims that were to lead to a civil war *(fitna)* upon his death. 'Uthman was killed by a group of Arab Muslim warriors who came to Medina from the garrison town of Fustat in Egypt with various grievances.

Their immediate grievances probably concerned pay and the allocation of land and booty, but the historical tradition preserves lists of complaints against 'Uthman of a more general sort. He is accused of favoring his Umayyad relatives when making appointments to governorships and other offices, of failing to apply Islamic law properly, and of the mistreatment of pious individuals like Abu Dharr, who warned of corruption in high places. Even what he did regarding the scripture alienated some.

For the Sunnis, 'Uthman is one of the Rightly Guided Caliphs *(khulafa' rashidun)*. He was one of ten of the Prophet's Companions to whom the Prophet promised entry into paradise, and his death was an unjustifiable murder that warranted his designation as a martyr *(shahid)*. For the Shi'is, 'Uthman was an illegitimate caliph who had usurped the office that rightly belonged to 'Ali and whose personal weakness opened the way for the takeover and corruption of Islam by the Umayyads. For the Kharijis, he was an unrighteous ruler whose killing was entirely justified.

Those views were mainly retrospective ones. Modern historians have argued that 'Uthman's policies and personality may have been open to criticism, but he was unfortunate in that he was caliph at a time when the swift conquests achieved under his two predecessors had begun to slow down and frustrations and tensions that had previously been suppressed came to the surface.

GERALD R. HAWTING

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VIZIERS

The term *vizier* is derived from the Arabic term *wazir*, the core meaning of which refers to "bearing a load." This is an apt definition, because the viziers were those that headed the administrations of caliphs, amirs, and sultans throughout the continuum of medieval Islamic history. The modern studies of viziers have focused on a number of key questions: the origins of the office and its early duties; the varied roles played by viziers over the centuries; and case studies of important families of viziers ranging from the 'Abbasid period through the Ottoman era. One theme that runs throughout the history of the vizierate in Islamic history is the personal nature of the power dynamics in Islamic administrations. Viziers could rise from humble secretarial posts or even slavery to the extreme heights of wealth and power, only to be removed from office and/or killed by the whims of caliphs or sultans. This "hire and fire at will" nature of the post did not deter many from seeking it for themselves and their family members. As is seen in the examples of the Barmakids and the Banu 'l-Furat of the 'Abbasid period and the Çandarlı and Köprülü families of the Ottoman Empire, the personal nature of the vizierate also helped create dynasties of capable administrators.

The origin of the vizierate in Islam is hard to pinpoint accurately, because the sources are vague regarding the development of early Islamic administration. From the rudimentary structure of the diwan system during the Islamic conquests through the Umayyad dynasty, the officials who helped the caliphs with the running the government were often typified as being freedmen, boon companions, or *aides-de-camp.* It is not until the 'Abbasid period that clear references to the term *vizier* are found; even then key questions remain regarding whether the use of the word stemmed from traditional Persian practices or from other cultures and when exactly the 'Abbasids began to use the term exclusively. By the end of the eighth century, however, viziers were the central component of 'Abbasid administration, taking on the important tasks of overseeing the various ministries (e.g., chancellery, tax, mazalim [courts of justice]). The Barmakids, a Persian family who had converted to Islam from Buddhism, rose to prominence during the late eighth century and played a variety of roles: patronizing scholars, tutoring princes and caliphs, overseeing 'Abbasid affairs, and creating their own cadre of supporters within the government. By the beginning of the ninth century, it appeared that the Barmakids were indispensable elements of the 'Abbasid system, but their famous fall from grace in 803 CE, replete with arrests, confiscation of wealth, and executions, underscored the fact that they, as was true of all government officials, were working at the will of the caliphs. The example of the Barmakids' rise and fall would become a staple in many works written about the nature and duties of the vizierate for centuries to come.

As the 'Abbasid caliphs began to weaken in power during the ninth century, the viziers took stronger roles within the government, often rivaling the caliphs when it came to determining policies or

even succession issues. Such regional dynasties as the Fatimids, Buyids, and Saljuqs, which arose during the tenth and eleventh centuries, had strong vizierates of their own, although the personal power dynamics between the ruler and his viziers in these cases were similar to those of the earlier ʿAbbasids. Ibn Killis was a key vizier for the Fatimids during the ninth century, whereas Nizam al-Mulk, who worked for the Seljuk sultans Alp Arslan and Malikshah, would become the most famous vizier in Islamic history. Nizam al-Mulk, who was Persian by birth, was instrumental in developing the administrative structure of the Seljuk system in addition to helping found the state-sponsored madrasa educational institution. His ideas about government and rule are found in his work titled *Siyasat-name (The Book of Government)*, a "Mirror for Princes" guide that is akin to Machiavelli's *The Prince*. Nizam al-Mulk uses historical examples to argue his points on justice, effective rule, and the role of government in Islamic society. After his assassination in 1092 at the hands of assassins, members of his bureaucratic entourage, the Nizamiyya, played key stabilizing roles in the chaos that accompanied the gradual breakup of Seljuk control in Iraq and Iran. Another notable development in eleventh- and twelfth-century vizierial history is that there was a blending of administrations that involved viziers who would work for the revitalized ʿAbbasid vizierate at one point and then work for other regional dynasties. Because viziers would often work for a variety of regional powers throughout their careers, the idea of separate or parallel administrations is undermined, whereas the personal, individualized nature of the administrative system is again underscored.

During the Ottoman period of expansion, the roles of viziers remained largely unchanged from the past; they were tutors, administrators, military figures, and confidantes. In addition, the grand viziers would often be linked to the Ottoman family through marriages to Ottoman princesses. This familial tie was not unprecedented, however; numerous examples abound from earlier centuries of viziers marrying into regional dynasties' families. The most famous vizierial families of the Ottoman eras include the Çandarlı family, who aided the fifteenth-century Ottoman sultans until the reign of Mehmed II, and the Köprülü family, who were instrumental in stabilizing Ottoman rule during periods of crisis during the late seventeenth century. Individual viziers also made their mark in history: Ibrahim Paşa rose from slavery to become the boon companion of Suleyman (r. 1520–1566) and eventually to become Grand Vizier until his fall from grace in the 1530s; Sokollu Mehmet Paşa, who at the end of Suleyman's reign attempted to stabilize the government, fought against rival factions within the imperial courts of Suleyman's successors. Their careers and those of the viziers before them clearly show that, however bureaucratized and formalized the system of Islamic administration would become, at its core the nature of the administration and delegation of power and authority from caliphs and sultans was highly personal in nature.

ERIC HANNE

See also Bureaucrats; Courts; Diplomacy; Madrasa; Mirrors for Princes; Nizam al-Mulk; Political Theory; Scribes; Ya'qub ibn Killis

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WAQF

A *waqf* is trust-like instrument created by a Muslim who designates the principle of property that he or she owns as an endowment that henceforth may not be sold, gifted, or transmitted through inheritance, with the result being that the property becomes inalienable in perpetuity. The terms of an endowment are recorded in an endowment deed *(waqfiyya)* that is drawn up with great care in an effort to eliminate any ambiguity; in the deed, the founder announces the purpose of the endowment, specifies the beneficiaries, and makes provisions for its administration. These deeds are important sources for the history of Muslim societies.

Revenues generated by endowment property are distributed among beneficiaries according to the rules specified by the founder in the endowment deed. The beneficiaries are generally of two types: (1) the founder's children and lineal descendants (i.e., a family endowment) or (2) religious institutions (e.g., a mosque or madrasa) or public endowments (e.g., a drinking fountain). Not infrequently, a founder creates a joint or shared endowment in which half of the revenues are assigned to the founder's children and descendants and half are assigned to a religious or public institution. The endowment property itself is placed in the hands of an administrator, whose duties include maintaining the property and ensuring its proper exploitation, supervising repairs, and distributing the revenues to the beneficiaries. If the purpose for which the endowment was created ceases to exist (e.g., the line of beneficiaries comes to an end or the institution to which the revenues originally were assigned is destroyed or ceases to function), the revenues revert to some charitable purpose (e.g., the poor or travelers).

Although endowments are not mentioned in the Qur'an, the Prophet Muhammad is reported to have sanctioned the use of the institution in response to an inquiry from ʻUmar ibn al-Khattab relating to valuable land acquired by the latter. When ʻUmar asked the Prophet what he should do with the property, Muhammad is said to have replied, "If you wish, sequester its principle and distribute the usufruct as alms." It is believed that ʻUmar did in fact create an endowment and that he stipulated that the principle "may not be sold, given away as a gift, or inherited." The revenues were used to support "the poor, kin relations, slaves, the Holy War, travelers, and guests," and guidelines were established for the use of the revenues by the endowment administrator.

The waqf is a distinctive Islamic institution that emerged during the course of the AH first/seventh century CE. It was in large part the creation of Muslim jurists who, drawing on a range of existing customs (e.g., Byzantine, Sasanian, Jewish) relating to both piety and property, brought clarity and order to this area of the law by creating the legal terms and principles that became the defining features of the system. By the end of the first century, the Umayyads had created a central waqf administration that no doubt kept registered copies of endowment deeds. By the middle of the third/ninth century, the system was fully formed, and sophisticated waqf treatises had

been written by scholars such as al-Khassaf and Hilal al-Ra'y.

Endowments are a special kind of *sadaqa* (an act pleasing to God intended to bring the founder closer to Him). A key motivation for the creation of endowments is the founder's concern for salvation. The establishment of an endowment is a two-way transaction: the founder provides a regular source of income for his descendants or the means for the establishment and upkeep of a public institution, and, in return, the beneficiaries of his largesse are instructed to perform certain duties on his behalf (e.g., saying prayers, performing the pilgrimage), the reward for which is credited to the deceased. Thus, these endowments contributed to the memorialization of the founder and to the safeguarding of his or her memory, in perpetuity, by ensuring that good deeds would be performed in his or her name even after death.

The endowment system has many practical functions. By creating a family endowment, a founder removes part or all of his patrimony from the atomizing effects of the Islamic law of inheritance, shields it from taxation and confiscation by the state, and provides a regular income for children and descendants. Beginning during the twelfth century, Muslim rulers such as Salah al-Din, and, later, the Mamluk and Ottoman sultans, used the endowment system to transform the urban landscape of cities like Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Istanbul by creating madrasas for jurists, khanaqahs for Sufis, hospitals, public kitchens, arsenals, and military fortifications, to name just a few. The assets dedicated to the support of these institutions included both urban properties (e.g., apartments, shops, ovens, food stalls, bathhouses, warehouses, caravansaries) and rural properties (e.g., gardens, orchards, villages [or part thereof]). Rulers also created ribats on the frontiers of the Islamic state in which Sufis and other Muslims worked the land and contributed to the spread of Islam. The waqf system was an important source of income for scholars, Sufis, administrators, workers, and the poor. Slowly but inexorably, the volume of urban and rural properties dedicated to endowments increased greatly; at the time of the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1516, for example, fifty percent of Egypt's agricultural resources reportedly had been designated as endowments.

The endowment system was dynamic and diverse, responding to the changing needs of families, communities, and the Muslim state. Although endowment properties are in principle inalienable, Muslim jurists developed mechanisms for the exchange of endowment properties in response to the needs of the market. At any given point in time, large numbers of Muslims were affected by—or benefited from—endowments. The system provided Muslim society with stability; in some cases, endowments created a thousand years ago continue to function today. It also created an important connection between the beneficiaries and employees of a particular institution and the properties that were the source of its revenues.

David S. Powers

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WAQIDI, AL-

Born in Medina during the reign of the Umayyad caliph al-Marwan ibn Muhammad (AH 26/744–133/750 CE), just before the 'Abbasid Revolution (130/747), Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn 'Umar was

better known as al-Waqidi, after his grandfather al-Waqid, *mawla* (client) to ʻAbd Allah ibn Burayda of the Banu Aslam of Medina. According to Abu Faraj al-Isfahani, al-Waqidi's mother was the daughter of ʻIsa ibn Jaʻfar ibn Sa'ib Khathir, a Persian, and the great granddaughter of Sa'ib, who introduced music to Medina.

These is no information about al-Waqidi's early education. Yaqut tells us that al-Waqidi was appointed judge over eastern Baghdad by the caliph Harun al-Rashid. In around 204/819, al-Ma'mun, son and heir to al-Rashid, appointed him to the position of qadi over the military camp of the prince al-Mahdi at Rasafa. Here he was able to accumulate a considerable collection of books and even to produce a large volume of writing, aided by his well-known amanuensis, Ibn Saʻd (d. 230/845).

Ibn al-Nadim gives a long list of the numerous works authored by al-Waqidi. The majority of his writings are devoted to excerpts from the history of Islam after the death of the Prophet, and, although none of these are extant, quotations from these works have been preserved in the works of later historians: accounts of the murder of ʻUthman are cited by both al-Tabari and Ibn Hubaysh (d. 584/1188) from the *Kitab al-Dar;* accounts from *Ta'rikh al-Kabir,* in which Waqidi listed all of the important events of history in the form of annals up to the year 179/795, have been cited by other scholars. As for his *Kitab al-Tabaqat,* it served as the basis of Ibn Saʻd's biographical dictionary and provided information about the Companions of the Prophet and their descendants.

Al-Waqidi is best known for his compilation, the *Kitab al-Maghazi,* which is his only work that survived. It tells of the last ten years of the Prophet's life and is an important source for the historical writings of al-Baladhuri (d. 279/892) and al-Tabari (d. 310/923), entitled *Futuh al-Buldan* and *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa-l-Muluk,* respectively. Al-Waqidi wrote his *Kitab al-Maghazi* roughly a generation after Ibn Ishaq had composed his. According to al-Tabari, al-Waqidi had read Ibn Ishaq's biography of the Prophet and had gone so far as to commend his knowledge of the maghazi and ayyam al-ʻArab. Nevertheless, al-Waqidi never cites even one of Ibn Ishaq's traditions in his compilation.

Sadly, al-Waqidi was a spendthrift by nature and generous to a fault. He died a pauper during the fourth year of his judgeship at the age of seventy-eight, in Baghdad, in the year 207/822 or 823, and he was buried at the Khayzuran cemetery. It is said that even the shroud for his burial had to be purchased by the caliph al-Ma'mun, whom al-Waqidi had appointed as executor of his will.

Rizwi Faizer

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WEATHER

One of the most neglected aspects of medieval Islamic and Middle Eastern history is the role of the physical environment in economic and demographic issues important to the affected societies. In any serious study of the environment, weather and the fluctuations of the weather can be regarded as an obvious issue for the researcher or the analyst. Even the most cursory examination of the chronicles—whether Syriac, Arabic, or Persian—offers ample evidence of the role played by weather events or disturbances in the Near East and in neighboring Islamic lands, such as Spain and North Africa.

The evidence afforded by these sources describes damage or destruction that was wrought by four major types of weather disturbance: (1) damaging winds and/or dust storms; (2) severe cold and/or freezing precipitation in the form of hail, sleet, or snow; (3) rainstorms or inundations; and (4) droughts and excessive heat. The remainder of this article will address the nature and effects of such inclement weather.

Numerous windstorms, occasionally bearing damaging dust, struck at the core lands in the Middle East, such as Iraq, Egypt, and greater Syria, throughout the period from 600 to 1500 CE In some cases, hot, dusty winds withered crops, disrupted cultivation and commerce, and uprooted valuable trees (e.g., in Iraq and Iran in 848–849). In other instances, strong winds even sank boats (e.g., on the Tigris) and destroyed buildings (e.g., Iraq in 1051). The great windstorms thus ruined goods and infrastructure and thoroughly disrupted normal life, even causing apocalyptic reactions (e.g., end of the world or Resurrection fears in Mosul in 931 and in Egypt in 1038) among the affected populations.

Although popular perceptions of the Middle East have focused on desert heat and associated aridity, the fact is that one can find numerous examples of devastating hailstorms, damaging cold outbreaks, and even of snow and sleet (especially in Iraq in 748/49, Iran in 1014, and greater Syria in 682/83). The hailstorms could be especially dangerous, because they destroyed crops, damaged houses, and occasionally killed people and animals. Freezing temperatures and ice or snow wrought havoc on agricultural enterprises (e.g., in the case of ruined vineyards and olive groves in Syria in 748/49), killed

animals, and caused mortality from apparent hypothermia or cold-related maladies (e.g., in Syria in 768).

The rain associated with severe thunderstorms also contributed to loss of life and property. Flooding rains, which could cause tremendous damage, ravaged houses, shops, orchards, and crops. In particularly severe downpours, people were killed by raging waters (e.g., in Khuzistan in 904), collapsing buildings, or even by mud slides (e.g., in Mecca in 894). Water, which was always a precious commodity in the Middle East, became a deadly foe when severe storms battered such areas as Iraq, Arabia, and Egypt. Not surprisingly, the destruction from these storms was compounded by lightning strikes, wind, and hail (e.g., lightning damage in Mosul in 1130).

Less-surprising weather-related disasters in the context of the Middle East were, of course, the numerous episodes of excessive heat and severe drought that swept through the region and occasionally through Andalusia. The most obvious consequence in these instances was food shortage and, in severe cases, famine. Although numbers of people perished at times from heat exhaustion or thirst, the most common form of mortality associated with drought was either outright starvation during famines or mortality associated with epidemics sparked by drought-related food shortages. As is indicated elsewhere (see Secondary Sources below), nutritional deficiencies can be especially dangerous, subverting health and causing sickness or death. In this respect, one sees an important feature of climatic and other disasters: they tend to frequently occur in clusters and in related sequences—the common nexus of drought, food shortage, and famine, followed by disease epidemic.

More than thirty years ago, the French social historian Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie published the seminal work *Times of Feast, Times of Famine: A History of Climate Since the Year 1000,* in which he amply demonstrated the importance of climate and weather disturbances throughout human history. Obviously, much of Le Roy Ladurie's work specifically addressed French climate history and thus had a more limited applicability for Middle Eastern societies. However, it clearly demonstrated the decisive role of environmental conditions in shaping the evolution of human societies, whatever the region.

William F. Tucker

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WINE

The Arabic word for wine, *khamr/khamra,* is very common in early Arabic poetry and is probably a loanword from Syro-Aramaic *(hamra)*. Arabia and the Syrian desert—as opposed to Palestine and Mesopotamia—are not composed of soil that is fit for the growing of grapes. However, there are some exceptions, such as the Ta'if and several parts of Yemen, and wine is also referred to Medina. Usually wine was imported from Syria and Iraq, and, in early Arabic poetry, the wine trade is chiefly connected with Jews or Christians.

Wine is praised in the Qur'an (16:67): "And of the fruits of the date-palm, and grapes, whence ye derive an intoxicant *(sakar)* and a provision fair. Lo! therein is indeed a portent for people who have sense."

However, the configuration of the poetic genre of the wine song *(khamriyya)* of the Islamic period is believed to have originated in the town of Hira, from such sources as the Christian Tamimite ʿAdi b. Zayd. In *The Cheery Companion, On the Prohibition of Old Wine,* the lexicographer al-Firuzabadi (d. 817/1415) collected an alphabetical list of approximately 357 "names of the wine," the majority of which are descriptive or allusive terms, like "golden," "cock's eye," "mother of vices," and a qualification taken from a tradition attributed to Muhammad, "the one which is drunken in the morning."

However, the intoxicant that the Arab of the Peninsula drank most was the *nabidh* (liquor, "spirit of wine"), a designation that does not appear in the Qur'an as a name for intoxicating drinks, several of which were produced in early Arabia from barley, honey, spelt, or different kinds of palms. Muhammad is said to have drunk nabidh, but he put water from the sacred source of Zamzam in it. In modern Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, and other Arabic countries, the word *nbid* (dialectal pronunciation) is used to refer to any kind of intoxicating drink (especially wine), whereas, in Egypt, *khamr* and *nibid* have the same meaning.

The legal status of wine in the Qur'an has seen an evolution (2:219): "They question thee about strong wine [or strong drink] *(khamr)* and game of chance. Say: In both is great sin, and (some) utility for men; but the sin of them is greater than their usefulness." It is also mentioned in verse 4:43: "O ye who believe! Draw not near unto prayer when you are drunken…." Finally came the absolute prohibition (5:90): "O ye who believe! Wine *(khamr)* and game of chance and idols and divining arrows are only an infamy of Satan's handiwork. Leave it aside in order that ye may succeed." As compensation for abstaining, the believers will enjoy a pure wine in Paradise (83:25): "They are given to drink of a pure wine *(rahiq)*, sealed."

The prohibition of wine did not prevent a members of the higher classes, caliphs, viziers, men of letters, poets, and many others from enjoying it (e.g., in Iraq). The genre of the wine song reached its high point with poets like the Umayyad Caliph al-Walid b. Yazid (r. 125–126/743–744) and, above all, Abu Nuwas (d. ca. 200/815).

Claude Gilliot

See also Alcohol

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WOMEN, JEWISH

Until the late Middle Ages, most of the world's Jewish population lived in Islamic lands such as Babylonia (Iraq), Persia (Iran), Syria-Palestine, and Egypt, and they also lived in the non-Arab Islamic countries of Spain and Sicily. The major sources of information about their lives in general—and about women's lives in particular—were the Geniza (Storage) documents, which were discovered in 1896 in a synagogue in Cairo. These documents reflect international commercial, intellectual, and family connections throughout the Muslim world. Later documents from Ottoman archives and shari'a court records were added to the various Hebrew preliminary sources, thus expanding modern knowledge of social and family life.

Jews and Muslims in Islamic lands shared a common urban cultural world. Jewish customs were influenced by the frequent social interaction between the two ethnic groups. There was great similarity between Muslim and Jewish wedding ceremonies, and polygamy was practiced by both Muslim and Jews, even being adopted by Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews who immigrated to Muslim lands during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries from Christian countries where polygamy was outlawed. In addition, both Jews and Muslims kept concubines. Child marriage—especially of young girls—was normal in both cultures, designed to ensure the girl's chastity and for social and economic reasons; however, unlike what was seen in Muslim society, the Jewish *kidushin* (wedding ceremony) was considered a sacred act, and it was very difficult to release a girl from its bonds if a marriage was unsuccessful. Because the commercial character

of Jewish families and their frequent migration, marriages between individuals from different countries, which were contracted to extend and strengthen contacts between business partners, were common. Another phenomenon resulting from the mobility of Jewish society was the voluntary or involuntary neglect of wives. The problem of *agunot* (deserted wives) caused many *halakhic* (legal) discussions throughout the Middle Ages. Alternatively, husbands' absences, which sometimes extended over very long periods of time, enabled women to enjoy relative independence in managing their households and their children's educations. Jewish and Muslim women shared popular customs and beliefs, frequented the same holy places, and practiced the same methods and formulas to ensure safe pregnancy and childbirth.

Unlike those that were seen in Muslim homes, there were no separate quarters for women in Jewish homes. The "Geniza women," as described in Shlomo D. Goitein's monumental works, were expected to look after their young children and do the household chores, but these duties were apparently not very demanding: almost all households consisted of more than one female adult, and most urban middle-class families employed at least one maidservant. Older women were often assisted by their daughters-in-law, because, as was also done in Muslim society, newlywed brides usually moved in with the husbands' families. Women of well-to-do families passed their time sewing or embroidering textiles for their homes. The daily routine of lower-class women included communal cleaning, laundering, cooking, and baking. Accordingly, women's education normally did not exceed the essential domestic skills. Although there are a few examples of women teachers during the Middle Ages, their activities caused personal and halakhic controversies, and they did not represent the norm. A girl's education depended entirely on her father's whim, and, even among the upper classes, most women were illiterate. Among thousands of letters from the Geniza, only a couple of dozen were sent by women; these were probably dictated to a professional scribe or a male acquaintance, and they deal with personal matters.

There is no single document about any spiritual or religious subject written by a woman. In addition to the halakhic restrictions, it seems that the crucial reason for women's illiteracy was the prevailing view that women do not need scholarly education, because they were meant to dedicate themselves to looking after their husbands and homes and to enable their menfolk to study. Halakhic and kabbalistic writings about this matter promised the ideal wife—the "Woman of Valor" (Proverbs 31:31)—a share in the world to come. However, in daily life, women's illiteracy maintained their dependency and ensured men's supremacy.

In external appearance, Jewish women were not distinguishable from their Muslim counterparts. They even wore a veil, in accordance with local customs, although women of the non-Muslim minorities *(dhimmi)* were not required—and were sometimes even forbidden—to do so. According to Jewish and non-Jewish travelers, all women were so heavily draped that even their husbands could not recognize them; the exposure of even a tiny bit of flesh was considered a disgrace.

Alternatively, as revealed by lists of trousseaus, wills, and inventories, middle-class Jewish women had a variety of weekday and Sabbath dresses, as well as gowns, veils, scarves, belts, and jewelry. One gets the impression that the objects were so thoroughly itemized mainly because of their investment value. The beautiful costumes and other items were not displayed outdoors, not only because women were covered with gowns but also for fear of inciting the authorities' attention. During the late Middle Ages, Jewish communal regulations went so far as to forbid excessive extravagance. From time to time, dhimmis—both male and female—were required to wear a distinctive color or sign.

Although modesty was required of Jewish women and women lived in relative seclusion, they were allowed freedom of movement, and they routinely took advantage of it. They worshipped at the synagogue; visited relatives; attended funerals, weddings, and other celebrations; and made pilgrimages to holy sites. Their outings led to many "immoral" incidents, which were often denounced by local sages. Regulations enacted by Jewish communities in Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, Jerusalem, Safed, and other Jewish centers tried to prevent women from mingling with men on such occasions. A regulation from Jerusalem, for instance, instructed women to leave the synagogue a while before the ceremony ended to prevent them from encountering men on the way out. In Cairo, a pre-Ottoman regulation was reinstated during the mid-sixteenth century: "Men and women embroiderers are henceforth forbidden to sit at the same working table...only older women, aged forty or over, are allowed" (Rabbi David ben Zimra, *Responsa*, III, no. 919).

Usually, aside from philanthropy, women's economic activities in Islamic lands were restricted to money lending and real estate transactions. These financial activities enabled them to preserve both the value of their money and their modesty, and they were common even among the more secluded Muslim women of the Middle Ages. However, Jewish women

were also active in business and commercial transactions outside of their homes. They traded textiles, precious stones, perfumes, spices, foodstuffs, wine, and other items. Those who had no property or money to finance such enterprises took to crafts and other professions, becoming weavers, embroiderers, wine and cheese producers, brokers, cosmeticians, healers, and town criers. The majority of working women, however, were widows and divorcees.

Jewish women were aware that, in some aspects of marital and inheritance laws, the Islamic legal system was more favorable to women than Jewish halakha. For fear that women would seek justice in non-Jewish courts, a regulation (enacted already by the late seventh century) enabled women to receive a divorce upon their request; this procedure was otherwise most difficult according to Jewish law. Over the years, this legal "breach" became more and more popular, especially among upper-class women. Shari'a court records testify that Jewish women applied to the qadi in matters concerning inheritance, divorcing recalcitrant husbands, family disputes, collecting *ketuba* (marriage contract) money, guardianship of children, and ensuring commercial transactions and the priority of a wife as compared with other creditors or debtors. Quite often, these women appeared personally in court to demand their rights.

Goitein described women in the early geniza period as living in a "world within a world," meaning that, within a world dominated by men, there was another, secluded world that was created by women for themselves. As far as Jewish women were concerned, their world was much more complicated: not only were they living as dhimmis in an Islamic traditional society, they were also subjected to Jewish halakhic and moral obligations. There was, however, a gap between theory and reality. It seems that many Jewish women found ways not only to lead a parallel world but also to take an active part in the economy and in social activities and to insist on their legal rights.

RUTH LAMDAN

See also Jews; Marriage, Jewish

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WOMEN, PATRONS

Some of the greatest Islamic works of art and architecture were commissioned by women. The most prolific patrons were usually members of the royal family: the mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters of rulers who built handsome mosques and tombs as public signs of dynastic and political power and amassed personal wealth in the form of art objects and coin. Members of the elite class, possessing wealth and social connections, could likewise commemorate themselves and their family members while performing an act of public charity to benefit their community. For relatively well-to-do women, property might

consist of land and a house, a commercial venture, or farmland; at any economic level, it might include household goods such as jewelry, pots, bedding, and especially textiles (the Cairo Geniza documents show that textiles were one of most traded and collected items in the medieval Mediterranean). Although any woman with sufficient funds and autonomy could commission public and private art and architecture, generally the acts of patronage deemed important enough for historic record were those of politically prominent women whose names were inscribed on the works themselves.

The mothers, wives, and concubines of rulers were the most prolific patrons, both because they might have inheritance, state stipends, and gifts and because their construction of mosques, schools, hospitals, and communal fountains was a public demonstration of the ruling family's piety and generosity. Thus, in Ayyubid Damascus and Aleppo, numerous *madrasas* (theological colleges) and *khanqahs* (Sufi convents) were built by the regent queen Dafiya Khatun. In Cordoba, neighborhood mosques and a leper hospital were built by women of the Umayyad house. Because Islamic law protected a woman's right to inheritance and to the ownership of her dowry, in theory any women could own land and buildings and gain income from it by leasing her land or operating a business. Such rental income might go towards a *waqf* (perpetual endowment) for providing a mosque or public institution with support for upkeep and management. Thus, a woman's patronage could take the form of building a structure, collecting valuable objects, or creating endowments for charitable activities that might include building maintenance for a mosque, Qur'an recitation, alms, or providing dowries for orphan girls. Of course, in practice, not all societies within the medieval Islamic world granted women sufficient autonomy to exercise this right.

In regions in which male mortality was high as a result of war (e.g., Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt), the family wealth was often held by women, because women provided stability and continuity for the transfer of wealth from one generation to the next. Female patronage typically benefited the family more than the women as individuals, and probably some buildings that were attributed to individual women patrons were in fact collaborative enterprises in which the woman's name, as a representative of her family, was more prominent than her actual financial or architectural contribution. This was also true of smaller works of art. For example, the inscription on an ivory game box from tenth-century Cordoba states that it was made for the daughter of ʻAbd al-Rahman III. However, the name of the woman is not given, and, because that ruler had numerous daughters, the specific recipient of the box remains unknown. Furthermore, if she received it as a gift, the commission reflected little or nothing of her artistic taste.

In Islamic societies that engaged in diplomatic marriage between parties of equal status, the wife built in her own name, identifying herself by her paternal genealogy. Hence, at the madrasa/mausoleum/mosque complex (completed in 1438 CE in Herat) of Gawhar Shad, the powerful wife of Shah Rukh, the dedication inscription names her as the daughter of her father, a prominent noble from an allied clan. However, in the case of a slave-concubine, a woman might identify instead with her "adopted" family, which gave her status and rank as the mother of sons that would continue the family line. This was the case in the Ottoman Empire, where monumental mosques were typically built by the sultan's mother in her official capacity as *valide sultan* (queen mother). These concubines were not Muslim by birth, because the law forbade the enslavement of Muslims; however, they became politically powerful women, especially when they gave birth to an heir. Although the royal concubine mothers in the Ottoman and Mughal Empires and Umayyad al-Andalus came from ethnic and religious backgrounds that differed from those where they came to live, rarely can any cultural difference be discerned in their built works.

In general, female patronage must be contextualized within familial politics and the diverse cultural milieux in which choices were limited by the skills of the available artisans and the state of architectural technology. However, there are several outstanding instances of women whose patronage was remarkably innovative, evincing unusual personal taste that changed the history of Islamic architecture. For example, the women of the Timurid royal family built a series of diminutive mausolea at the Shah-i Zindeh complex (ca. 1350–1450) in Samarkand with lively tile revetment. Because these were small, quickly built works of individual commemoration, they reflected the various tastes of individuals rather than an official architectural style, and thus they were sites for experimentation in architectural ornament. Perhaps the most innovative early female patron was Shajar al-Durr, who, after the death of her consort, the Ayyubid Sultan Negm al-Din, in 1249, ruled as the legitimate sultan of Egypt for several months. Her major work was the addition of a monumental tomb to the mosque/madrasa complex of Negm al-Din (1250, Cairo). Standing prominently at one end of the façade of this complex, the tomb firmly linked the identity of the sultan with his major foundation, and thereafter the addition of the patron's tomb to an endowed complex became standard practice.

All patronage can be viewed as a reification of family and especially dynastic identity; however, because women and men played distinctly different roles within the family structure, their motivations for commissioning art and architecture differed accordingly.

D. FAIRCHILD RUGGLES

See also Family; Women, Muslim; Women Rulers

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Woman writing. Courtier of Abbas I during a picnic. Sufavid mural, 1640s. Credit: SEF/Art Resource, NY. Chihil Sutun (Pavilion of 40 Columns), Isfahan, Iran

WOMEN POETS

Women poets of classical times were far fewer in number than their male counterparts, and their poetic domain was relatively restricted. Women were largely excluded from the "high" poetic genres of panegyric and satire, probably because of their social roles: mandatory seclusion in the case of freeborn women, and the providing of entertainment in the case of slave girls. The majority of extant women's poems are in the genres of elegy *(ritha')* by the former group and of erotic love song *(ghazal)* by the latter. In addition, there are some Sufi poems composed by women and sporadic compositions of nostalgia verses, wisdom verses, and children's lullabies; these last are often in the rajaz meter, which is generally not considered suitable for true poetry. The restriction of genre simultaneously denotes a restriction of form, whereby women's poetic production has usually been in the form of the more informal monothematic *qit'a* (short piece) generally used in elegies and love songs rather than the long, formal, polythematic *qasida* (ode) that is reserved mostly for the panegyric. It also denotes simplicity of language, which is a hallmark of the genres of elegy and love song.

The poetry composed by pre-Islamic women was almost wholly limited to *marathi* (sing. marthiya; elegy). Suzanne Stetkevych (1993, 161–6) argues that this limitation of poetic domain reflects the limitation of the role played by women in the public (which is equated with male) ritual life of the tribe, of which it was the function of poetry to record; this meant that there was limited occasion—the death of a warrior kinsman—upon which free women were allowed public voice. Indeed, at these occasions, it was their obligation to lament their fallen warriors and incite their remaining kinsmen to vengeance *(tahrid)*; it was their duty to shed ritual, poetic tears to redeem their fallen menfolk, just as it was the men's duty to redeem the death of kin by shedding blood.

Al-Khansa' (d. 24/645) was a preeminent mukhadrama poetess (one who straddled the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods) who excelled in the genre of elegy. She composed more than a hundred short or medium-length elegies in which she elegized her brothers Sakhr and Mu'awiya and incited her tribesmen to take blood vengeance. A large number of her opening lines, and, indeed, the opening lines of most elegies by women, contain the "eyes shedding tears" motif, often in an exhortation by the poetess to herself to weep. The medieval anthologist Ibn Sallam al-Jumahi placed al-Khansa' second within the four great poets of ritha'; she was the only woman to

make it into his ranks of 110 outstanding poets of pre-Islam and early Islam.

Layla al-Akhyaliyya (d. ca. AH 85/704 CE) was an Umayyad poetess whom critics often ranked close to al-Khansa'. Layla composed almost fifty short poems, particularly elegies for her slain kinsman and her lover, Tawba ibn Humayyir. She also composed an elegy for 'Uthman ibn 'Affan. However, "challenging gender-prescribed literary norms" (al-Sajdi, 143), Layla also exchanged some lewd satires with the poet al-Nabigha al-Ja'di and composed a few panegyrics for the Umayyad governor al-Hajjaj and the Umayyad Caliphs Marwan I and 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan. Her panegyric about 'Abd al-Malik is particularly noteworthy for its tripartite nasib-rahil-madih qasida form, traditionally a form that was squarely in the male poetic domain but that was reworked by her into a female version.

The other important genre of women's poetry was the love lyric. During the Umayyad and 'Abbasid periods, there were large numbers of professional singing slave girls (*qiyan*; sing. *qayna*) who often composed the love songs that they sang to the accompaniment of musical instruments. The line between musical and sexual entertainment was not always clearly drawn—singing girls were courtesans—and many eventually became concubines of the ruling elite. In his treatise about singing girls entitled *Risalat al-Qiyan (Epistle of the Singing-Girls)*, al-Jahiz (d. 255/868–869) stated, without referring to composition of poetry, that an accomplished singing girl had a repertoire of more than four thousand songs. Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani (d. ca. 363/972) composed a different kind of treatise about singing girls entitled *al-Ima' al-Shawa'ir (Slave-girl Poets)*, in which he focused on their poetry. On the basis of this text, Hilary Kilpatrick (1991, 175) explains that three genres of poetry were preeminent among singing girls: (1) love poetry *(ghazal)*; (2) verse-capping competition with fellow poets, particularly other singing girls; and (3) short, informal panegyric verse for their masters. Three early 'Abbasid singing girls were particularly famous for their poetry: 'Inan (paramour of al-Rashid, r. 786–809), al-'Arib (concubine of al-Ma'mun, r. 813–817), and Fa-dl (concubine of al-Mutawakkil, r. 847–861). Additionally, literary anthologies attribute some courtly love poetry (most likely spuriously so) to Layla, who was the beloved of Majnun.

The 'Abbasid princess 'Ulayya (d. 210/825), daughter of al-Mahdi and half-sister of Harun al-Rashid, was also a singer-poet, although her social status was far above that of the singing girls. Her poetry and songs dealt mostly with the themes of courtly love and wine. She was trained by her mother, Maknuna, who, before being purchased by al-Mahdi, had been a professional singing girl. 'Ulayya, in turn, trained singing girls for al-Rashid's palace.

Also said to have had her origins in the world of the singing girl was the famous mystic and poet of Basra, Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya (d. 185/801). She transmuted the love poetry of the singing girls to Sufi love poetry. Rabi'a is believed to have secured her freedom through her sanctity and, from that point on, to have lived an ascetic and teaching-oriented life. Several short pieces of Sufi love poetry are attributed to her.

Almost eight centuries later in the Mamluk period flourished another female Sufi master and poet named 'A'isha al-Ba'uniyya (d. 922/1517). A'isha, who lived in Syria and Egypt, belonged to the 'Urmawi branch of the Qadiriyya order and came from the distinguished Ba'uni family of judges and scholars. She composed more than a dozen books in prose and poetry, and was, according to Emil Homerin, the most prolific woman author before the twentieth century. More than 300 of her long poems have been collected in a yet unpublished anthology entitled *Fayd al-Fadl wa Jam' al-Shaml*. In them, she described mystical states and praised variously the Prophet Muhammad, the founder of her order 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani, and her own Sufi shaykhs. She used technical Sufi terminology and typical Sufi poetic motifs such as wine and love in her poems, sometimes in the strophic form and once in an eminent badi'iyya (long poem in which each verse uses a different rhetorical trope to praise Muhammad).

In addition to the East, women poets also composed love lyrics in the Muslim West. One such Andalusian poet is the Umayyad princess, Wallada (d. 484/1091), daughter of al-Mustakfi (r. 1024–4) and lover of the renowned poet Ibn Zaydun. Wallada was a literary force in Cordoba and hosted an important literary salon. Her extant oeuvre is made up of two short love poems for her lover and several obscene verses of invective addressed to him that were composed after their relationship had ended. Her models are believed to be not Western but Eastern, particularly Abu Nuwas. Anthologies also contain several poems by other Andalusian women, such as the courtesan Nazhun bint al-Qala'i (fifth/eleventh century), the teacher Hafsa bint al-Hajj (d. 585/1191), and the Jewish lady Qasmuna bint Isma'il (sixth/twelfth century); these were written in a similarly popular love-lyrical and satirical vein.

The classical Arabic library features three (extant) anthologies of poetry dedicated to women that provide their biographies and cite their poetry: Abu al-Faraj's above mentioned *al-Ima' al-Shawa'ir*; al-Marzubani's (d. 384/994) *Ash'ar al-Nisa' (Verses by Women;* this volume is partially extant, with works by thirty-eight mostly obscure ancient women); and

al-Suyuti's (d. 911/1505) *Nuzhat al-Julasa' fi Ash'ar al-Nisa' (Recreation for Boon-Companions a propos Poems by Women,* a collection of works by forty "modern" women). The citation of women's poetry in the general medieval anthologies is sporadic and sparse. The earliest anthologists either ignored women poets or made disparaging remarks about them (see Ibn Sallam's upbraiding of Ibn Ishaq for citing women's poetry in his *Sira—Tabaqat Fuhul al-Shu'ara',* vol. 1, 8. Cairo, 1974.). However, most of the later anthologists—such as al-Jahiz, Abu Tammam, Ibn al-Mu'tazz, and Abu al-Faraj in the East and Ibn Bassam and al-Maqqari in the West—do cite some poetry by women. In addition, historians such as al-Tabari, Yaqut, and Ibn 'Asakir cite verses by women—such as elegies for the Prophet Muhammad by his daughter Fatima al-Zahra' and his aunt Safiyya bint 'Abd al-Muttalib—as part of their historical narratives. Most anthologies of classical women poets are modern compilations and rather short. In modern times, Arabic scholars have put together from the medieval sources several anthologies dedicated to women's poetry.

In his introduction to the *Nuzhat al-Julasa'*, al-Suyuti refers to a large (at least six-volume) anthology—now lost—of "ancient" women's poetry by an anthologist named Ibn al-Tarrah (d. 720/1320) and titled *Akhbar al-Nisa' al-Shawa'ir (Accounts of Women Poets)*. It would seem from this that women poets may have formed a more dynamic part of the poetic landscape, at least in the earliest classical period, than is generally believed.

Tahera Qutbuddin

See also Poetry, Arabic; Elegy; Love Poetry; Concubinage; Singing; Women Ascetics and Mystics; Sufism and Sufis; Mystical Poetry

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WOMEN WARRIORS

In pre-Islamic Arabia, women are said to have customarily taken part in warfare, infrequently as combatants themselves but more often as inciters of the men of their tribes and as providers of succor and aid to the wounded. This situation continued through the early period of Islam. Biographical works document the presence of women on the battlefield during the time of the Prophet, including some of his wives. Ibn Sa'd (d. AH 231/845 CE), in his famous *al-Tabaqat al-Kubra (The Great Generations),* records the activities

of some of these remarkable women, including their martial exploits in some cases, as does Ibn Hisham (d. 218/833) in his celebrated biography of Muhammad. More frequently, the women companions accompanied the men to battle to nurse the wounded and feed the thirsty. For example, Umm Ayman, the nurse and freedwoman of the Prophet, was present at the battle of Uhud in 4/625, at Khaybar in 7/628, and at Hunayn in 8/630, primarily in her capacity as a nurse. The pre-Islamic custom of goading the men to battle, especially by uttering imprecations on the enemy, appears to have been discouraged during the Islamic period. Ibn Sa'd mentions that, when Umm Ayman invoked God's curse on the opposing army, she was gently reprimanded by Muhammad. Several other women companions, such as Umm Sinan al-Aslamiyya and Ku'ayba bt. Sa'd al-Aslamiyya, are mentioned as having been present during a number of battles, primarily to tend to the sick and the wounded. The latter is said to have set up a tent in the mosque at Medina to serve as a makeshift hospital for the wounded.

There were actual female combatants as well: Safiyya bt. 'Abd al-Muttalib, for example, is reported to have descended on the battlefield at Uhud with a weapon in her hand. However, the most famous female warrior of the early Islamic period is the Ansari woman Nusayba bt. Ka'b, also known as Umm 'Umara. She was present at Uhud, al-Hudaybiyya (9/630), Khaybar, Hunayn, and al-Yamama (12/633–34). At Uhud, she valiantly defended Muhammad (along with her mother, according to some accounts) when the tide began to turn against the Muslims. She fought with a sword and a bow and arrow, sustaining severe injuries in the process. Her assailant was a man named Ibn Qumi'a from the opposing Makkan side, who had loudly declared his intention to kill the Prophet. Umm 'Umara would later proudly state that she had managed to strike at Ibn Qumi'a, ruing, however, the fact that "the enemy of God had on two suits of armor." She would later lose a hand at al-Yamama during the battle against the false prophet Musaylima after the fall of Mecca in 9/630.

The early biographers speak approvingly of these heroic women; for example, Ibn Sa'd gives a fulsome and laudatory account of Umm 'Umara's martial feats. The twelfth-century memoirs of Usama b. Munqidh (584/1188), a Syrian notable, contain references to women combatants during his own time, including his mother, which indicates that this practice had not become completely extinct during the later medieval period. However, Mamluk biographers like Ibn Hajar (d. 852/1449) tend to display ambivalence toward the martial activities of early women warriors. Ibn Hajar, in fact, considers the case of an obscure woman companion by the name of Umm Kabsha, who is said to have been denied permission to accompany Muhammad to an unspecified battle, as rescinding the earlier permission given to women to participate in battles, either as active combatants and/or as providers of humanitarian services. Ibn Hajar's opinion is to be regarded as being in accordance with the changed sensibilities of the Mamluk period, which involved a much more circumscribed public role for women.

Asma Afsaruddin

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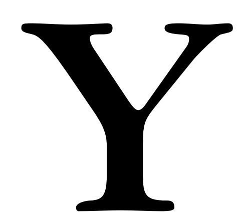
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YA'QUB IBN KILLIS

Abu 'l-Faraj Ya'qub ibn Killis—statesman, administrator, and intellectual—was born a Jew in Baghdad in 930 CE and died in Cairo in 991. During his youth, his family settled in Ramle, Palestine, where he engaged in commerce, achieving the important post of *wakil al-tujjar* (representative of the merchants). Bankruptcy forced him to flee to Egypt, where he entered the service of the regent Kafur and worked his way up to chief financial administrator. After Kafur remarked that, were Ibn Killis a Muslim, he would be worthy of being vizier, Ibn Killis converted to Islam in 967 and became an avid student of scripture and law. However, his patron's death the following year and the jealousy of the vizier Ibn al-Furat caused him to seek refuge in the Maghreb, where he entered the service of the Fatimid caliph al-Mu'izz. Ibn Killis's firsthand knowledge of Egyptian affairs proved invaluable to the Fatimids, who were planning an invasion of Egypt.

After the conquest and transfer of the seat of Fatimid power to the new capital of Cairo, Ibn Killis reorganized the financial administration of the country. He instituted a highly successful monetary reform that greatly increased state revenues and made the Fatimid dinar the standard currency of the Mediterranean. In 977, he became vizier under the young Caliph al-'Aziz. During his administration, the Fatimid Caliphate reached the height of prosperity and power. On his deathbed, Ibn Killis advised al-'Aziz to keep peace with Byzantium and to eliminate the unruly Bedouin in Palestine; this policy was followed. When Ibn Killis died in February 991, the young caliph himself led the funeral prayers and openly wept.

In addition to being an architect of Fatimid administration, Ibn Killis was a patron of scholarship and the arts. He conceived of making the Azhar mosque into a great institution of higher learning and was himself an expert on Isma'ili jurisprudence.

Norman A. Stillman

See also Al-Azhar; Fatimids; Ikhshidids

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YAQUT

The word *yaqut,* via the Syriac Arabicized Greek *(hyakinthos)*, means corundum. It became the name of at least five well-known Muslim scholars who were slaves that were taken into captivity by Muslims during the Holy War; two of them became famous. The first is Yaqut al-Mu'tasimi (d. AH 698/1298 CE), who was native of Abyssinia or a Greek of Amasia. His "noun of relation" *(nisba)* al-Mu'tasimi, is derived from his master, the last 'Abbasid caliph in Baghdad, al-Mu'tasim, who had him educated; he became a librarian and a famed calligrapher.

The second of these slaves is the celebrated encyclopedist Yaqut al-Rumi al-Hamawi (575–626/

1179–229). He was born in Byzantine territory (hence his ethnic *al-Rumi)*. He was captured as a boy and purchased by a merchant of Hama in Syria, who added to his name the ethnic *al-Hamawi.* Al-Rumi's master sent him to school so that he could help the master in his trade in the Persian Gulf. After his master died, al-Rumi settled in Baghdad and became a bookseller.

Al-Rumi traveled to many lands: Syria, Mosul, Egypt, Khorasan, and others. He benefited also from the assistance of important personalities, like the vizier Ibn al-Qifti in Aleppo. As a result of his journeys, he met a lot of scholars and came across many libraries, and he was very active in the copying of books. Of his numerous works, two should be mentioned. First, *The Dictionary of Learned Men*, which contains, in alphabetical order, biographies of grammarians, philologists, men of letters, poets, and so on. The second one is the *Geographic Dictionary*, which contains not only geographical information but also, under each place name, historical data, a list of eminent natives of the place, and other pertinent information.

CLAUDE GILLIOT

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YAZIDIS

Yazidiyya is a syncretistic sect, mainly made up of Kurdish speakers, whose adherents live mostly in Iraq (in the Jabal Sinjar and Sheikhan regions, north of Mosul). Small communities of Yazidis live also in northern Syria, southern Turkey, and Armenia. The size of the sect is estimated to be around two hundred and fifty thousand. Apart from Iraq, the derivation of the sect's name is obscure; the prevalent view among Western scholars is that it is related to Yazid ibn Mu'awiya, the second caliph of the Umayyad dynasty (r. 680–683 CE). Others believe the name to have been derived from the Persian word *yazad* ("divine being").

The Yazidis consider the founder of their religion to be a certain Shaykh 'Adi b. Musafir (of Umayyad descent), who is reported to have settled in the Kurdish mountains of northern Iraq at the beginning of the twelfth century.

Despite some external resemblance to Islam, the Yazidi cult shows no real affinity to Muslim beliefs or rituals. Its terminology and imagery both point to the mainly Iranian nature of this religion. The Yazidis believe in one God, who, after having created the world, delegated it to seven archangels, known also as "The Seven Secrets" *(haft sirr)*, the most powerful of whom is the Peacock Angel *(ta'us-e malak)*. Adversaries of the sect claimed that the latter was identical to the devil; it is from this that the abusive appellation "Devil worshippers" *('abadat al-shaytan)* came to be used by which the sect's opponents.

The syncretistic nature of the Yazidiyya cult is reflected in its rich mythology, which is made up of elements of Iranian, Jewish, Christian, and Muslim origins.

The sacred scriptures of the Yazidis include two major books, the *Mashaf-a Rash* and the *Kitab-i Jilwa.* These texts are commonly believed to have been composed by non-Yazidis who nevertheless relied on Yazidi traditions.

MEIR M. BAR-ASHER

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YEMEN

Yemen's early Islamic history continues to suffer from a dearth of information. During the first two centuries AH (seventh and eighth CE), the administration of Yemen was directly dependent on the central caliphate, first in Medina and then in Damascus and Baghdad. The country was divided into three *mikhlafs* (administrative regions), each of which was overseen by a governor appointed by the caliph (the senior governor was the one appointed to San'a'): the mikhlaf of San'a', which included a large part of highlands from Sa'ada and Najran in the north to al-Janad; the mikhlaf of al-Janad, which included the southern region as well as the coastal plain of Aden and Lahij; and the mikhlaf of Hadramawt, which was limited to the district bearing that name, with Shibam as its principal town.

The weakening of the 'Abbasid caliphate during the ninth century led to the rise of several local and foreign dynasties in Yemen, with conflicting territorial, political, and religious interests. The first of these dynasties was the Ziyadids (819–1012), whose founder Muhammad ibn Ziyad was sent by the caliph al-Ma'mun to quell a rebellion in the Tihama region. There, he founded the city of Zabid, which became his capital and that of his descendants. During the same period, a local dynasty known as the Yu'furids (847–997), which was centered in Shibam-Kawkaban and

occasionally in control over San'a', reigned over the territory extending south until al-Janad. However, parts of the northern highlands escaped all control until the arrival of Yahya ibn al-Husayn in 897, who came from Tabaristan at the invitation of several tribes. He chose Sa'ada in north Yemen as his capital, where he established the Zaydi imamate. However, for several centuries, the authority of his descendants did not go beyond the region of Sa'ada.

From the beginning of the eleventh century until the middle of the twelfth century, Yemen continued to be fragmented among several competing dynasties. The Najahids (1021–1156), who took over Zabid, were opposed to the Sulayhids (1047–1138), who held close relations with their co-religionists, the Isma'ili Fatimids of Egypt, and who were able to impose a certain political unity over southern Yemen, the Tihama, and the Hadramawt. Reigning at first from San'a' and then from their new capital in Dhu Jibla, the Sulayhids were able to restore commerce between the Orient and the Mediterranean basin, which became a source of prosperity for the country. Thus, the port of Aden, which was run by the Zuray'ids (1080–1173) in the name of the Sulayhids, became an important center for international commerce. The Sulayhids lost control over San'a' at the end of the eleventh century to the sultans of Hamdan, the local tribal leaders of that region; the Hadramawt was ruled by a number of local dynasties of tribal origins (e.g., the Banu Rashid in Tarim, the Banu Daghar in Shibam, and the Banu Iqbal in the port of al-Shihr).

The conquest of Yemen in 1173 and 1174 by the Ayyubids, who were successors of the Fatimids in Egypt, included the Hadramawt, where they succeeded briefly in eliminating the mini states of that region; the inhabitants of the highlands of the north, who were generally loyal to the Zaydis, rebuffed them. The Tihama and the southern parts of Yemen formed a single political unit after their regional dynasties were eliminated. San'a', which fell under their hegemony for a while, reverted to the control of Banu Hatim, a branch of the Hamdan, whereas the north continued to be loyal to the Zaydis. Equipped with an efficient army and a competent administration, the Ayyubids introduced numerous reforms, most notably in the fields of agriculture and commerce. They also brought to Yemen the institution of the madrasa, which their successors, the Rasulids, developed further in an effort to counter the Zaydi doctrine. Having arrived in Yemen with the Ayyubid army, the Rasulids (1229–1454) gained control of the country and established their authority as far as San'a'. They chose Ta'iz in the southern highlands as their capital, and Zabid became their winter residence. Under their impetus, the capital of the Tihama became a major center for the teaching of the Sunni doctrine.

The weakening of the Rasulids presented the opportunity to the Tahirids, the governors of Aden, to take over and establish themselves as the new rulers of southern Yemen in 1454. They were also keen builders (as were their predecessors), allocating much of their building activity to their capital, al-Miqrana, and to Rada', Juban, and Zabid. The Tahirids were equally interested in developing the agriculture of the area, and they established new palm groves in the irrigated regions of the coastal plains. They also tried to extend their authority over the Hadramawt, where political instability continued. Their hold on that region, much like that of their predecessors, was short lived, because they were faced with strong opposition from local dynasties, who would accept only nominal allegiance. Thus, the Al Yamani dynasty that was established in Tarim in 1224 remained on the political scene until the sixteenth century (it ended in 1714) before it was eliminated by the Kathiris. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, a new political power appeared in the region: the Yafi'is, a large tribe from the northeast of Aden whose influence extended over the ports of Mukalla and Shihr. They created a new sultanate, first under the name of the Qasidis and then under that of the Qu'aytis, whose seat of power was in Qatn.

After the demise of the last Tahirid sultan in 1517, a group of mercenaries from Egypt, known as the Lewend, became the rulers of lower Yemen during a brief period (1521–1538) before the Ottomans put an end to their presence. The arrival of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea also had strong repercussions throughout the country. Increasingly worried about the security of the Holy Cities of Arabia as well as about maintaining control of the international trade between the East and the Mediterranean, the Ottomans, who had conquered Egypt in 1517, decided to take hold of Yemen in 1538. However, their presence there rapidly provoked revolts, led by the Zaydi imams of the Qasimi dynasty, who were able to liberate the country in 1635; they then extended their control to most of Yemen from Najran to the Hadramawt.

Noha Sadek

See also Aden; Arwa; Sulayhids; Rasulids; Zaydis

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Z

ZANKIDS

The Zankids were a Turkmen dynasty, several branches of which ruled in Jazira and Syria between 1127 and 1251 CE. Zanki, the founder of the dynasty, was the son of Aqsunqur, a military slave of the Seljuk sultan Malikshah and ruler of Aleppo between 1087 and 1094. In 1127, Sultan Mahmud made Zanki ruler of Mosul and atabeg (guardian and tutor) for his two sons. In 1129, the sultan appointed him malik (king) of the West. Zanki took advantage of the struggles for succession of the Seljuk sultans and their problems with the ʻAbbasid caliphs to solidify his own base of power in Mosul. By 1128, he controlled Aleppo and then campaigned in Syria, attacking the atabeg state of the Burids in Damascus and seizing territory in southeastern Anatolia. He won his greatest fame in 1144, when he conquered the Crusader County of Edessa, which provoked the Second Crusade.

When Zanki was murdered in 1146, his two sons divided his realm. Ghazi took Mosul and the territories in Jazira, whereas Nur al-Din Mahmud took Aleppo and the territories in Syria. Zanki's most renowned descendant was Nur al-Din, in whom he inspired a Sunni religious zeal against both the Shiʻis and, especially, the Crusaders. In 1154, Nur al-Din captured Damascus, putting an end to the Burids and uniting most of Syria against the Crusaders. His army entered Egypt several times, and, in 1169, its commander, Shirkuh, became vizier to the greatly weakened Fatimid caliph. Shirkuh's nephew Saladin abolished the Fatimid caliphate in 1171 and acknowledged the authority of Nur al-Din. Around the same time, Nur al-Din conquered Jazira and established suzerainty over Mosul. He died in 1174 at the height of his power.

Nur al-Din's state did not long survive him. Saladin immediately invaded Syria and took Damascus. By 1183, he had conquered all of the Zankid territory in Syria. The descendants of Ghazi managed to retain Mosul somewhat longer. Saladin attacked Ghazi in 1175–1176, and he invaded Jazira in 1182–1183 and 1185–1186. This fragmented the Zankid territory into five principalities that acknowledged Saladin's suzerainty. Saladin's Ayyubid successors maintained supremacy in that region. In 1209, his brother al-ʻAdil annexed part of Jazira. In 1211, Mas'ud II became atabeg of Mosul. Mas'ud's father had chosen a military slave, Badr al-Din Lu'lu', to serve as regent. Badr al-Din eventually became so powerful that he could depose the Zankid atabegs while keeping the Ayyubids in check. In 1233, the last Zankid claimant to Mosul died, and the caliph recognized Badr al-Din as the new ruler of that city. Minor branches of the Zankids at Sinjar and Jazirat Ibn ʻUmar fell under Ayyubid dominion in 1220 and 1251, respectively. The branch at Shahrazur was destroyed by the Mongols in 1245.

The Zankids did much to encourage the economic and cultural revival of Jazira and Syria. They rebuilt cities, established such institutions as hospitals and madrasas, ensured the supremacy of Sunnism over Shiʻism in their territory, and played a critical role in repelling the Crusaders.

Gary Leiser

See also 'Abbasids; Ayyubids; Fatimids, Jihad; Muslim–Crusader Relations; Seljuks; Shi'ism; Slavery, Military

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ZAYD IBN THABIT

Zayd ibn Thabit was a Medinan, born in 611 CE, who served as the Prophet Muhammad's scribe after the Hijra. Since he was only eleven years old at the time of the Hijra, he must have become Muhammad's scribe while he was a mere teenager. Zayd gained this prestigious position in part because of his knowledge of Hebrew and/or Syriac script.

Zayd played a particularly important role in the collection and codification of the Qur'anic text. Reports vary in their descriptions of when the Qur'an was first collected and committed to writing. Some reports assert that the impetus to create a standard, written text came after the death of many of the qurra' in the battles of the Ridda wars after Muhammad's death. Abu Bakr and 'Umar feared that the divine revelation would be lost if too many of those who knew it were killed in battle; they therefore urged Zayd to collect and compile the revelation. Other accounts place the establishment of a standard Qur'an text earlier, during the last year of Muhammad's life, when he edited a final copy of the Qur'an that Zayd had written down. Still other reports suggest that there was not an agreed-upon text until the reign of 'Uthman, when the caliph assigned Zayd and three other companions to collect variant readings and establish a canonical text. In each of these versions of the compilation and codification of the Qur'anic text, Zayd ibn Thabit was the central figure.

During the strife at the end of 'Uthman's reign, Zayd was one of the few prominent Medinans (Ansar) to remain loyal to the caliph and to refuse to support 'Ali ibn Abi Talib. He had been a loyal servant to Uthman and remained loyal to his kinsman Mu'awiya after he came to power in 41/661. Various reports indicate that Zayd served as a qadi, as head of the treasury, as keeper of the diwan, and in other capacities. He was also recognized as an expert in the distribution of inheritance *(fara'id)*, which required both a familiarity with Qur'anic rules and considerable mathematical skill.

Zayd's young age and the prestige associated with his position as Muhammad's scribe made him a particularly important hadith transmitter. He had many students, and the veracity of his hadith transmissions was not questioned by later commentators. This is to be expected, because questioning his competence as a muhaddith implicitly cast doubt upon the veracity of his recording of the Qur'an itself. Even pro-'Alid sources do not malign Zayd's compilation of the Qur'an, although some explain his loyalty to Uthman as a consequence of the considerable wealth he accumulated while serving the caliph. Zayd's death date is uncertain, but it is likely sometime between 42/662 and 56/675.

STEVEN C. JUDD

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ZAYDIS

Zaydi is a branch of Shi'i Islam that emerged in support of the abortive revolt of Zayd ibn 'Ali in Kufa against Umayyad rule in 740 CE. Unlike the Twelver or Imami Shi'is, Zaydis do not unconditionally condemn the first three caliphs who preceded 'Ali ibn Abi Talib to the leadership of the Muslim community after the Prophet's death, and they do not consider Sunni Muslims to be infidels. As such, they are often considered moderates. In political terms, however (and again unlike the quietist Twelvers), the Zaydis are militant and insist on armed rebellion against unjust Sunni rule as a religious obligation. They also seek to establish righteous rule under a qualified *imam* (supreme leader) from the Prophet's

family *(ahl al-bayt)*. Thus, the Zaydi doctrine of the imamate is one of the group’s most distinctive features, and their history is dominated by a number of hugely influential imams.

Zaydi law has set a number of rigorous qualifications for the imamate, the most important of which are religious knowledge *(ijtihad)* and descent from either of ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib’s two sons, al-Hasan or al-Husayn. Zaydis hold that ‘Ali was the most excellent of men after the Prophet and that he and his two sons were designated by the Prophet as his legatees. After al-Husayn, the imamate could only be established through a summons to allegiance *(da’wa)* and the armed rising *(khuruj)* by a qualified candidate. Over the course of time, Zaydis were able to establish several states in two distinct geographical locations: (1) in the Caspian regions of Tabaristan, Daylam, and Gilan; and (2) in the highlands of Yemen. The Zaydis do not follow the legal teachings of the imam after whom they are named (i.e., Zayd ibn ‘Ali) but rather those of certain later imams, two of whom established states. In matters of theology, Zaydis are antideterminist and anti-anthropomorphist. In the Caspian, the first Zaydi state was established in 864 by al-Hasan ibn Zayd, and the last ended in 1526–1527 in eastern Gilan with the conversion of its ruler to Twelver Shi‘ism. Here two rival schools of law emerged: the *Qasimiyya* (followers of al-Qasim ibn Ibrahim [d. 860]) and the *Nasiriyya* (followers of al-Nasir al-Hasan ibn ‘Ali al-Utrush [d. 914]). These were ultimately reconciled doctrinally through the adoption of the principle that all mujtahids were correct regardless of their differences.

It is in the Caspian that Zaydi scholars developed a theology that was heavily influenced by Mu‘tazilism, and, through their close connections with the Zaydis of Yemen, they were able to transmit these to the latter community. In the Yemen and at the invitation of the local tribes, Imam al-Hadi Yahya ibn al-Husayn (d. 911; grandson of the aforementioned al-Qasim b. Ibrahim) established a state in Sa‘da in 897, and this lasted, under varying conditions of expansion and contraction, until 1962, with the emergence of the modern republic of Yemen. Al-Hadi’s teachings in law became dominant among the Zaydis of Yemen and ultimately even among the Caspian Zaydis. During the reign of the last great Zaydi state, the Qasimis (1635–1850s), dynastic rule became the norm, and a group of influential Sunni-oriented reformist scholars emerged under Qasimi patronage, causing a Sunnification of the religious and political environment. The most prominent Sunni-oriented scholar who helped effect this change was Muhammad al-Shawkani (d. 1834).

Bernard Haykel

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ZIRYAB, ABU ‘L-HASAN ’ALI BIN NAFI’

Abu ‘l-Hasan ‘Ali bin Nafi’ Ziryab was an Iraqi musician born around 790 CE who died in Cordoba (Al-Andalus) in 852. His figure became the embodiment of the Andalusi classical musical style, and he was allegedly the arbiter of fashion in Cordoba under the reign of the Umayyad Emir ‘Abd al-Rahman II (r. 822–852). He is historically better known by his nickname *Ziryab* (“Jay”) than by his full name.

Extant sources tell us that Ziryab was forced to flee Baghdad after his musical mentor Ishaq al-Mawsili became jealous of him when Caliph Harun al-Rashid showed the young musician an esteem that might jeopardize al-Mawsili’s position in the court. Ziryab subsequently settled down in Qayrawan, Tunisia, where he served the Aglabid rulers until he fell in disgrace. He then gained the Spanish shores and entered the service of the Umayyad emir (the *de facto* independent ruler) of Muslim Iberia, ‘Abd al-Rahman II. Sources indicate that, until Ziryab’s death and that of the emir himself (which occurred in the same year), the Andalusi sovereign treated Ziryab with the highest consideration.

Ziryab has traditionally been credited with introducing the refinements of the Oriental metropolis of Baghdad to Cordoba. He is said to have influenced the spread of cooking, clothing, hairdressing, and other arts and crafts fashions by introducing Eastern styles to the western Islamic world. However reliable this account is, it is true that a whole array of culture and etiquette principles that formed the bulk of Andalusi (and, later, North African) sophistication are ascribed to his merit. Modern scholarship has contested Ziryab’s real influence, identifying later figures as initiators of the practices and styles that have been previously attributed to Ziryab’s influence.

Ziryab is said to have founded a music-teaching institution in the Andalusi capital, Cordoba, where he taught the principles of the Baghdadi school to his sons and daughters. His songs were apparently collected in *Kitab fi Agani Ziryab (Ziryab’s Songbook)*,

which is no longer in existence. Ziryab endorsed several innovations that had an effect on the fundamental instrument of Arab music, the lute *('ud)*. He is reported to have added a fifth, red-colored string to the lute; this string would correspond with the soul, following the Arab idea that each string influences *(ta'thir)* a particular organ of the human body. (It has also been claimed that the philosopher and humanist, al-Kindi, as well as Ziryab's mentor, Ishaq al-Mawsili, introduced the five-stringed lute.)

Ziryab's alleged novelties include exchanging the traditional wooden plectrum used for plucking the lute for a vulture quill. He is also said to have made the two lower strings of his instrument out of wolf gut, and he may have introduced a new way of cleaning the silk of the higher strings. He claimed that his lute weighed a third less than most other lutes.

More importantly, Ziryab assumed the continuity of Oriental musical practices in the Islamic Occident. His performances began with a measured song with an unmeasured recitative. He closely followed the modes of the East; his songs increased in lightness and tempo in lyrics and tune, thereby favoring the consolidation of the *nawba* (vocal suite) genre, which later became the paramount Andalusi musical genre.

More than anything else, it is the Andalusi/Maghribi *nawba* that justifies the musician's fame. As previously mentioned, tradition credits Ziryab with the composition of the integral collection of Andalusi nawbas. One must bear in mind that a compilation featuring all eleven of the Moroccan nawbas requires a total of seventy three compact discs.

Historical reality does seem to have evolved rather differently, according to French musicologist Christian Poché in his work on Andalusi music. A thirteenth-century work by al-Tifashi (1184–1253) gives an account of the evolution of the so-called classical Arab music through the portrayal of its greatest performers. According to his report, the main figure who helped this type of music to acquire its structure was the twelfth-century Andalusi philosopher Ibn Bajja (Latinized as *Avempace)*. Ibn Bajja was the first to merge the singing techniques of the East with those of the western Islamic world. In Al-Andalus and North Africa, a diatonic scale is used; this is in opposition with the musical practice of the Orient. Moreover, Andalusi and Maghribi music does not include the quarter tones that are featured in Eastern styles. Ziryab seems to have historically been used as a narrative excuse rather than with any regard for his actual historical integrity.

A nawba is a highly structured vocal and instrumental piece based on a principal mode *(tab')*, along with some secondary ones. It fuses Arabic rhythms with ancient Greek music modes. Each nawba adopts a suite structure, usually in a binary or ternary form, thereby allowing little scope for rhythmic variation as compared with music from the East. Every two movements are linked with a brief musical phrase that is called *kursi* (chair) in Arabic. A vocal solo can be substituted for this instrumental link; this style allows the singer to sing alone and demonstrate his or her vocal ability. The singer can also take this moment to move emotions in the audience by interpreting the most beautiful poetic passage of the lyrics.

A certain mystical content has traditionally been associated with the Andalusi nawba; this has led to the idea that each nawba is linked to a certain moment of the day. Thus, there may be twenty-four nawbas, one for each hour of the day. Subtle disparities can be found between the modern musical genres of Morocco's tarab al-a'la, hawzi, and malhun; Algeria's maluf, gharnati, and sana'a; and Tunisia's maluf; however, they can all still be recognized as branches of the single musical form of the nawba.

JESÚS DE PRADO PLUMED

See also 'Abd al-Rahman III; Aghlabids; Al-Farabi (Alfarabius or Avennasar); Al-Kindi; Al-Maqqari; Andalus; Harun al-Rashid; Ibn Quzman; Mystical Poetry; Music; Nawruz; Performing Artists; Poetry, Arabic; Qayrawan

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ZOROASTRIANISM

Designations

Medieval Zoroastrians referred to their religion by the Middle Persian or Pahlavi phrase *den i Mazdesn* (religion of Mazda), because they regarded Ahura Mazda (Wise Lord) as the Creator. The expression *Zardushtig den* (Zoroastrian religion) was also used,

because they regarded their devotions as having originated from the preachings of a devotional poet named Zarathushtra (Middle Persian: Zardukhsht, Zardusht; New Persian or Farsi: Zardosht). Therefore, they called themselves *Mazdesnan* (Worshipers of Mazda) and *Zartoshtiyan* (Zoroastrians).

Medieval Muslims writing in Classical Arabic and New Persian designated all Zoroastrians as *al-Majus* (Magians) on the basis of the technical term for Zoroastrian priests or magi (Middle Persian: maguk, mowbed, mowmard; New Persian: mobed). Zoroastrian acts of worship customarily were conducted in the presence of fires on altars inside fire temples (Middle Persian: atakhshkadag; New Persian: ateshkade), so the New Persian term *atashparast* (fire worshipper), picked up from Christians, become an insult directed by Muslims at Zoroastrians, despite the latters' protesting that their actions were similar to Muslims facing prayer niches and the Ka'ba. Another New Persian designation that came to be used by Muslims to deride Zoroastrians as nonbelievers in God was *gabr* (hollow, empty, one lacking faith, infidel), despite the latter sect's claim that their scripture—the Avesta—was a holy book just like the Bible and the Qur'an.

Conversion to Islam, Minority Status, and Doctrinal Interaction

The Arab Muslim conquest of Zoroastrian Iran and overthrow of the Sasanian dynasty (224–651 CE) during the seventh century came to be associated with apocalyptic and prophetic expectations. Zoroastrian apocalypticism alluded to doom and the final days of humanity. Islamic prophecy highlighted triumph, presenting the Prophet Muhammad (ca. 570–632) and the Muslim caliphs as successors to Zarathushtra and the Sasanian monarchs. Because people believed those statements, they acted on their beliefs. Many despondent Zoroastrians, concluding that a true deity would not have forsaken them or their religion, chose to accept the faith that had demonstrated its ascendance through political victory. Urban Irani Zoroastrians adopted Islam between the eighth and tenth centuries CE, and that faith spread among rural folk from the tenth through thirteenth centuries CE. As residents' confessional alliance shifted to Islam, there was a diminishment of contributions to pious foundations that supported the magi. Consequently, many Zoroastrian ecclesiastical institutions, such as fire temples and *herbedestans* (seminaries), were either transformed into Islamic mosques and Sunni madrasas, respectively, or abandoned and destroyed by the fourteenth century. The *chahar taq* (four arch) style of the Zoroastrian fire precinct, with its domed roof, passed into Muslim architecture as domed mosques.

Zoroastrianism initially represented the dominant faith numerically—although no longer politically—in those regions of the Islamic empire that were seized from the Sasanians and the princes of western Central Asia. To facilitate peaceful governance, medieval Muslim scholars drew upon hadith (traditions) attributed to Muhammad and caliphs like 'Umar I (d. 644) and 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (598–661) for incorporating Zoroastrians into the ahl al-dhimma (protected communities). Not all Muslims recognized Zoroastrians as a dhimmi community, but the Umayyad (661–750) and 'Abbasid (750–1258) caliphates did.

Because dhimmi status provided at least nominal safety to the Zoroastrians as a religious minority, magi facilitated the Zoroastrian claim to that position by making copies of the Avesta and its Zand (exegesis). Zarathushtra's hagiography was augmented to reshape him as a Near-Eastern prophet who had preceded Muhammad. Ahura Mazda was gradually transformed into the Zoroastrian God. Angra Mainyu (Angry Spirit), who had originally been Ahura Mazda's spiritual opposite, became the Devil. Zoroastrianism influenced Islam as well, with Iranian traditions of afterlife—including the imagery of a bridge leading to a heaven filled with pleasure and notions of an apocalypse at the end of time, followed by an eschaton—entering both Sunnism and Shi'ism.

Medieval Migrations

The Arab Muslim conquest of Iran triggered migrations by Zoroastrians. Some Zoroastrians, especially Sasanian nobles and military personnel, immigrated to China. Zoroastrians survived in China as late as the middle fourteenth century, after which time they were completely assimilated into the local population. The situation proved different for those who went to India in the tenth century and formed the Parsi (Persian) community there.

The Zoroastrian migration to India is recorded as the Parsi community's founding legend, known as the New Persian *Qessa-e Sanjan (Story of Sanjan)*. According to that text, during the reign of the Samanid kings (892–1005), groups of Zoroastrians left the northeastern Iranian province of Khorasan to avoid forced conversion to Islam. Their descendents finally reached Gujarat in western India via the sea in 936. About five years after their arrival, the Parsis consecrated an *ātesh behrām* (victory fire, the highest level of ritual fire), called Iran Shah (King of Iran), which

remained their main flame for more than eight hundred years. Most religious rituals were performed using *dadgah* (hearth) fires. The *jizya* (poll tax) was imposed on Parsis in 1297, when the Delhi Muslim sultanate conquered Gujarat. Economic hardship created by payment of the jizya, plus the stigma of designation as dhimmis, resulted in the conversion of portions of the Parsi population to Islam. However, the community persisted in their beliefs and praxes, with the result being that early European travelers began to encounter them; for example, in 1350, the Dominican friar Jordanus commented on the exposure of Parsi corpses. When their Indian religious stronghold at Sanjan was sacked by the Muzaffarid Sultan Mahmud Begath (Begada; r. 1458–1511) around the year 1465, Parsi magi transferred the Iran Shah atesh behram to a mountain cave for twelve years to ensure that it continued to burn unhindered by Muslims. Eventually, in 1479, the flame was moved to the Parsi city of Navsari to once again become the main locus of Zoroastrian piety in India.

Medieval Iran

Between the eighth and fifteenth centuries, the lives of Zoroastrians as members of a dhimmi community were governed by religious tenets and by a sectarian society dominated by Muslim men. Realizing that cross-communal contacts threatened the traditional way of life, magi outlawed sex, marriage, and most forms of interaction by Zoroastrians with Muslims unless such contact was vital for a Zoroastrians livelihood or safety. Likewise, Muslim jurists such as Malik ibn Anas (716–795) ruled that Zoroastrians should not be permitted to marry Muslims unless Islam was adopted. However, intermarriage across confessional boundaries became increasingly frequent, with Zoroastrian spouses experiencing rejection from their co-religionists. In response to this, they adopted Islam and raised their children as Muslims. Because Zoroastrians were regarded as unclean, Muslims initially were not supposed to eat food prepared by Zoroastrians. Traditions attributed to various early caliphs, including ʿAli and an ex-Zoroastrian companion of the Prophet Muhammad named Salman al-Farisi (d. 656), developed to overcome that barrier, eventually resulting in Muslim jurists such as Ahmad ibn Hanbal (780–855) decreeing that meals prepared by Zoroastrians could be consumed by Muslims.

Such social interactions between Muslims and Zoroastrians notwithstanding, their minority status resulted in considerable hardship for followers of Zoroastrianism. For example, the powerful Seljuk vizier Nizam al-Mulk (d. 1092 CE) enjoined that Zoroastrians, like other dhimmis, should not be appointed to positions of authority over Muslims, and he even equated them with Muslim groups that he regarded as heretical. Even more problematic was that Zoroastrians' standing under Islamic law was secondary to members of the majority confessional group, thereby affecting the equitable resolution of commercial and social disputes. The jizya was usually collected by community leaders rather than paid directly to Muslim officials by each Zoroastrian; here, too, however, there was an impact of legal inequality. Mahmud ibn ʿUmar al-Zamakhshari (1075–1144), an important Muslim theologian, suggested that Zoroastrians be publicly humiliated each time the jizya was paid. After 850 CE, Zoroastrians were required to wear yellow caps, shawls, belts, and badges so that Muslims could easily identify them, and the use of horses and saddles by Zoroastrians was forbidden by Muslim authorities.

Conquest and rule of Iran by the Mongols (1219–1256), Ilkhanids (1256–1335), and Timurids (1370–1507) resulted in violence against urban Zoroastrians residing in city quarters that had been specifically designated for them. Those seeking to avoid harm often sought protection through reaffiliating their faith to Islam. Those Zoroastrians who survived sought refuge by moving to out-of-the-way locales within the Fars, Yazd, and Kerman provinces of Iran. There the magi attempted to maintain Zoroastrian rites and beliefs by compiling religious literature known as the *Pahlavi Books* in Middle Persian and the *Revayats (Treatises)* in New Persian.

JAMSHEED K. CHOKSY

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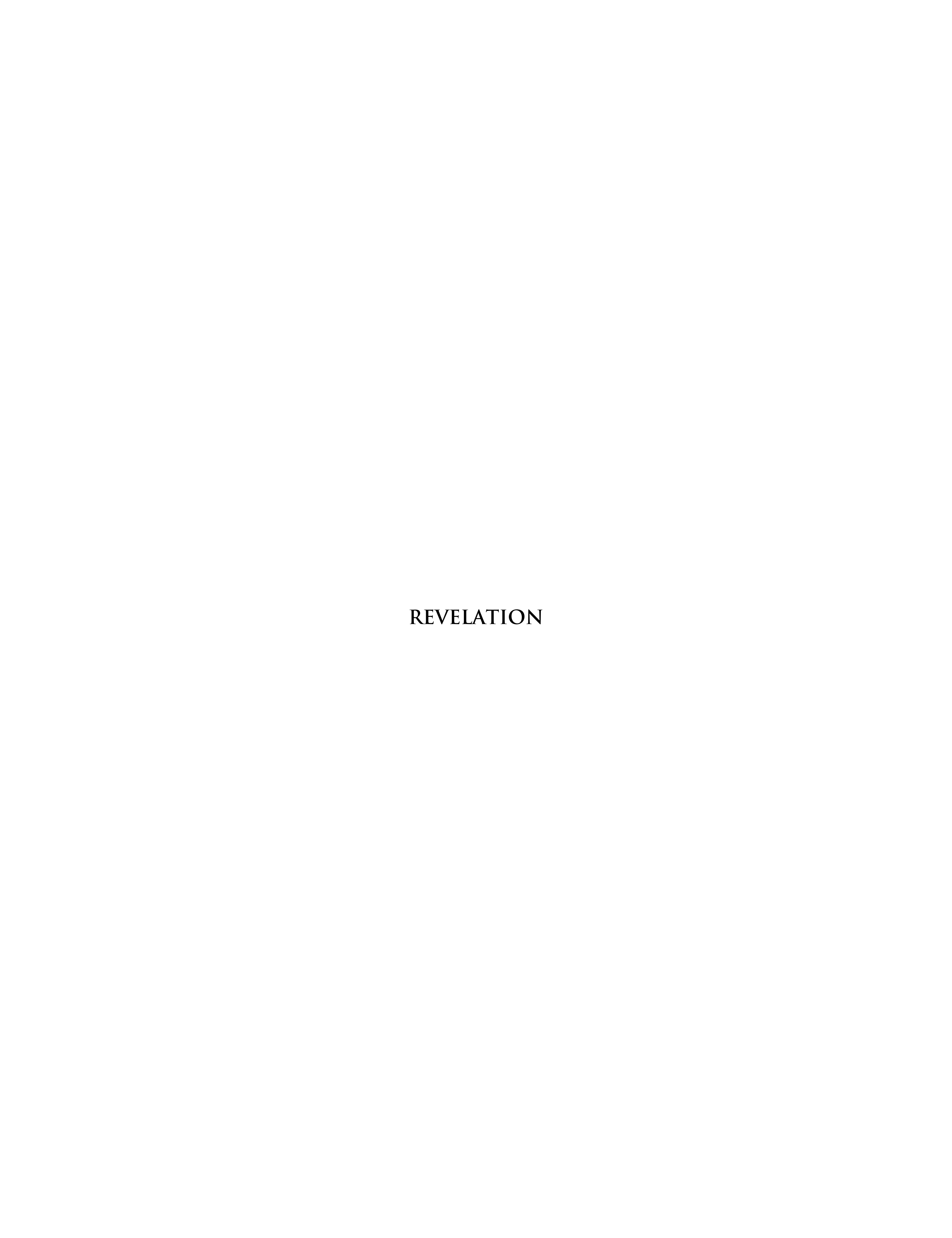
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REVELATION

Cover image: Rustam and Zal paying homage to Kay Khusraw after his accession (Iran, 1446).
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270 Madison Avenue
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2 Park Square, Milton Park
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